

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

**CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY**

CALL No. 901.0952 T.d.K.

D.G.A. 79.



RECORDS OF CIVILIZATION

SOURCES AND STUDIES

EDITED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

EDITORS EMERITI

JAMES T. SHOTWELL

*Bryce Professor Emeritus of the History of
International Relations*

AUSTIN P. EVANS

Professor Emeritus of History

EDITOR IN CHIEF

JACQUES BARZUN

Professor of History

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

JOHN H. MUNDY

Associate Professor of History

C. MARTIN WILBUR

Professor of Chinese History

CONSULTING EDITORS

SALO BARON

*Professor of Jewish History, Literature, and
Institutions on the Miller Foundation
Director of the Center of Israeli Studies*

WM. THEODORE DE BARY

Associate Professor of Chinese and Japanese

GILBERT HIGHET

*Anthon Professor of the Latin Language
and Literature*

DONALD KEENE

Associate Professor of Japanese

PAUL O. KRISTELLER

Professor of Philosophy

GARRETT MATTINGLY

Professor of History

RECORDS OF CIVILIZATION
SOURCES AND STUDIES

NUMBERS LIV-LVI

INTRODUCTION TO
ORIENTAL
CIVILIZATIONS

LIV: *Sources of the Japanese Tradition*

LV: *Sources of the Chinese Tradition*

LVI: *Sources of the Indian Tradition*





INTRODUCTION TO
ORIENTAL
CIVILIZATIONS

Wm. Theodore de Bary, EDITOR

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No.

Date.

Call No.

BS:01
Sources of the
Japanese Tradition

COMPILED BY

Ryusaku Tsunoda

Wm. Theodore de Bary

Donald Keene

901.0952
T.d.k.

COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

NEW YORK 1958

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 16122.
Date..... 31/12/58.
Call No. 901.0952/T.d.k.

The addition to the "Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies" of a group of translations of Oriental historical materials, of which this volume is one, was made possible by funds granted by Carnegie Corporation of New York. That Corporation is not, however, the author, owner, publisher, or proprietor of this publication, and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements made or views expressed therein.

COPYRIGHT © 1958 COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW YORK
*Published in Great Britain, Canada, India, and Pakistan
by the Oxford University Press
London, Toronto, Bombay, and Karachi*
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 58-7167
MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The inscription on the front cover is Mr. Tsunoda's rendering of the first two lines from the poem by Ninomiya Sontoku on page 580.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTORS TO PART FIVE

MARIUS JANSEN

HYMAN KUBLIN

ARTHUR TIEDEMANN

HERSCHEL WEBB

MASAO ABE

JOHN F. HOWES

GEORGE O. TOTTEN

Received from the
Library of the
National Academy of Sciences
for Dr. J. S. S.

PREFACE

This book, part of a three-volume series dealing with the civilizations of Japan, China, India and Pakistan, contains source readings that tell us what the Japanese have thought about themselves, the world they lived in, and the problems they faced living together. It is meant to provide the general reader with an understanding of the background of contemporary Japanese civilization, especially as this is reflected in intellectual traditions which remain alive today. Thus, much attention is given to religious and philosophical developments in early times that are still part of the national heritage and affect people's thinking today. On the other hand, equal attention is given to political and social questions which the ordinary history of philosophy or religion would not treat. Also, since the arts of Japan have such a unique importance in the modern world—indeed, are the embodiment of Japanese civilization to many—there must be a place for the discussion of Japanese aesthetics. Therefore we have not hesitated to make excursions into the fields of literature and dramatic art, just as readily as into politics or economics, even though we could not hope to take full stock of the riches in each of these domains.

Perhaps the greatest danger which besets the Western reader's attempt to understand Japanese civilization is the temptation to take one or another of its more striking aspects as representing the whole. There might be no great harm in this if, finding one gateway to Japanese culture especially inviting and congenial, through this he gained access to others in turn. But much that is popularly written about the Japanese (in particular, about "Japan Today") reflects the particular concerns of the moment, and these concerns shift so rapidly that the popular image of Japan is likely to become confused. A sense of bafflement or frustration may result, and the Westerner will then take what consolation he can find in the idea that Orientals are, after all, inscrutable. Just before and during the Second

World War, for instance, it was nationalism and militarism that served as the common theme of books about Japan, and one got the impression that the more engaging aspects of Japanese culture were no more than a mask for the underlying fanaticism and brutality which characterized these people. Not only did this one-sided view of the Japanese handicap Americans in their dealings with them after the war, by engendering suspicion or condescension, but also it produced in many persons a sense of having been duped when at last the finer aspects of Japanese character and culture were brought in upon them. Now, thirteen years after the surrender, there is danger in another kind of distortion, which sees nothing in Japan but its exoticism, aestheticism, and mysticism.

Obviously, then, the first requirement of a book such as this must be to achieve balance and perspective. It is unlikely that we have succeeded in this here, but, knowing our aim, the critical reader will at least understand why we have been tempted to spread ourselves so thin over the length and breadth of Japanese history and civilization, and have ventured to deal in a summary way with subjects that still call for much more intensive study and analysis. The fact is that we do not seek to identify causal factors in Japanese history, but merely to suggest the range and variety of Japanese thought, and some of the circumstances which called forth or conditioned these expressions of the Japanese mind. Considering the strangeness of the setting and the complexity of some subjects not readily presentable in translation, we have found it necessary to include far more historical and explanatory material than usual in a set of source readings. Nevertheless the reader unfamiliar with Japanese history who seeks a fuller knowledge of historical and institutional background will do well to supplement this text by reference to a general or cultural history. At the same time, given the limitations of an introductory text, we could not hope to deal with every thinker or movement of importance, but have had to select those examples which best illustrated the relation of divergent currents to the main stream of Japanese thought, and the relevance of intellectual attitudes to the most persistent problems of Japanese society. In the modern period the necessity for this is most apparent. We have ignored, for instance, some of the more striking examples of Western influence in favor of others which better demonstrate the adaptation or incorporation of Western attitudes in writers standing nearer the center of things. For much the same reason, in dealing with recent trends, we

have focused attention on persons active in public life or organized political movements, close to the great events of their time, rather than upon intellectuals in the narrow sense, whose ultimate influence can only be conjectured with difficulty at such short range.

These readings were originally based on a series of essays and translations prepared by Ryusaku Tsunoda, for many years Curator of the Japanese Collection at Columbia University and lecturer on Japanese religion and thought. They have since been considerably supplemented, revised, and adapted for use in the general education program of Columbia College. Consequently, though Mr. Tsunoda's efforts contributed substantially to the work, the editor and not he must be held responsible for the contents and for any errors of fact or interpretation which they contain. Obviously, a project of this magnitude could not have been brought to completion without the collaboration of others possessing special qualifications. Donald Keene has helped especially with the chapters on Japanese aesthetics and poetry, the Shinto revival, the sub-section on Honda Toshiaki, and the final chapter, while also assisting in the editing of Parts One and Two. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge our gratitude to colleagues in sister institutions from whose special knowledge of trends in modern Japanese history and thought we have greatly benefited in the preparation of Part Five: Marius Jansen of the University of Washington at Seattle, who contributed the chapter on ultranationalism; Arthur Tiedemann of the College of the City of New York, for the chapter on modern liberalism; and Hyman Kublin of Brooklyn College, for the chapter on the Japanese social movement. Here again, since certain changes and additions have had to be made in adapting these contributions to the general plan of the work, final responsibility for them must rest with the editor. In the preparation of the entire manuscript for the press, and of several translations appearing in Parts Four and Five, Herschel Webb has been of great help in the final stages of this project. He has also prepared the chronological tables which precede each major division of the work.

Among the more specific contributions made by individuals in this country and Japan, that of Dr. Abe Masao, a Rockefeller fellow at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary, must be noted for the great care and time which he devoted to problems encountered in translations from *The Problem of Japanese Culture* by Nishida Kitarō. Dr. Kōsaka Masaaki, Dean of the Faculty of Education, Kyoto University,

and a leading authority on Nishida's philosophy, has also been most gracious with his advice in this matter. For help in selecting and obtaining key documents for Chapter XXVIII we are indebted to Dr. Tsuru Shigeto, Visiting Professor at Harvard University; Dr. George O. Totten of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; and Mr. Oka Sumio. Dr. Totten, in particular, was most generous with his time, effort and special knowledge of the Japanese social movement, and contributed the translations from Abe Isoo and Kawai Ejirō. Mr. John F. Howes was responsible for the initial selection of readings from Uchimura Kanzō in the same chapter, and for background material used in the introduction. In the early phases of the project Dr. Minoru Shinoda, now of the University of Hawaii, was a valued assistant to Mr. Tsunoda in the work of translation. Dr. Jansen also wishes to acknowledge the help given him by William Naff and Noboru Hiraga in preparing Chapter XXVII. Others to whom we are indebted for advice or assistance are Professor W. T. Chan of Dartmouth College; Professors Chi-chen Wang, Andrew Yarrow, and Royal Weiler of Columbia; Dr. Burton Watson, Cutting Traveling Fellow in Columbia University, 1956-57; Professor Roger Hackett of Northwestern University; Professor William G. Beasley of the University of London; Dr. Robert Scalapino of the University of California, Berkeley; Rev. J. J. Spae, C.I.C.M.; Mrs. Lien-che Tu Fang; Mr. Richard De Martino; Douglas Overton and Eugene Langston of the Japan Society of New York; and Mr. Howard Linton and the staff of the East Asiatic Library, Columbia University. In the early stages of compiling these readings, Nancy Sherman, Myrtle Hallam, and especially Miwa Kai rendered important services to the editor. To Eileen J. Boecklen thanks must go for her conscientious and capable work in preparing the manuscript for publication. Acknowledgment should also be made of her special contribution in the form of map making. Charles M. Saito handled with great skill the exacting assignment of preparing the chapter decorations. Lastly, Joan McQuary rendered the final editing process a far more pleasant experience than one would have thought possible.

This series of readings has been produced in connection with the Columbia College General Education Program in Oriental Studies, which has been encouraged and supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. For whatever value it may have to the general reader or college student seeking a liberal education that embraces both the East and West,

a great debt is owed to Dean Emeritus Harry J. Carman, Professor James Gutmann, and Dean Lawrence H. Chamberlain of Columbia College. Their foresight and leadership are responsible for the progress that has been made toward reaching a goal long sought by members of the Columbia College faculty. Those who have joined in the preparation of this book know that it is only a beginning to the work that lies ahead, but it is offered nonetheless in tribute to the scholars and teachers who have set us on the road.

*Columbia College
New York City
February, 1958*

WM. THEODORE DE BARY



EXPLANATORY NOTE

In the pronunciation of Japanese words or names, the consonants are read as in English (with "g" always hard) and the vowels as in Italian. There are no silent letters. The name Abe, for instance, is pronounced "Ah-bay." The long vowels "ō" and "ū" are indicated except in the names of cities already well known in the West, such as Tokyo and Kyoto. All romanized terms have been standardized according to the Hepburn system for Japanese, the Wade-Giles for Chinese, and the McCune-Reischauer for Korean. Chinese philosophical terms used in Japanese texts are given in their Japanese readings (e.g., *ri* instead of *li* for "principle," "reason") except where attention is specifically drawn to the Chinese original. Sanskrit words appearing in italics, such as technical terms or titles, are rendered in accordance with the standard system of transliteration as found in Louis Renou's *Grammaire Sanskrite* (Paris, 1930), pp. xi-xiii. Other Sanskrit terms and names appearing in roman letters are rendered according to the usage of Webster's New International Dictionary, 2d edition Unabridged, except that here the macron is used to indicate long vowels and the Sanskrit symbols for ś (ç) and ṣ are uniformly transcribed "sh." Personal names have also been spelled in this manner except when they occur in the titles of works.

Japanese names are rendered here in their Japanese order, with the family name first and the personal name last. Dates given after personal names are those of birth and death except in the case of rulers whose reign dates are preceded by "r." Generally the name by which a person was most commonly known in Japanese tradition is the one used in the text. Since this book is intended for the general reader, rather than the specialist, we have not burdened the text with a list of the alternate names or titles which usually accompany biographical reference to a scholar in Chinese or Japanese historical works. For the same reason, the

sources of translations, given at the beginning of each selection, are rendered as concisely as possible. Full bibliographical data can be obtained from the list of sources at the end of the book. In the reference at the head of each selection, unless otherwise indicated, the author of the book is the writer whose name precedes the selection. Where excerpts have been taken from existing translations, they have usually been adapted and edited to suit our purposes. In particular, unnecessary brackets and footnotes have been suppressed wherever possible, but if essential commentary could be inserted parenthetically in the text, we have preferred to do so rather than add a footnote. Those interested in the full text and annotations may, of course, refer to the original translation cited with each such excerpt. As sources for our own translations we have tried to use standard editions, if such exist, which would be available to other scholars.

W. T. DE B.

CONTENTS

PART ONE: ANCIENT JAPAN, I

<i>Chapter I: The Earliest Records of Japan</i>	3
JAPAN IN THE CHINESE DYNASTIC HISTORIES	5
Accounts of the Eastern Barbarians: History of the Kingdom of Wei, 6; History of the Latter Han Dynasty, 9; History of the Liu Sung Dynasty, 9; History of the Sui Dynasty, 11; New History of the T'ang Dynasty, 12	
THE EARLIEST JAPANESE CHRONICLES	14
From the Preface to Records of Ancient Matters, 14; Birth of the Sun Goddess, 16; The Divine Creation of the Imperial Ancestors, 17; The August Declaration of the Division of the August Children, 19; Descent of the Divine Grandson with the Three Imperial Regalia, 19; His Marriage with the Daughter of the Great Mountain Deity, 20; The Heavenly Grandchild and the Sea-God's Daughter, 21	
<i>Chapter II: Early Shinto</i>	23
LEGENDS CONCERNING SHINTO DEITIES	26
Birth of the Land, 27; Legends Concerning Susa-no-o, 29; Princess Yamato and Prince Plenty, 33; Enshrinement of Amaterasu, 34	
<i>Chapter III: Prince Shōtoku and His Constitution</i>	36
CIVIL STRIFE IN THE LATE SIXTH CENTURY	39
THE REIGN OF SUIKO AND RULE OF SHŌTOKU	44
The Empress Suiko, 45; The Seventeen-Article Constitution of Prince Shōtoku, 49	

<i>Chapter IV: Chinese Thought and Institutions in Early Japan</i>	54
CHINESE-STYLE HISTORY AND THE IMPERIAL CONCEPT	62
Preface to Records of Ancient Matters, 62; The First Emperor, Jimmu, 66; Nintoku: Rule of Benevolence, 68	
THE REFORM ERA	70
Fujiwara Kamatari and the Future Emperor Tenchi, 70; Inauguration of the Great Reform Era, 71; Reform Edicts, 71; The White Pheasant, 78	
The Commentary on the Legal Code: Memorial on the Submission of the Commentary, 81; Regulations for Fitness Reports, 82	
New Compilation of the Register of Families, 87; Preface in the Form of a Memorial to Emperor Saga, 88	
Preface to the Kaifūsō, 90	
<i>Chapter V: Nara Buddhism</i>	93
The Sūtra of the Golden Light, 99; The Protection of the Country by the Four Deva Kings, 100	
The Vimalakīrti Sūtra, 101	
STATE SPONSORSHIP AND CONTROL OF BUDDHISM	106
Proclamation on the Erection of the Great Buddha Image, 106; Two Edicts Concerning Dōkyō, 107; Regulation of Buddhist Orders, 108	
 <i>PART TWO: THE HEIAN PERIOD, 111</i>	
<i>Introduction</i>	113
<i>Chapter VI: Saichō and Mount Hiei</i>	116
The Lotus Sūtra, 120; The Revelation of the Mahāyāna, 121; The Efficacy of the Lotus Sūtra, 127	
SAICHŌ: Vow of Uninterrupted Study of the Lotus Sūtra, 128; A Manifestation of the Discipline, 129; Regulations for Students of the Mountain School, I, 131, II, 133	
<i>Chapter VII: Kūkai and Esoteric Buddhism</i>	137
Kūkai and His Master, 144; The Transmission of the Law, 146	
The Difference between Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism: Introduction, 148	

CONTENTS

xix

The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury: Introduction, 150; Recapitulation of the Ten Stages of Religious Consciousness, 154

Chapter VIII: The Spread of Esoteric Buddhism 156

Prayer of Shirakawa on Offering the Tripiṭaka to Hachiman, 161; Sex and Buddhahood—A Shingon Heresy, 167; Prayers for the Shogun, 169

Chapter IX: The Vocabulary of Japanese Aesthetics I 176

MURASAKI SHIKIBU: On the Art of the Novel, 180

FUJIWARA NO TEIKA: Introduction to the Guide to the Composition of Poetry, 183

PART THREE: MEDIEVAL JAPAN, 185

Introduction 187

Chapter X: Amida and the Pure Land 190

PIONEERS OF PURE LAND BUDDHISM 193

IPPEN: Precepts for Followers of the Timely Teaching, 196; Psalm of the Six Hundred Thousand People, 198

GENSHIN: The Essentials of Salvation, 198

HŌNEN 203

Letter to Tsukinowa's Wife, 205; Declaration on Going into Exile, 207; The One-Page Testament, 208

SHINRAN AND THE TRUE PURE LAND SECT 209

Hymn to the True Faith in the Nembutsu, 212; Selections from the Tannishō, 216

Chapter XI: Nichiren: The Sun and the Lotus 219

Dedication to the Lotus, 222; Condemnation of Hōnen, 223; Warning of Foreign Invasion, 225; Nichiren as a Prophet, 225; A Challenge to Hachiman, 226; The Value of Suffering, 227; Nichiren as the Bodhisattva of Superb Action, 228; His Destiny to Convert Japan, 229; Japan as the Center of Buddhism's Regeneration, 230; Nichiren's Transfiguration, 231

<i>Chapter XII: Zen Buddhism</i>	232
ZEN PIONEERS IN JAPAN	235
EISAI: Propagation of Zen for the Protection of the Country, 241; Drink Tea and Prolong Life, 243	
DŌGEN: Conversations, 246; Sacrifice, 248; True Dedication, 249; Exertion, 249; Realizing the Solution, 251; Sitting and the Kōan, 253; The Importance of Sitting, 253; Body and Mind, 254; Con- tempt for the Scriptures, 255	
MUSŌ KOKUSHI: Reflections upon the Enmity between the Emperor and the Shogun, 256; Sermon at the Opening of Tenryū Monastery, 258; The Vigorous Treatment of Zen, 261	
ZEN AND THE ARTS	261
<i>Chapter XIII: Shinto in Medieval Japan</i>	267
THE EMPRESS SHŌTOKU: Edict on the Great Thanksgiving Festival, 273	
KITABATAKE CHIKAFUSA: Records of the Legitimate Succession of the Divine Sovereigns, 273	
<i>Chapter XIV: The Vocabulary of Japanese Aesthetics II</i>	283
SEAMI: On Attaining the Stage of Yūgen, 288; On the One Mind Linking All Powers, 291; The Nine Stages of the Nō in Order, 292 The Book of the Way of the Highest Flower, 296	
 PART FOUR: THE TOKUGAWA PERIOD, 305	
<i>Introduction</i>	307
<i>Chapter XV: Heroes and Hero Worship</i>	311
ODA NOBUNAGA	311
The Burning of Enryaku Temple, 314; The Introduction of Fire- arms, 317	
TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI	321
Letter to the Viceroy of the Indies, 325; Memorandum on the Korean Expedition, 327; The Sword Collection Edict, 328; Restrictions on Change of Status and Residence, 330	

CONTENTS

xxi

TOKUGAWA IEYASU

331

Laws Governing the Military Households, 335; Military Government and the Social Order, 338; Ieyasu's Secret, 339; Ieyasu and the Arts of Peace, 340; The Sun God of the East, 342

Chapter XVI: Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy

344

FUJIWARA SEIKA AND THE RISE OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM

345

Letter to the Prince of Annam, 347; Ship's Oath, 348; The Common Basis of Confucian Teaching, 349

THE OFFICIAL SCHOOL: THREE GENERATIONS OF THE HAYASHI FAMILY

350

HAYASHI RAZAN: On Mastery of the Arts of Peace and War, 355; The Confucian Way, 356; Essay on the Emperor Jimmu, 357; Conversations with Three Korean Envoys, 360; On Wang Yang-ming, 361

THE SPREAD OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM IN JAPAN

361

YAMAZAKI ANSAI, 363; Principles of Education, 364; Devotion and Righteousness, 366; Lecture Concerning the Chapters on the Divine Age, 367; Anecdotes Concerning Yamazaki Ansai, 369

THE MITO SCHOOL

371

TOKUGAWA TSUNAEDA: Preface to the History of Great Japan, 372

KAIBARA EKKEN AND THE STUDY OF NATURE

374

Precepts for Children, 376

Chapter XVII: The Ōyōmei (Wang Yang-ming) School in Japan

378

NAKAE TŌJU

378

Control of the Mind Is True Learning, 379; The Divine Light in the Mind, 381; The Supreme Lord and God of Life, 382; Filial Piety, 383

KUMAZAWA BANZAN, A SAMURAI REFORMER

384

The Model Samurai, 387; The Development and Distribution of Wealth, 388

Chapter XVIII: The Rediscovery of Confucianism

393

YAMAGA SOKŌ AND THE ORIGINS OF BUSHIDŌ

394

The Way of the Samurai, 398; Short Preface to the Essence of Confucianism, 400; The Sage as the Moral Man, 402; From An Autobiography in Exile, 404

ITÔ JINSAI'S DEVOTION TO CONFUCIUS	410
ITÔ TÔGAI: The Devolution of Confucianism, 412; The Neo-Confucianist's Erroneous View of Human Nature, 415	
ITÔ JINSAI: The Primacy of Confucius and the <i>Analects</i> , 418; Mencius as a Guide to the <i>Analects</i> , 420; Love as the Supreme Virtue, 420; The Life Force as the Ultimate Reality, 421	
OGYŪ SORAI AND THE STUDY OF THE PAST	422
The Confucian Way As a Way of Government, 424; Distortion of the Way through Ignorance of the Past, 426; Conclusion to Discourses on Government, 429; For a Merit System in Government, 430	
MURO KYŪSŌ'S DEFENSE OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM	433
In Defense of Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy, 434; Economics and the Traditional Virtues, 437; The People Should Be As Heaven to the King, 439	
<i>Chapter XIX: The Vocabulary of Japanese Aesthetics III</i>	443
CHIKAMATSU MONZAEMON: On Realism in Art, 446	
<i>Chapter XX: The Haiḱu and the Democracy of Poetry in Japan</i>	450
MATSUO BASHŌ: The Rustic Gate, 458	
KYORAI: Conversations with Bashō, 459	
<i>Chapter XXI: Eighteenth-Century Rationalism</i>	468
THE ENLIGHTENED CONFUCIANISM OF ARAI HAKUSEKI	470
A Critical Approach to Japanese History, 473; A Superstition Concerning Era Names, 475; On the Regulation of Shipping and Trade, 476	
THE HISTORICAL RELATIVISM OF TOMINAGA NAKAMOTO	479
Testament of an Old Man, 483	
MIURA BAIEN'S SEARCH FOR OBJECTIVITY	489
Man's Preconceptions, 492; The Disinterested Study of Nature, 495	
KAIHO SEIRYŌ AND THE LAWS OF ECONOMICS	497
The Law of the Universe: Commodities and Transactions, 499	

CONTENTS

xxiii

THE PROHIBITION OF HETERODOX STUDIES	502
The Kansei Edict, 502; The Justification for the Kansei Edict, 503	

Chapter XXII: The Shinto Revival 506

KADA AZUMAMARO: Petition for the Establishment of a School of National Learning, 510

KAMO MABUCHI: A Study of the Idea of the Nation, 514

MOTOORI NORINAGA: The True Tradition of the Sun Goddess, 520; Wonder, 524; The Error of Rationalism, 527; The Fact of Evil, 529; Good and Evil in the Tale of Genji, 532; Love and Poetry, 535

HIRATA ATSUTANE	540
On Japanese Learning, 542; The Land of the Gods, 544; The Creator God, 545; Dutch Learning, 546; Ancient Japanese Ethics, 547; The Art of Medicine, 548; Life After Death, 549	

Chapter XXIII: Reformers of the Late Tokugawa Period 552

HONDA TOSHIKI AND THE DISCOVERY OF EUROPE	553
Secret Plan for Managing the Country: Shipping, 556; Colonization, 558	

SATŌ NOBUHIRO AND TOTALITARIAN NATIONALISM	561
Preface to the Essence of Economics, 564; The Population Problem, 570; Total Government, 572; Creation and Cultivation, 574; Confidential Plan of World Unification, 575	

NINOMIYA SONTOKU: AGRARIAN REFORM AND COOPERATIVE PLANNING	578
The Repayment of Virtue, 582; The Practice of Repayment, 583; The Way of Nature, 583; The "Pill" of the Three Religions, 584; The Society for the Repayment of Virtue, 586	

PART FIVE: JAPAN AND THE WEST, 589

Chapter XXIV: The Debate Over Seclusion and Restoration 591

THE LATER MITO SCHOOL	592
AIZAWA SEISHISAI: Preface to the New Proposals, 595; The National Polity, 597; The Danger from the West, 600; The Source of Western Unity and Strength, 602	

THE OPENING OF JAPAN FROM WITHIN	603
SAKUMA SHŌZAN: EASTERN ETHICS AND WESTERN SCIENCE	603
Reflections on My Errors, 608	
YOSHIDA SHŌIN AND THE VALUE OF DEATH	616
On Leadership, 618; On Being Direct, 619; Arms and Learning, 619; Facing Death, 620; Selfishness and Heroism, 621	
FUKUZAWA YUKICHI, PIONEER OF WESTERNIZATION	623
Excerpts from His Autobiography, 625	
<i>Chapter XXV: The Meiji Era</i>	638
LEADERS OF THE RESTORATION AND RENOVATION	639
THE ENLIGHTENED RULE OF EMPEROR MEIJI	641
The Charter Oath, 643; The Constitution of 1868, 644; The Imperial Rescript on Education, 646	
KIDO KŌIN AND THE NEW REGIME	647
The Voluntary Surrender of the Feudal Domains, 648; Observations on Returning from the West, 649; The Need for News of the West, 652	
SAIGŌ TAKAMORI AND THE SAMURAI SPIRIT	654
Letters to Itagaki on the Korean Question, 655	
ŌKUBO TOSHIMICHI AND THE KOREAN QUESTION	657
Reasons for Opposing the Korean Expedition, 658	
ITŌ HIROBUMI AND THE CONSTITUTION	662
Memorandum of Ōkubo's Views on Constitutional Government, 665; From an Address on the Constitution, 666; On the Constitution of 1889, 668; Reminiscences on the Drafting of the New Constitution, 671; Speech on the Restoration and Constitutional Government, 676	
ŌKUMA AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY	679
ITAGAKI TAISUKE: Memorial on the Establishment of a Representative Assembly, 683; Address on Liberty, 685	
OZAKI YUKIO: Factions and Parties, 689	
ŌKUMA SHIGENOBU: Suggestions to the Emperor, 690; On the Launch- ing of the Progressive Party, 691; To the Members of the Progress- ive Party, 692; Party Politics and Public Opinion, 694; Education—	

CONTENTS

xxv

A Pluralistic View, 696; Citizenship in the New World, 696; Conclusion to Fifty Years of New Japan, 698

YAMAGATA ARITOMO AND THE ARMY

700

Military Conscription Ordinance, 703; Imperial Precepts to Soldiers and Sailors, 705; Local Self-Government, 708; On the Unity of the Cabinet, 710; Yamagata's Political Faith, 711; Racial Conflict and Japan's Foreign Policy, 713; China and the Twenty-One Demands, 716

Chapter XXVI: The High Tide of Prewar Liberalism

718

DEMOCRACY AT HOME

724

YOSHINO SAKUZŌ: On the Meaning of Constitutional Government, 724

MINOBE TATSUKICHI: Defense of the "Organ" Theory, 746

PEACEFUL COOPERATION ABROAD

753

SHIDEHARA KIJŪRŌ: A Rapprochement with China, 754; International Cooperation and Arms Reduction, 756

YAMAMURO SŌBUN: Call for a Peaceful Japan, 757

Chapter XXVII: The Rise of Revolutionary Nationalism

759

JAPAN AND ASIA

761

An Anniversary Statement by the Amur Society, 762

AGITATION BY ASSASSINATION

766

ASAHI HEIGO: Call for a New "Restoration," 767

THE PLIGHT OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

769

GONDŌ SEIKEI: The Gap between the Privileged Classes and the Commoners, 770

KITA IKKI AND THE REFORM WING OF ULTRANATIONALISM

773

Plan for the Reorganization of Japan, 775

THE CONSERVATIVE REAFFIRMATION

784

Fundamentals of Our National Polity, 785

THE JUSTIFICATION FOR WAR

795

ŌKAWA SHŪMEI: The Way of Japan and the Japanese, 795

HASHIMOTO KINGORŌ: The Need for Emigration and Expansion, 796

THE DECLARATION OF WAR	798
TOKUTOMI ICHIRŌ: Commentary on the Imperial Declaration of War,	798
THE WAR GOAL	801
Draft of Basic Plan for Establishment of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere: Outline of Construction, 801	
<i>Chapter XXVIII: The Japanese Social Movement</i>	806
A Summons to the Workers, 807	
KŌTOKU SHŪSUI: Renunciation of Parliamentary Tactics, 811	
Resolution of the Japan General Federation of Labor, 814	
ABE ISOO: The Second Restoration, 816	
KAWAKAMI HAJIME, 820: A Letter from Prison, 822; Concerning Marxism, 823	
A Change of Direction?—Statement of the Socialist Masses Party, 828	
KAWAI EIJIŌ: Defense of Liberal Socialism, 832	
AKAMATSU KATSUMARO: The Japanese Social Movement in Retrospect, 837	
ŌYAMA IKUO: Japan's Future Course, 839	
<i>Chapter XXIX: The Japanese Tradition in the Modern World</i>	845
UCHIMURA KANZŌ, 847: How I Became a Christian, 848; The Case of Lese Majesty, 852; The Non-Church Movement, 854; Japanese Christianity, 855; "Two I's," 856	
NISHIDA KITARŌ: The Problem of Japanese Culture, 857	
KAWAKAMI HAJIME: Religious Truth and Scientific Truth, 872	
TANAKA KŌTARŌ: In Search of Truth and Peace, 880	
HASEGAWA NYOZEKAN: The Lost Japan and the New Japan, 891	
KAMEI KATSUICHIŌ: Return to the East, 900	
<i>Bibliography</i>	907
<i>Index</i>	915
<i>Maps</i>	
Early Japan, 115; Japan in the Tokugawa Period, 309	

PART ONE

ANCIENT JAPAN

- A.D. 57 Envoy to the Han court from the Japanese kingdom of Nu. (Earliest date in Japanese history from a non-Japanese source.)
c. 260 Conjectural date for founding of the great shrine to the Sun Goddess at Ise.
552 Introduction of Buddhism to Japan.
562 Rising Korean kingdom of Silla destroys Japanese power in Korea.
592-628 Reign of Suiko Tennō. Shōtoku Taishi regent.
594 Buddhism proclaimed the state religion.
602 Kwallōk arrives in Japan, bringing with him books on geomancy and divination.
604 Seventeen-Article Constitution. First official use in Japan of the Chinese calendar.
607 First Japanese embassy to China.
645 Taika reform.
668 Silla becomes paramount in Korea.
672 Temmu Tennō usurps the throne.
702 Taihō code promulgated.

Nara Period

- 710 Establishment of the first permanent capital, Nara.
712 *Records of Ancient Matters (Kojiki)*.
720 *Chronicles of Japan (Nihongi)*.
741 Copies of *Golden Light Sūtra* distributed to all the provinces.
751 *Kaifūsō (Fond Recollections of Poetry)*. First collection of Chinese verse by Japanese poets.
752 Dedication of the Great Buddha at the Tōdai-ji in Nara.
754 The Chinese monk Ganjin establishes an ordination center at the Tōdai-ji in Nara.
764 Shōtoku Tennō resumes the throne and appoints a priest, Dōkyō, to be Prime Minister.
770 Dōkyō's rule brought to an end.
781 Kammu becomes emperor.
788 Saichō founds a temple (the Enryaku-ji) on Mt. Hiei.
794 Heian-kyō (Kyoto) becomes the capital.





CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF JAPAN

The oldest extant annals in Japanese are the *Records of Ancient Matters* (A.D. 712) and the *Chronicles of Japan* (720).¹ Both open with chapters on the mythological Age of the Gods, but little of the material from the ancient Japanese past can be taken seriously as history. It is not until we reach the reign of the Empress Suiko (592-628) that consciously written history became a reality; indeed, the name Suiko itself may be translated "conjecture of the past," and suggests that this posthumous title was bestowed on the empress because the writing of history was considered to be an outstanding event of her reign.

For information about the earlier periods of Japanese history it is usually safer to rely on accounts found in the Chinese dynastic histories than on the native literature. By the time that Japan first came into the ken of the Chinese, the writing of history had left far behind the rather primitive level of the *Book of History* and was approaching a science. In contrast to the highly tendentious and even fictional Japanese descriptions of their early history, the Chinese accounts of Japan, brief as they are, possess comparative reliability, if for no other reason than that the Chinese had no axe to grind with respect to a semicivilized people living at what was for them the end of the world.

According to the *Chronicles of Japan* the foundation of the Japanese empire took place at a date corresponding to 660 B.C., but the first mention of Japan in the Chinese histories occurs only in A.D. 57. At this latter date, Japan, far from being a unified country with a heritage of 700 years of civilization, consisted of more than a hundred scattered tribal communities. Even as late as the Chinese Three Kingdoms Period (220-265) Japan was still divided into some forty communities.

The Chinese histories do not inform us how the people now known as

¹ The *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*.

the Japanese first found their way to the islands. In the absence of positive information on this subject, modern scholars have attempted to expound various theories based on linguistics, archeology, architecture, and a great many criteria, some contending that the Japanese originally came from Southeast Asia, others insisting that they were a northern people. It is probable, however, that the Japanese had diverse origins, with various elements entering from different directions. The main stream of cultural influence came from the continent by way of Korea. It seems likely that when the first Ch'in emperor (247-210 B.C.) unified China and built the Great Wall to prevent the northern barbarians from making incursions on the fertile plains of the Yellow River, it helped to set a definite direction to the migrations of different peoples, eastwards or westwards along the wall. Disturbances resulting from the movement of tribes were at times so severe as to compel the Emperor Wu (r. 140-87 B.C.) of the Han dynasty to send expeditionary forces to restore order. An outpost of the Han empire was established in northern Korea which served as a model of organized government to the surrounding tribes including, possibly, the Japanese.

It may seem surprising that there were Japanese in Korea in the first century A.D., but no fixed boundary appears in fact to have existed at the time between the territories of the Koreans and of the Japanese. A constant eastward migration from northern China to the Korean peninsula and thence to the Japanese archipelago made for a fluidity in the composition of the population. Despite Korean references of the fourth century A.D. to "Japanese invaders," there continued to be Japanese holdings on the continent until A.D. 562 when the Japanese political center in the peninsula was destroyed by the rising power of the Korean kingdom of Silla. As late as A.D. 478 the Japanese emperor was recognized by the Chinese court as being ruler of Korea, although the Japanese emperor in turn proclaimed his fealty to the Chinese sovereign. During the course of the seventh century Silla, with Chinese aid, subjugated the rival kingdoms of Koguryō and Paekche, and unified the peninsula. These successes of the combined forces of Silla and T'ang China drove the Japanese from the continent into the relative isolation of their islands, an event which may have helped to bring about the birth of historical Japan. The rise of powerful dynasties in China and Korea impelled Japan to achieve a unified government if it were not to be overwhelmed.

For an understanding of some important influences upon Japanese thought since the earliest periods of their history, we may turn to the geographical features of the islands. The first Chinese account of Japan opens with the words, "The people of Wa live on mountainous islands in the ocean," and the two elements of water and mountains, together with a kind of sun worship have always been very close to the Japanese. Of course we are likely to find in the religious beliefs of any country worship of the striking or beneficial aspects of nature, but the combination of these three elements is especially characteristic of Japan. The numerous clear streams and the ever present ocean have always delighted the Japanese, as we may tell from their earliest poetry. To their love of water the Japanese have joined a passion for lustration and cleanliness, and in our own day for swimming. The Japanese love of mountains is not surprising in a country renowned for its numerous peaks, especially the incomparable Mt. Fuji, and the worship of the sun is not unnatural in a country blessed with a temperate climate. Today we can still appreciate what an awe-inspiring experience it must have been for the Japanese of any age to stand on the summit of Mt. Fuji and greet the glowing sun as it rose from the waters of the Pacific. Other characteristics of the Japanese found in the early Chinese accounts and which still seem true today include honesty, politeness, gentleness in peace and bravery in war, and a love of liquor.

The Japanese accounts of the birth of the gods and of the foundation of Japan belong of course to the realm of mythology rather than history, but they afford us a glimpse of Japanese attitudes toward life and the universe when civilization was just beginning to glimmer. Also since great importance was attached to these legends by later Japanese, some knowledge of them is indispensable to the study of Japanese thought.

JAPAN IN THE CHINESE DYNASTIC HISTORIES

The following extracts are from the official histories of successive Chinese dynasties beginning with the Latter Han (A.D. 25-220). However, the first of these accounts to be written was that for the Kingdom of Wei (220-265), compiled about A.D. 297. The *History of the Latter Han* was compiled about 445 and incorporates much from the earlier description of the Japanese.

These accounts are contained in a section devoted to the barbarian neigh-

bors of China at the end of each history. Thus they do not occupy a prominent place in these works, being more in the nature of an afterthought or footnote. Particularly in the earlier accounts the information is apt to be scattered and disconnected, and of course is presented by official chroniclers who view Japanese affairs with an eye to Chinese interests and prestige.

Nevertheless, some of the main outlines of Japan's development in these early centuries may be discerned. In the first accounts Japan appears to be a heterogeneous group of communities in contact with China, with one ruling house bidding for Chinese recognition of its supremacy over the others. In one case the influence of the Chinese ambassador is said to have been the decisive factor in settling a dispute over succession to the Yamato throne. The kings of Wa, as the Yamato rulers were known, also made strong claims to military supremacy in Korea which were at times acknowledged by the Chinese court. In the later accounts unification of Japan has progressed noticeably. The sovereignty of the Yamato house has been asserted over hitherto autonomous regions, and its government displays many of the trappings of the Chinese imperial structure. On occasion the Japanese court is rebuked for its pretensions to equality with the Chinese, and even for its hinted superiority, as when the Japanese ruler addressed the Chinese, "The Son of Heaven in the land where the sun rises addresses a letter to the Son of Heaven in the land where the sun sets."

ACCOUNTS OF THE EASTERN BARBARIANS

History of the Kingdom of Wei (Wei Chih) c. A.D. 297

[Adapted from Tsunoda and Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 8-16]

The people of Wa [Japan] dwell in the middle of the ocean on the mountainous islands southeast of [the prefecture of] Tai-fang. They formerly comprised more than one hundred communities. During the Han dynasty, [Wa] envoys appeared at the court; today, thirty of their communities maintain intercourse with us through envoys and scribes. . . .

The land of Wa is warm and mild. In winter as in summer the people live on raw vegetables and go about barefooted. They have [or live in] houses; father and mother, elder and younger, sleep separately. They smear their bodies with pink and scarlet, just as the Chinese use powder. They serve food on bamboo and wooden trays, helping themselves with their fingers. When a person dies, they prepare a single coffin, without an outer one. They cover the graves with earth to make a mound. When death occurs, mourning is observed for more than ten days, during which

period they do not eat meat. The head mourners wail and lament, while friends sing, dance, and drink liquor. When the funeral is over, all members of the family go into the water to cleanse themselves in a bath of purification.

When they go on voyages across the sea to visit China, they always select a man who does not comb his hair, does not rid himself of fleas, lets his clothing get as dirty as it will, does not eat meat, and does not lie with women. This man behaves like a mourner and is known as the "mourning keeper." When the voyage meets with good fortune, they all lavish on him slaves and other valuables. In case there is disease or mishap, they kill him, saying that he was not scrupulous in observing the taboos. . . .

Whenever they undertake an enterprise or a journey and discussion arises, they bake bones and divine in order to tell whether fortune will be good or bad. First they announce the object of divination, using the same manner of speech as in tortoise shell divination; then they examine the cracks made by the fire and tell what is to come to pass.

In their meetings and in their deportment, there is no distinction between father and son or between men and women. They are fond of liquor. In their worship, men of importance simply clap their hands instead of kneeling or bowing. The people live long, some to one hundred and others to eighty or ninety years. Ordinarily, men of importance have four or five wives; the lesser ones, two or three. Women are not loose in morals or jealous. There is no theft, and litigation is infrequent. In case of violation of law, the light offender loses his wife and children by confiscation; as for the grave offender, the members of his household and also his kinsmen are exterminated. There are class distinctions among the people, and some men are vassals of others. Taxes are collected. There are granaries as well as markets in each province, where necessities are exchanged under the supervision of the Wa officials. . . .

When the lowly meet men of importance on the road, they stop and withdraw to the roadside. In conveying messages to them or addressing them, they either squat or kneel, with both hands on the ground. This is the way they show respect. When responding, they say "ah," which corresponds to the affirmative "yes."

The country formerly had a man as ruler. For some seventy or eighty years after that there were disturbances and warfare. Thereupon the

people agreed upon a woman for their ruler. Her name was Pimiko. She occupied herself with magic and sorcery, bewitching the people. Though mature in age, she remained unmarried. She had a younger brother who assisted her in ruling the country. After she became the ruler, there were few who saw her. She had one thousand women as attendants, but only one man. He served her food and drink and acted as a medium of communication. She resided in a palace surrounded by towers and stockades, with armed guards in a state of constant vigilance. . . .

In the sixth month of the second year of Ching-ch'u [A.D. 238], the Queen of Wa sent the grandee Nashonmi and others to visit the prefecture [of Tai-fang], where they requested permission to proceed to the Emperor's court with tribute. The Governor, Liu Hsia, dispatched an officer to accompany the party to the capital. In answer to the Queen of Wa, an edict of the Emperor, issued in the twelfth month of the same year, said as follows: "Herein we address Pimiko, Queen of Wa, whom we now officially call a friend of Wei. The Governor of Tai-fang, Liu Hsia, has sent a messenger to accompany your vassal, Nashonmi, and his lieutenant, Tsushi Gori. They have arrived here with your tribute, consisting of four male slaves and six female slaves, together with two pieces of cloth with designs, each twenty feet in length. You live very far away across the sea; yet you have sent an embassy with tribute. Your loyalty and filial piety we appreciate exceedingly. We confer upon you, therefore, the title 'Queen of Wa Friendly to Wei,' together with the decoration of the gold seal with purple ribbon. The latter, properly encased, is to be sent to you through the Governor. We expect you, O Queen, to rule your people in peace and to endeavor to be devoted and obedient." . . .

When Pimiko passed away, a great mound was raised, more than a hundred paces in diameter. Over a hundred male and female attendants followed her to the grave. Then a king was placed on the throne, but the people would not obey him. Assassination and murder followed; more than one thousand were thus slain.

A relative of Pimiko named Iyo, a girl of thirteen, was [then] made queen and order was restored. Cheng [the Chinese ambassador] issued a proclamation to the effect that Iyo was the ruler. Then Iyo sent a delegation of twenty under the grandee Yazaku, General of the Imperial Guard, to accompany Cheng home [to China]. The delegation visited the

capital and presented thirty male and female slaves. It also offered to the court five thousand white gems and two pieces of carved jade, as well as twenty pieces of brocade with variegated designs.

History of the Latter Han Dynasty (Hou Han Shu) c. A.D. 445
[Adapted from Tsunoda and Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 1-3]

The Wa dwell on mountainous islands southeast of Han [Korea] in the middle of the ocean, forming more than one hundred communities. From the time of the overthrow of Chao-hsien [northern Korea] by Emperor Wu [r. 140-87 B.C.], nearly thirty of these communities have held intercourse with the Han (Chinese) court by envoys or scribes. Each community has its king, whose office is hereditary. The King of Great Wa resides in the country of Yamadai. . . .

In the second year of the Chien-wu Chung-yüan era [A.D. 57], the Wa country Nu sent an envoy with tribute who called himself *ta-fu*. This country is located in the southern extremity of the Wa country. Emperor Kuang-wu bestowed on him a seal. . . .

During the reigns of Huan-ti [147-168] and Ling-ti [168-189] the country of Wa was in a state of great confusion, war and conflict raging on all sides. For a number of years, there was no ruler. Then a woman named Pimiko appeared. Remaining unmarried, she occupied herself with magic and sorcery and bewitched the populace. Thereupon they placed her on the throne. She kept one thousand female attendants, but few people saw her. There was only one man who was in charge of her wardrobe and meals and acted as the medium of communication. She resided in a palace surrounded by towers and stockade, with the protection of armed guards. The laws and customs were strict and stern.

History of the Liu Sung Dynasty (Sung Shu) c. A.D. 513
[Adapted from Tsunoda and Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 23-24]

The following extract is preceded by an account of four successive Japanese rulers who asked to be confirmed in their titles by the Chinese court. One of these titles was "Generalissimo Who Maintains Peace in the East Commanding with Battle-Ax All Military Affairs in the Six Countries of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Chin-han and Mok-han." Wa refers to Japan, and the other five names

to states comprising most of the Korean peninsula. On at least two occasions in the fifth century the Chinese court, while accepting the fealty of the Japanese "king," confirmed his claim to military supremacy in Korea. . . .

Kō died and his brother, Bu,¹ came to the throne. Bu, signing himself King of Wa, Generalissimo Who Maintains Peace in the East Commanding with Battle-Ax All Military Affairs in the Seven Countries of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Kala, Chin-han, and Mok-han, in the second year of Sheng-ming, Shun-ti's reign [478], sent an envoy bearing a memorial which read as follows: "Our land is remote and distant; its domains lie far out in the ocean. From of old our forebears have clad themselves in armor and helmet and gone across the hills and waters, sparing no time for rest. In the east, they conquered fifty-five countries of hairy men; and in the west, they brought to their knees sixty-six countries of various barbarians. Crossing the sea to the north, they subjugated ninety-five countries. The way of government is to keep harmony and peace; thus order is established in the land. Generation after generation, without fail, our forebears have paid homage to the court. Your subject, ignorant though he is, is succeeding to the throne of his predecessors and is fervently devoted to your Sovereign Majesty. Everything he commands is at your imperial disposal. In order to go by way of Paekche, far distant though it is, we prepared ships and boats. Koguryō,² however, in defiance of law, schemed to capture them. Borders were raided, and murder was committed repeatedly. Consequently we were delayed every time and missed favorable winds. We attempted to push on, but when the way was clear, Koguryō was rebellious. My deceased father became indignant at the marauding foe who blocked our way to the sovereign court. Urged on by a sense of justice, he gathered together a million archers and was about to launch a great campaign. But because of the death of my father and brother, the plan that had been matured could not be carried out at the last moment. Mourning required the laying down of arms. Inaction does not bring victory. Now, however, we again set our armor in array and carry out the wish of our elders. The fighting men are in high mettle; civil and military officials are ready; none have fear of sword or fire.

"Your Sovereign virtue extends over heaven and earth. If through it we can crush this foe and put an end to our troubles, we shall ever

¹ Emperor Yūryaku, 456-479.

² State in North Korea.

continue loyally to serve [Your Majesty]. I therefore beg you to appoint me as supreme commander of the campaign, with the status of minister, and to grant to others [among my followers] ranks and titles, so that loyalty may be encouraged."

By imperial edict, Bu was made King of Wa and Generalissimo Who Maintains Peace in the East Commanding with Battle-Ax all Military Affairs in the Six Countries of Wa, Silla, Imna, Kala, Chin-han, and Mok-han.

History of the Sui Dynasty (Sui Shu) c. A.D. 630

[Adapted from Tsunoda and Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 29-32]

During the twenty years of the K'ai-huang era (581-600), the King of Wa, whose family name was Ame and personal name Tarishihoko, and who bore the title of Ahakomi, sent an envoy to visit the court. The Emperor ordered the appropriate official to make inquiries about the manners and customs [of the Wa people]. The envoy reported thus: "The King of Wa deems heaven to be his elder brother and the sun, his younger. Before break of dawn he attends the court, and, sitting cross-legged, listens to appeals. Just as soon as the sun rises, he ceases these duties, saying that he hands them over to his brother." Our just Emperor said that such things were extremely senseless,¹ and he admonished [the King of Wa] to alter [his ways].

[According to the envoy's report], the King's spouse is called Kemi. Several hundred women are kept in the inner chambers of the court. The heir apparent is known as Rikamitahori. There is no special palace. There are twelve grades of court officials. . . .

There are about 100,000 households. It is customary to punish murder, arson, and adultery with death. Thieves are made to make restitution in accordance with the value of the goods stolen. If the thief has no property with which to make payment, he is taken to be a slave. Other offenses are punished according to their nature—sometimes by banishment and sometimes by flogging. In the prosecution of offenses by the court, the knees of those who plead not guilty are pressed together by placing them

¹ According to Chinese tradition a virtuous ruler showed his conscientiousness by attending to matters of state the first thing in the morning. Apparently the Japanese emperor was carrying this to a ridiculous extreme by disposing of state business before dawn.

between pieces of wood, or their heads are sawed with the stretched string of a strong bow. Sometimes pebbles are put in boiling water and both parties to a dispute made to pick them out. The hand of the guilty one is said to become inflamed. Sometimes a snake is kept in a jar, and the accused ordered to catch it. If he is guilty, his hand will be bitten. The people are gentle and peaceful. Litigation is infrequent and theft seldom occurs.

As for musical instruments, they have five-stringed lyres and flutes. Both men and women paint marks on their arms and spots on their faces and have their bodies tattooed. They catch fish by diving into the water. They have no written characters and understand only the use of notched sticks and knotted ropes. They revere Buddha and obtained Buddhist scriptures from Paekche. This was the first time that they came into possession of written characters. They are familiar with divination and have profound faith in shamans, both male and female. . . .

Both Silla and Paekche consider Wa to be a great country, replete with precious things, and they pay her homage. Envoys go back and forth from time to time.

In the third year of Ta-yeh [607], King Tarishihoko sent an envoy to the court with tribute. The envoy said: "The King has heard that to the west of the ocean a Bodhisattva of the Sovereign reveres and promotes Buddhism. For that reason he has sent an embassy to pay his respects. Accompanying the embassy are several tens of monks who have come to study Buddhism." [The envoy brought] an official message which read: "The Son of Heaven in the land where the sun rises addresses a letter to the Son of Heaven in the land where the sun sets. We hope you are in good health." When the Emperor saw this letter, he was displeased and told the official in charge of foreign affairs that this letter from the barbarians was discourteous, and that such a letter should not again be brought to his attention.

*New History of the T'ang Dynasty (Hsin T'ang Shu)*¹

[Adapted from Tsunoda and Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, pp. 38-40]

Japan in former times was called Wa-nu. It is 24,000 *li* distant from our capital, situated to the southeast of Silla in the middle of the ocean.

¹ Compiled in the eleventh century on the basis of earlier materials relating to the T'ang dynasty, 618-906.

It is five months' journey to cross Japan from east to west, and a three months' journey from south to north. There are no castles or stockades in that country, only high walls built by placing timbers together. The roofs are thatched with grass. There are over fifty islets there, each with a name of its own, but all under the sovereignty of Japan. A high official is stationed to have surveillance over these communities.

As for the inhabitants the women outnumber the men. The people are literate and revere the teachings of Buddha. In the government there are twelve official ranks. The family name of the King is Ame. The Japanese say that from their first ruler, known as Ame-no-minaka-nushi, to Hikonagi, there were altogether thirty-two generations of rulers, all bearing the title of *mikoto* and residing in the palace of Tsukushi. Upon the enthronement of Jimmu, son of Hikonagi, the title was changed to *tennō* and the palace was moved to the province of Yamato. . . .

In the fifth year of Chen-kuan [631], the Japanese sent an embassy to pay a visit to the court. In appreciation of this visit from such a distance, the sovereign gave orders to the official concerned not to insist on yearly tribute. . . .

At this time, Silla was being harassed by Koguryō and Paekche. Emperor Kao Tsung sent a sealed rescript to Japan ordering the King to send reinforcements to succor Silla. But after a short time, King Kōtoku died [654] and his son Ame-no-toyo-takara was enthroned. Then he also died, and his son Tenchi was enthroned. In the following year [663] an envoy came to the court accompanied by some Ainus. The Ainus also dwell on those islands. The beards of the Ainus were four feet long. They carried arrows at their necks, and without ever missing would shoot a gourd held on the head of a person standing several tens of steps away.

Then Tenchi died [671] and his son, Temmu, came to the throne. He died, and his son Sōji was enthroned.

In the first year of Hsien-heng [670] an embassy came to the court from Japan to offer congratulations upon the conquest of Koguryō. About this time, the Japanese who had studied Chinese came to dislike the name Wa and changed it to Nippon. According to the words of the Japanese envoy himself, that name was chosen because the country was so close to where the sun rises. Some say [on the other hand], that Nippon was a small country which had been subjugated by the Wa, and that the latter took over its name. As this envoy was not truthful, doubt still remains. Be-

sides the envoy was boastful, and he said that the domains of his country were many thousands of square *li* and extended to the ocean on the south and on the west. In the northeast, he said, the country was bordered by mountain ranges beyond which lay the land of the hairy men.

THE EARLIEST JAPANESE CHRONICLES

The great native chronicles of early Japan, the *Records of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*) and *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihongi*), were compiled as late as the first decades of the eighth century A.D., when Japanese writers were already strongly influenced by Chinese traditions.¹ It is therefore difficult to distinguish any pure native traditions in these works or any reliable account of Japan's early history. Many of the events described are anachronistic, and many of the legends are selected with a view to confirming the religious or political claims of the ruling dynasty. The emphasis on ancestry is already quite apparent, though other evidence indicates that family genealogies were in a very confused state before the introduction of writing and the Chinese practice of compiling genealogical records (see Chapter IV).

Passages betraying significant Chinese influence are included elsewhere. The following excerpts from the translations of Chamberlain and Aston are selected to show what seem to be the most unsystematic and unsophisticated of legends dealing with the Age of the Gods and the founding of the dynasty. Especially evident are the great number of gods, their close association with natural phenomena, and the near-chaos of the supernatural world. It should be noted that in the creation of the imperial line gods representing the Sun, Mountains and the Sea each made an important contribution.

From the Preface to *Records of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*)

[Adapted from Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, pp. 11-13]

Hereupon, regretting the errors in the old words, and wishing to correct the misstatements in the former chronicles, [the Empress Gemmyō], on the eighteenth day of the ninth moon of the fourth year of Wadō [November 3, 711], commanded me Yasumaro to select and record the old words, learned by heart by Hieda no Are according to the imperial decree, and dutifully to lift them up to Her.

In reverent obedience to the contents of the decree, I have made a

¹ Footnotes to translations from the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, unless otherwise identified, are those of Chamberlain and Aston respectively, in some cases abbreviated or adapted to the usage in this text. [Ed.]

careful choice. But in high antiquity both speech and thought were so simple, that it would be difficult to arrange phrases and compose periods in the characters.² To relate everything in an ideographic transcription would entail an inadequate expression of the meaning; to write altogether according to the phonetic method would make the story of events unduly lengthy.³ For this reason have I sometimes in the same sentence used the phonetic and ideographic systems conjointly, and have sometimes in one matter used the ideographic record exclusively. Moreover where the drift of the words was obscure, I have by comments elucidated their signification; but need it be said that I have nowhere commented on what was easy? . . . Altogether the things recorded commence with the separation of Heaven and Earth, and conclude with the august reign at Oharida.⁴ So from the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven down to His Augustness Prince-Wave-Limit-Brave-Cormorant-Thatch-Meeting-Incompletely makes the First Volume; from the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko down to the august reign of Homuda makes the Second Volume; from the Emperor Ō-Sazaki down to the great palace of Oharida makes the Third Volume.⁵ Altogether I have written Three Volumes, which I reverently and respectfully present. I, Yasumaro, with true trembling and true fear, bow my head, bow my head.

Reverently presented by the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the First Class of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit, on the 28th day of the first moon of the fifth year of Wadō [March 10, 712].

² That is, the simplicity of speech and thought in early Japan renders it too hard a task to rearrange the old documents committed to memory by Are in such a manner as to make them conform to the rules of Chinese style.

³ That is, if I adopted in its entirety the Chinese ideographic method of writing, I should often fail of giving a true impression of the nature of the original documents. If, on the other hand, I consistently used the Chinese characters, syllable by syllable, as phonetic symbols for Japanese sounds, this work would attain to inordinate proportions, on account of the great length of the polysyllabic Japanese as compared with the monosyllabic Chinese.

⁴ That is, commence with the creation, and end with the death of the Empress Suiko (A.D. 628), who resided at Oharida.

⁵ Kamu-Yamato-Ihare-Biko is the proper native Japanese name of the emperor commonly known by the Chinese "canonical name" of Jimmu. Homuda is part of the native Japanese name of the Emperor Ōjin. Ō-Sazaki is the native Japanese name of the Emperor Nintoku.

Birth of the Sun Goddess

Note that in this account from the *Nihongi* the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, is identified not as the first of the gods or as the creator of the world, but simply as one among many offspring of the primal pair, Izanagi and Izanami.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 18-20]

Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto consulted together, saying: "We have now produced the Great-eight-island country, with the mountains, rivers, herbs, and trees. Why should we not produce someone who shall be lord of the universe?" They then together produced the Sun Goddess, who was called Ō-hiru-me no muchi.¹

(Called in one writing Amaterasu no Ō kami.²)

(In one writing she is called Amaterasu-ō-hiru-me no Mikoto.³)

The resplendent luster of this child shone throughout all the six quarters.⁴ Therefore the two Deities rejoiced, saying: "We have had many children, but none of them have been equal to this wondrous infant. She ought not to be kept long in this land, but we ought of our own accord to send her at once to Heaven, and entrust to her the affairs of Heaven."

At this time Heaven and Earth were still not far separated, and therefore they sent her up to Heaven by the ladder of Heaven.

They next produced the Moon-god.

(Called in one writing Tsuki-yumi⁵ no Mikoto, or Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto.)

His radiance was next to that of the Sun in splendor. This God was to be the consort of the Sun-Goddess, and to share in her government. They therefore sent him also to Heaven.

Next they produced the leech-child, which even at the age of three years could not stand upright. They therefore placed it in the rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven, and abandoned it to the winds.

Their next child was Sosa no o no Mikoto.⁶

(Called in one writing Kami Sosa-no-o no Mikoto or Haya Sosa-no-o no Mikoto.⁷)

¹ Great-noon-female-of-possessor.

² Heaven-illumine-of-great-deity.

³ Heaven-illumine-great-noon-female-of-augustness.

⁴ North, South, East, West, Above, Below.

⁵ Yumi means bow; yomi, darkness. Neither is inappropriate as applied to the moon.

⁶ Better known as Susa no o, a god particularly associated with the Izumo people, who was probably relegated to a subordinate role when these people were displaced or eclipsed in power by the Yamato group. [Ed.]

⁷ Kami, deity; haya, quick.

This God had a fierce temper and was given to cruel acts. Moreover he made a practice of continually weeping and wailing. So he brought many of the people of the land to an untimely end. Again he caused green mountains to become withered. Therefore the two Gods, his parents, addressed Sosa no o no Mikoto, saying: "Thou art exceedingly wicked, and it is not meet that thou shouldst reign over the world. Certainly thou must depart far away to the Nether-land." So they at length expelled him.

The Divine Creation of the Imperial Ancestors

In the following excerpt from the *Kojiki* it should be observed that the divine offspring from which the imperial line is traced were the joint creation of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, and Susa-no-o, the unruly storm god. They were actually produced from the mouth of Susa-no-o after he had chewed up the ornaments of Amaterasu, but she claimed them as her own on the ground that the seed or stuff of which they were made came from her. Thus the ordinary male and female functions are reversed in establishing the genetic relationship, which gives priority to the Sun Goddess but suggests the absorption of Susa-no-o's power into the imperial line.

[Adapted from Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, pp. 45-49]

So thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness (Susa-no-o) said: "If that be so, I will take leave of the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity (Amaterasu),¹ and depart." [With these words] he forthwith went up to Heaven, whereupon all the mountains and rivers shook, and every land and country quaked. So the Heaven-Shining-Deity, alarmed at the noise, said: "The reason of the ascent hither of His Augustness my elder brother is surely no good intent. It is only that he wishes to wrest my land from me." And she forthwith, unbinding her august hair, twisted it into august bunches; and both into the left and into the right august bunch, as likewise into her august head-dress and likewise on to her left and her right august arm, she twisted an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long] of five hundred jewels; and, slinging on her back a quiver holding a thousand [arrows], and adding [thereto] a quiver holding five hundred [arrows], she likewise took and slung at her side a mighty and high [-sounding] elbow-pad, and brandished and stuck her bow upright so that the top shook; and she stamped her feet into the hard ground up to her opposing thighs, kicking away [the earth] like

¹ In what follows, the names of deities appearing frequently in these accounts are standardized and given an abbreviated translation or transliteration in place of the full title. [Ed.]

rotten snow, and stood valiantly like unto a mighty man, and waiting, asked: "Wherefore ascendest thou hither?" Then Susa-no-o replied, saying: "I have no evil intent. It is only that when the Great-August-Deity [our father] spoke, deigning to enquire the cause of my wailing and weeping, I said: 'I wail because I wish to go to my deceased mother's land'; whereupon the Great-August-Deity said: 'Thou shalt not dwell in this land,' and deigned to expel me with a divine expulsion. It is therefore, solely with the thought of taking leave of thee and departing, that I have ascended hither. I have no strange intentions." Then the Heaven-Shining-Deity said: "If that be so, whereby shall I know the sincerity of thine intentions?" Thereupon Susa-no-o replied, saying: "Let each of us swear, and produce children." So as they then swore to each other from the opposite banks of the Tranquil River of Heaven, the august names of the Deities that were born from the mist [of her breath] when, having first begged Susa-no-o to hand her the ten-grasp saber which was girded on him and broken it into three fragments, and with the jewels making a jingling sound having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool-Well of Heaven, and having crunchingly crunched them, the Heaven-Shining-Deity blew them away, were Her Augustness Torrent-Mist-Princess, another august name for whom is Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Island-of-the-Offing; next Her Augustness Lovely-Island-Princess, another august name for whom is Her Augustness Good-Princess; next Her Augustness Princess-of-the-Torrent. The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when, having begged the Heaven-Shining-Deity to hand him the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long] of five hundred jewels that was twisted in the left august bunch [of her hair], and with the jewels making a jingling sound having brandished and washed them in the True-Pool-Well of Heaven, and having crunchingly crunched them, Susa-no-o blew them away, was His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears. The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted in the right august bunch [of her hair], and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Ame-no-hohi. The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted in her august head-dress, and

having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Heaven. The august name of the Deity that was born from the mist [of his breath] when again, having begged her to hand him the jewels that were twisted on her left august arm, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His Augustness Prince-Lord-of-Life. The august name of the Deity that was born from the jewels that were twisted on her right august arm, and having crunchingly crunched them, he blew them away, was His-Wondrous-Augustness-of-Kumanu. [Five Deities in all.]

The August Declaration of the Division of the August Male Children and the August Female Children

[Adapted from Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, pp. 49-50]

Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Deity said to Susa-no-o: "As for the seed of the five male Deities born last, their birth was from things of mine; so undoubtedly they are my children. As for the seed of the three female Deities born first, their birth was from a thing of thine; so doubtless they are thy children." Thus did she declare the division.

Descent of the Divine Grandson with the Three Imperial Regalia

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 76-77]

"All the Central Land of Reed-Plains is now completely tranquilized." Now the Heaven-Shining-Deity gave command, saying: "If that be so, I will send down my child." She was about to do so, when in the meantime, an August Grandchild was born, whose name was called Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto. Her son represented to her that he wished the August Grandchild to be sent down in his stead. Therefore the Heaven-Shining-Deity gave to Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-no-ninigi no Mikoto the Three Treasures, viz. the curved jewel of Yasaka gem, the eight-hand mirror, and the sword Kusanagi, and joined to him as his attendants Ame no Koyane no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Naka-tomi; Futo-dama no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Imbe; Ame no Uzume no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the Sarume; Ishi-kori-dome no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the mirror-makers; and Tamaya no Mikoto, the first ancestor of the jewel-

makers; in all Gods of five *be*.¹ Then she commanded her August Grandchild, saying: "This Reed-plain-1500-autumns-fair-rice-ear Land is the region which my descendants shall be lords of. Do thou, my August Grandchild, proceed thither and govern it. Go! and may prosperity attend thy dynasty, and may it, like Heaven and Earth, endure for ever."

His Marriage with the Daughter of the Great Mountain Deity

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 70-71]

Then Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto took the coverlet which was on his true couch, and casting it over his August Grandchild, Ama-tsu-hiko-hiko-ho-ninigi no Mikoto, made him to descend. So the August Grandchild left his Heavenly Rock-seat, and with an awful path-cleaving, clove his way through the eight-fold clouds of Heaven, and descended on the Peak of Takachiho of So² in Hyūga.

After this the manner of the progress of the August Grandchild was as follows: From the Floating Bridge of Heaven on the twin summits of Kushibi, he took his stand on a level part of the floating sand-bank. Then he traversed the desert land of Sojishi from the Hill of Hitao in his search for a country, until he came to Cape Kasasa, in Ata-no-nagaya. A certain man of that land appeared and gave his name as Koto-katsukuni-katsu Nagasa. The August Grandchild inquired of him, saying: "Is there a country, or not?" He answered, and said: "There is here a country, I pray thee roam through it at thy pleasure." The August Grandchild therefore went there and took up his abode. Now there was a fair maid in that land whose name was Ka-ashi-tsu-hime.

(Also called Kami Ata-tsu-hime or Ko no hana no saku-ya-hime.)

The August Grandchild inquired of this fair maid, saying: "Whose daughter art thou?" She answered and said: "Thy handmaiden is the child of a Heavenly Deity by his marriage with the Great Mountain Deity."³

The August Grandchild accordingly favored her, whereupon in one night she became pregnant.

¹ *be*—hereditary guilds or corporations of craftsmen. [Ed.]

² It is this word which forms the second part of Kumaso, the general name of the tribes which inhabited the south of Kyushu.

³ Ō-yama-tsu-mi Kami.

The Heavenly Grandchild and the Sea-God's Daughter[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 92-95]

The elder brother Ho-no-susori no Mikoto had by nature a sea-gift; the younger brother Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto had by nature a mountain-gift.⁴ In the beginning the two brothers, the elder and the younger, conversed together, saying: "Let us for a trial exchange gifts." They eventually exchanged them, but neither of them gained aught by doing so. The elder brother repented his bargain, and returned to the younger brother his bow and arrows, asking for his fish-hook to be given back to him. But the younger brother had already lost the elder brother's fish-hook, and there was no means of finding it. He accordingly made another new hook which he offered to his elder brother. But his elder brother refused to accept it, and demanded the old hook. The younger brother, grieved at this, forthwith took his cross-sword and forged from it new fish-hooks, which he heaped up in a winnowing tray, and offered to his brother. But his elder brother was wroth, and said: "These are not my old fish-hook: though they are many, I will not take them." And he continued repeatedly to demand it vehemently. Therefore Hiko-hoho-demi's grief was exceedingly profound, and he went and made moan by the shore of the sea. There he met Shiho-tsutsu⁵ no Oji. The old man inquired of him saying: "Why dost thou grieve here?" He answered and told him the matter from first to last. The old man said: "Grieve no more. I will arrange this matter for thee." So he made a basket without interstices, and placing in it Hoho-demi no Mikoto, sank it in the sea. Forthwith he found himself at a pleasant strand, where he abandoned the basket, and, proceeding on his way, suddenly arrived at the palace of the Sea-God. This palace was provided with battlements and turrets, and had stately towers. Before the gate there was a well, and over the well there grew a many-branched cassia-tree, with wide-spreading boughs and leaves. Now Hiko-hoho-demi went up to the foot of this tree and loitered about. After some time a beautiful woman appeared, and, pushing open the door, came forth. She at length took a jewel-vessel and approached. She was about to draw water, when, raising her eyes, she saw

⁴ A talent for fishing and a talent for hunting. The two brothers were the twin offspring of the August Grandchild and the daughter of the Great Mountain Deity. [Ed.]

⁵ Salt-sea-elder.

him, and was alarmed. Returning within, she spoke to her father and mother, saying: "There is a rare stranger at the foot of the tree before the gate." The God of the Sea thereupon prepared an eight-fold cushion and led him in. When they had taken their seats, he inquired of him the object of his coming. Then Hiko-hoho-demi explained to him in reply all the circumstances. The Sea-God accordingly assembled the fishes, both great and small, and required of them an answer. They all said: "We know not. Only the Red-woman⁶ has had a sore mouth for some time past and has not come." She was therefore peremptorily summoned to appear, and on her mouth being examined the lost hook was actually found.

After this, Hiko-hoho-demi took to wife the Sea-God's daughter, Toyo-tama⁷-hime, and dwelt in the sea-palace. . . . When the Heavenly Grandchild was about to set out on his return journey, Toyo-tama-hime addressed him, saying: "Thy handmaiden is already pregnant, and the time of her delivery is not far off. On a day when the winds and waves are raging, I will surely come forth to the sea-shore, and I pray thee that thou wilt make for me a parturition house, and await me there." . . .

After this Toyo-tama-hime fulfilled her promise, and, bringing with her her younger sister, Tama-yori-hime, bravely confronted the winds and waves, and came to the sea-shore. When the time of her delivery was at hand, she besought Hiko-hoho-demi, saying: "When thy handmaiden is in travail, I pray thee do not look upon her." However, the Heavenly Grandchild could not restrain himself, but went secretly and peeped in. Now Toyo-tama-hime was just in childbirth, and had changed into a dragon. She was greatly ashamed, and said: "Hadst thou not disgraced me, I would have made the sea and land communicate with each other, and forever prevented them from being sundered. But now that thou hast disgraced me, wherewithal shall friendly feelings be knit together?" So she wrapped the infant in rushes, and abandoned it on the sea-shore. Then she barred the sea-path, and passed away. Accordingly the child was called Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-aezu⁸ no Mikoto.

A long time after, Hiko-hoho-demi no Mikoto died, and was buried in the imperial mound on the summit of Mount Takaya in Hyūga.

⁶ Aka-me, a name of the Tai (pagrus).

⁷ Rich-jewel.

⁸ Prince-beach-brave-cormorant-rush-thatch-unfinished.



CHAPTER II

EARLY SHINTO

Western scholars, intrigued by what they imagined to be the indigenous nature of Shinto, from the early days of the opening of Japan devoted considerable attention to this religion. By the turn of the century there were scholars from the important Western nations studying what has been termed the "National Faith of Japan," in the hope of discovering in it an explanation of Japanese characteristics long obscured to foreigners by the self-imposed isolation of the country. Strictly speaking, however, Shinto was not an indigenous religion, for the Japanese were not the first inhabitants of the islands, and their religion apparently came with them from elsewhere. Shamanistic and animistic practices similar to those of Shinto have also been found throughout Northeast Asia, especially in Korea, and we thus cannot say of Shinto that it is a purely Japanese faith.

Shinto was diverse in its origins and remained an aggregate of heterogeneous cults well into historical times. Its failure to develop into a unified religion resulted largely from the natural features of Japan and a strong sense of regionalism among the people. The numerous tribal communities living in the river basins held to their own beliefs even after the unified control of the central government began to assert its authority early in the seventh century.

The objects of worship in all Shinto cults were known as *kami*, a term for which it is difficult to find any translation. A famous student of Shinto, Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), wrote:

I do not yet understand the meaning of the term *kami*. Speaking in general, however, it may be said that *kami* signifies, in the first place, the deities of heaven and earth that appear in the ancient records and also the spirits of the shrines where they are worshipped.

It is hardly necessary to say that it includes human beings. It also includes such objects as birds, beasts, trees, plants, seas, mountains, and so forth. In ancient usage, anything whatsoever which was outside the ordinary, which possessed superior power, or which was awe-inspiring was called *kami*. Emi-

nence here does not refer merely to the superiority of nobility, goodness, or meritorious deeds. Evil and mysterious things, if they are extraordinary and dreadful, are called *kami*. It is needless to say that among human beings who are called *kami* the successive generations of sacred emperors are all included. The fact that emperors are also called "distant *kami*" is because, from the standpoint of common people, they are far-separated, majestic, and worthy of reverence. In a lesser degree we find, in the present as well as in ancient times, human beings who are *kami*. Although they may not be accepted throughout the whole country, yet in each province, each village, and each family there are human beings who are *kami*, each one according to his own proper position. The *kami* of the divine age were for the most part human beings of that time and, because the people of that time were all *kami*, it is called the Age of the Gods (*kami*).¹

Primitive Shinto embraced cults of exceedingly diverse origins, including animism, shamanism, fertility cults, and the worship of nature, ancestors, and heroes. In the course of time the distinctions between these various cults tended to disappear. The Sun Goddess, for instance, became the chief deity not only of nature worshipers, but also of ancestor worshipers as well. She was also considered to be the dispenser of fertility and of the fortunes of the nation. Similarly, an object of animistic worship could assume the role of a fertility god or a shamanistic deity, or even pose as the ancestor of the land on which a community lived. Before Shinto could become the "national faith" of Japan, however, it had to be bolstered successively by the philosophical and religious concepts of Han Confucianism, Esoteric Buddhism, Neo-Confucianism, and, finally, Christianity. The forms which these influences took will be discussed in later chapters; in the early period with which we are here concerned, Shinto was still a primitive and almost inarticulate group of cults.

The oldest center of Shinto worship was that of the Izumo Shrine on the Japan Sea coast, and thus close to the Korean peninsula, by way of which continental civilization had reached Japan. The Kashima and Katori shrines in the Tone River basin to the north for a long time marked the frontier between the lands of the Japanese and those of the less civilized aborigines. The shrine at Ise, that of the Sun Goddess, came to be the most important, and it was there that various symbols of the imperial power were displayed.

¹ Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan*, pp. 23-24.

The buildings of the shrines were architecturally very simple. They consisted generally of a single room (although it was sometimes partitioned), raised from the ground and entered by steps at the side or front. It was invariably of wood, with whole tree-trunks used for beams. A mirror or a sword might be enshrined within, but often the building served merely as a place where the *kami*, visible or invisible, might be worshiped.

Outside the main building of the shrine two other architectural features usually may be found, a gateway called a *torii*, and a water basin where the mouth and hands of worshipers may be washed. The characteristic Japanese insistence on cleanliness finds its expression in many forms. Two important acts of worship at Shinto shrines, the *harai* and the *misogi*, both reflect this tendency. The former apparently originated in the airing of the cave or pit dwellings of prehistoric times, and came to refer to both the sweeping out of a house and the special rites of chasing out evil spirits; the latter refers to the washing of the body, an act of increasingly spiritual significance. In addition to these formal acts of religion, there were formulas, prayers, and ritual practices associated with almost all human activities (but especially in the arts and crafts), whereby divine power was invoked to assure success.

Worship at a Shinto shrine consisted of "attendance" and "offering." "Attendance" meant not only being present and giving one's attention to the object of worship, but often also performing ceremonial dances or joining in processions, which have always been an important part of Shinto ritual. The offerings usually consisted of the first-born of a household, the first fruits of the season or the first catch from the water, but might also include booty of war, such as the heads of enemies. The shrine was in the charge of a medium who transmitted messages both from the *kami* and from the political rulers. The mediums were assisted by supplicators, the general term for officers of the shrine, and by ablutioners. Some of the texts of the prayers and rituals of this early time have been preserved. The following is part of a prayer for the harvest festival:

More especially do I humbly declare in the mighty presence of the Great-Heaven-Shining Deity who dwells in Isé. Because the Great Deity has bestowed on him [the sovereign] the lands of the four quarters over which her glance extends as far as where the walls of Heaven rise, as far as where the bounds

of Earth stand up, as far as the blue sky extends, as far as where the white clouds settle down; by the blue sea-plain, as far as the prows of ships can reach without letting dry their poles and oars; by land, as far as the hoofs of horses can go, with tightened baggage-cords, treading their way among rock-beds and tree-roots where the long roads extend, continuously widening the narrow regions and making the steep regions level, in drawing together, as it were, the distant regions by throwing over them [a net of] many ropes—therefore let the first-fruits for the Sovran Deity be piled up in her mighty presence like a range of hills, leaving the remainder for him [the sovereign] tranquilly to partake of.

Moreover, whereas you bless the Sovran Grandchild's reign as a long reign, firm and enduring, and render it a happy and prosperous reign, I plunge down my neck cormorant-wise in reverence to you as our Sovran's dear, divine ancestress, and fulfill your praise by making these plenteous offerings on his behalf.²

The texts of these ancient prayers are often beautiful, with a simplicity that is characteristic of Shinto. The above example indicates moreover that at the time of its composition the cult of the Sun Goddess of Ise was closely associated with the imperial house and had already come to dominate the various other beliefs. It was, in fact, just when Shinto was first assuming the features of a more homogeneous and developed religion that the arrival of Buddhism caused it to be relegated to a position of minor importance for many centuries.

LEGENDS CONCERNING SHINTO DEITIES

There is virtually no documentary evidence to indicate the original character of Shinto belief. Before the introduction of Chinese writing and Chinese ideas, the Japanese were unable to record their religious beliefs and there is little reason to believe that they had produced an articulate body of doctrine or dogma. The legends in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, often cited as containing the original deposit of Shinto folklore, are late compilations in which political considerations and specifically Chinese conceptions intrude themselves almost everywhere. This fact was recognized by the great Neo-Shinto scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who tried almost in vain to find in these texts any evidence of pure Japanese beliefs. Elements of Chinese cosmology are most apparent in rationalistic passages explaining the origin of the world in terms of the yin and yang principles, which seem to come directly from

² Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, pp. 32-33.

Chinese works such as the *Huai-nan tzu*. The prevalence of paired male and female deities, such as Izanagi and Izanami, may also be a result of conscious selection with the yin and yang principles in mind. Also the frequency of numerical sets of deities, such as the Five Heavenly Deities of the *Kojiki* and Seven Generations of Heavenly Deities of the *Nihongi*, may represent an attempt at selection and organization in terms of Chinese cosmological series, in this case the Five Elements and Seven Heavenly Luminaries.

With these major reservations in mind, we may still discern in these legends some features of early Japanese belief in regard to questions which might arise in almost any country or culture. But since Shinto cults were so closely associated with nature worship and the topographical aspects of Japan, one obvious question was "How was the Japanese archipelago created?" This led to another, "Who has a rightful claim to occupy and rule over this land?", a question answered in favor of the Yamato people and their rulers by the passages cited in the previous section. Still other passages, attempting to assert Yamato supremacy, betray the existence of diverse and competing cults, such as that associated with Susa-no-o and the Izumo people. It should be noted in the following excerpts how the names of deities and semi-divine beings are composed of vivid images from nature, and how often their activities suggest a concern with fertility, ritual purification, ancestor or hero worship, and animism.

Birth of the Land

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 10-14]

Izanagi and Izanami stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and held counsel together, saying:

"Is there not a country beneath?"

Thereupon they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven,¹ and groping about therewith found the ocean. The brine which dripped from the point of the spear coagulated and became an island which received the name of Ono-goro-jima.

The two Deities thereupon descended and dwelt in this island. Accordingly they wished to become husband and wife together, and to produce countries.

So they made Ono-goro-jima the pillar of the center of the land.

Now the male deity turning by the left, and the female deity by the right, they went round the pillar of the land separately. When they met together on one side, the female deity spoke first and said: "How de-

¹ Considered by some commentators to resemble the phallus. Cf. Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 10. [Ed.]

lightful! I have met with a lovely youth." The male deity was displeased, and said: "I am a man, and by right should have spoken first. How is it that on the contrary thou, a woman, shouldst have been the first to speak? This was unlucky. Let us go round again." Upon this the two deities went back, and having met anew, this time the male deity spoke first, and said: "How delightful! I have met a lovely maiden."

Then he inquired of the female deity, saying: "In thy body is there aught formed?" She answered, and said: "In my body there is a place which is the source of femininity." The male deity said: "In my body again there is a place which is the source of masculinity. I wish to unite this source-place of my body to the source-place of thy body." Hereupon the male and female first became united as husband and wife.

Now when the time of birth arrived, first of all the island of Ahaji was reckoned as the placenta, and their minds took no pleasure in it. Therefore it received the name of Ahaji no Shima.²

Next there was produced the island of Ō-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima.³

(Here and elsewhere [the characters for Nippon] are to be read Ya-mato.⁴)

Next they produced the island of Iyo no futa-na,⁵ and next the island of Tsukushi.⁶ Next the islands of Oki and Sado were born as twins. This is the prototype of the twin-births which sometimes take place among mankind.

Next was born the island of Koshi,⁷ then the island of Ō-shima, then the island of Kibi no Ko.⁸

Hence first arose the designation of the Great Eight-island Country.

Then the islands of Tsushima and Iki, with the small islands in various parts, were produced by the coagulation of the foam of the salt-water.

² "The island which will not meet," i.e., is unsatisfactory. Ahaji may also be interpreted as "my shame." The characters with which this name is written in the text mean "foam-road." Perhaps the true derivation is "millet-land."

³ Rich-harvest (or autumn)-island of Yamato.

⁴ Yamato means probably mountain-gate. It is the genuine ancient name for the province which contained Nara and many of the other capitals of Japan for centuries, and it was also used for the whole country. Several emperors called themselves Yamato-neko. It is mentioned by the historian of the Later Han dynasty of China (A.D. 25-220) as the seat of rule in Japan at that time.

⁵ Now called Shikoku.

⁶ Now called Kyushu.

⁷ Koshi is not an island. It comprises the present provinces of Etchū, Echigo, and Echizen.

⁸ These two are not clear. Kibi is now Bingo, Bizen, and Bitchū. Ko, "child" or "small," perhaps refers to the small islands of the Inland Sea.

Legends Concerning Susa-no-o

The part of Amaterasu's unruly brother, Susa-no-o, in the creation of the imperial line has already been described in Chapter I. His other activities are of interest because they reflect the importance of regional cults incorporated into the Yamato system of Shinto. After his banishment from Heaven, Susa-no-o is reported in one account to have gone to Korea, an indication that the activities of the Gods were no more limited to Japan alone than were those of the people themselves. In any case this black sheep of the gods settled in Izumo, where he married the local princess and rid the land of a dreaded serpent, in whose body was found the Great Sword which became one of the Three Imperial Regalia (another of the Regalia is a curved stone or jewel produced in both Izumo and Korea).

THE SUN GODDESS AND SUSANO-O

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 40-45]

After this Susa-no-o no Mikoto's behavior was exceedingly rude. In what way? Amaterasu [the Heaven-Shining-Deity] had made august rice fields of Heavenly narrow rice fields and Heavenly long rice fields. Then Susa-no-o, when the seed was sown in spring, broke down the divisions between the plots of rice, and in autumn let loose the Heavenly piebald colts, and made them lie down in the midst of the rice fields. Again, when he saw that Amaterasu was about to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, he secretly voided excrement in the New⁹ Palace. Moreover, when he saw that Amaterasu was in her sacred¹⁰ weaving hall, engaged in weaving garments of the Gods, he flayed a piebald colt of Heaven, and breaking a hole in the roof-tiles of the hall, flung it in. Then Amaterasu started with alarm, and wounded herself with the shuttle. Indignant of this, she straightway entered the Rock-cave of Heaven, and having fastened the Rock-door, dwelt there in seclusion. Therefore constant darkness prevailed on all sides, and the alternation of night and day was unknown.

Then the eighty myriads of Gods met on the bank of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and considered in what manner they should supplicate her. Accordingly Omoi-kane¹¹ no Kami, with profound device

⁹ For the sake of greater purity in celebrating the festival.

¹⁰ The Chinese character here translated sacred has the primary meaning of abstinence, fasting. In the *Nihongi*, however, it represents avoidance, especially religious avoidance of impurity.

¹¹ Thought-combining or thought-including.

and far-reaching thought, at length gathered long-singing birds¹² of the Eternal Land and made them utter their prolonged cry to one another. Moreover he made Ta-jikara-o¹³ to stand beside the Rock-door. Then Ame no Koyane no Mikoto, ancestor of the Nakatomi Deity Chieftains,¹⁴ and Futo-dama no Mikoto,¹⁵ ancestor of the Imibe¹⁶ Chieftains, dug up a five-hundred branched True Sakaki¹⁷ tree of the Heavenly Mt. Kagu.¹⁸ On its upper branches they hung an august five-hundred string of Yasaka jewels. On the middle branches they hung an eight-hand mirror.¹⁹

(One writing says Ma-futsu no Kagami.)

On its lower branches they hung blue soft offerings and white soft offerings. Then they recited their liturgy together.

Moreover Ama no Uzume²⁰ no Mikoto, ancestress of the Sarume²¹ Chieftain, took in her hand a spear wreathed with Eulalia grass, and standing before the door of the Rock-cave of Heaven, skillfully performed a mimic dance.²² She took, moreover, the true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and made of it a head-dress, she took club-moss and made of it braces, she kindled fires, she placed a tub bottom upwards,²³ and gave forth a divinely-inspired utterance.

Now Amaterasu heard this, and said: "Since I have shut myself up in the Rock-cave, there ought surely to be continual night in the Central Land of fertile reed-plains. How then can Ama no Uzume no Mikoto be so jolly?" So with her august hand, she opened for a narrow space the Rock-door and peeped out. Then Ta-jikara-o no Kami forthwith

¹² The cock is meant.

¹³ Hand-strength-male.

¹⁴ Nakatomi probably means ministers of the middle, mediating between the Gods and the Emperor, and the Emperor and the people. In historical times their duties were of a priestly character. Worship and government were closely associated in ancient times in more countries than Japan. *Matsurigoto*, government, is derived from *matsuri*, worship. It was they who recited the Harai or purification rituals.

¹⁵ Futo-dama, big-jewel.

¹⁶ Imi-be or imbe is derived from *imi*, root of *imu*, to avoid, to shun, to practise religious abstinence, and *be*, a hereditary corporation.

¹⁷ The Sakaki, or Cleyera Japonica, is the sacred tree of the Shinto religion. It is still used in Shinto religious ceremonies.

¹⁸ Mt. Kagu is the name of a mountain in Yamato. It is here supposed to have a counterpart in Heaven.

¹⁹ It is said to be this mirror which is worshiped at Ise as an emblem of the Sun Goddess.

²⁰ Terrible female of Heaven.

²¹ Monkey-female.

²² This is said to be the origin of the Kagura or pantomimic dance now performed at Shinto festivals.

²³ The *Nihongi* strangely omits to say that, as we learn from the *Kojiki*, she danced on this and made it give out a sound.

took Amaterasu by the hand, and led her out. Upon this the Gods Nakatomi no Kami and Imibe no Kami²⁴ at once drew a limit by means of a bottom-tied rope²⁵ (also called a left-hand rope) and begged her not to return again [into the cave].

After this all the Gods put the blame on Susa-no-o, and imposed on him a fine of one thousand tables,²⁶ and so at length chastised him. They also had his hair plucked out, and made him therewith expiate his guilt.

SUSA-NO-O IN IZUMO

[Adapted from Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, pp. 60-64]

So, having been expelled, Susa-no-o descended to a place [called] Torikami at the head-waters of the River Hi in the land of Izumo. At this time some chopsticks came floating down the stream. So Susa-no-o, thinking that there must be people at the head-waters of the river, went up in quest of them, when he came upon an old man and an old woman—two of them—who had a young girl between them, and were weeping. Then he deigned to ask: "Who are ye?" So the old man replied, saying: "I am an Earthly Deity,¹ child of the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor.² I am called by the name of Foot-Stroking-Elder, my wife is called by the name of Hand-Stroking-Elder, and my daughter is called by the name of Wondrous-Inada-Princess." Again he asked: "What is the cause of your crying?" [The old man] answered, saying: "I had originally eight young girls as daughters. But the eight-forked serpent of Koshi has come every year and devoured [one], and it is now its time to come, wherefore we weep." Then he asked him: "What is its form like?" [The old man] answered, saying: "Its eyes are like *akakagachi*, it has one body with eight heads and eight tails. Moreover on its body grows moss, and also chamaecyparis³ and cryptomerias. Its length extends over eight valleys and eight hills, and if one look at its belly, it is all constantly bloody and inflamed." (What is here called *akakagachi* is the modern *hohozuki*.)⁴

²⁴ These Gods' names were properly Koyane no Mikoto and Futo-dama no Mikoto (see above), but here the names of their human descendants are substituted.

²⁵ A rope made of straw of rice which has been pulled up by the roots.

²⁶ By tables are meant tables of offerings.

¹ Or "Country Deity," "Deity of the Land."

² O-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami.

³ A coniferous tree, the *Chamaecyparis obtusa*, in Japanese *hi-no-ki*. The cryptomeria is *Cryptomeria japonica*.

⁴ The winter-cherry, *Physalis Alkekengi*.

Then Susa-no-o said to the old man: "If this be thy daughter, wilt thou offer her to me?" He replied, saying: "With reverence, but I know not thine august name." Then he replied, saying: "I am elder brother to the Heaven-Shining-Deity. So I have now descended from Heaven." Then the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder said: "If that be so, with reverence will we offer [her to thee]." So Susa-no-o, at once taking and changing the young girl into a multitudinous and close-toothed comb which he stuck into his august hair-bunch, said to the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking-Elder: "Do you distill some eight-fold refined liquor.⁵ Also make a fence round about, in that fence make eight gates, at each gate tie [together] eight platforms, on each platform put a liquor-vat, and into each vat pour the eight-fold refined liquor, and wait." So as they waited after having thus prepared everything in accordance with his bidding, the eight-forked serpent came truly as [the old man] had said, and immediately dipped a head into each vat, and drank the liquor. Thereupon it was intoxicated with drinking, and all [the heads] lay down and slept. Then Susa-no-o drew the ten-grasp sabre, that was augustly girded on him, and cut the serpent in pieces, so that the River Hi flowed on changed into a river of blood. So when he cut the middle tail, the edge of his august sword broke. Then, thinking it strange, he thrust into and split [the flesh] with the point of his august sword and looked, and there was a sharp great sword [within]. So he took this great sword, and, thinking it a strange thing, he respectfully informed ⁶ Amaterasu. This is the Herb-Quelling Great Sword.⁷

So thereupon Susa-no-o sought in the land of Izumo for a place where he might build a palace. Then he arrived at a place [called] Suga, and said: "On coming to this place my august heart is pure,"⁸ and in that place he built a palace to dwell in. So that place is now called Suga. When this Great Deity first built the palace of Suga, clouds rose up thence. Then he made an august song. That song said:

Eight Clouds arise. The eight-fold fence
of Izumo makes an eight-fold fence
for the spouses to retire [within]. Oh!
that eight-fold fence.

⁵ In Japanese, *sake*.

⁶ According to some sources: "sent it with a message to."

⁷ Reputedly one of the Three Imperial Regalia. [Ed.]

⁸ That is, "I feel refreshed." The Japanese term used is *suga-sugashi*, whence the origin ascribed to the name of the place Suga. But more probably the name gave rise to this detail of the legend.

Princess Yamato and Prince Plenty

The Shinto shrine in Izumo, Kitsuki-no-miya, dedicated to the son of Susa-no-o, is the most ancient shrine in Japan and therefore is called "the shrine ahead of those to all other gods" (*Kami-mae no Yashiro*). Perhaps because it was here that Susa-no-o, from the Yamato line, married the Izumo princess, and their son Prince Plenty or the Great Landlord God (*Ōnamochi* or *Ō-mono-nushi*) married a Yamato princess, this shrine is particularly thought of as symbolizing union and compromise. A visit to the Izumo shrine has been regarded as especially beneficial to those with hopes of marriage or those desirous of promoting greater harmony and understanding in their own families.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 158-59]

After this Yamato-toto-hi-momo-so-bime no Mikoto [Princess Yamato] became the wife of Ō-mono-nushi no Kami [Prince Plenty].¹ This God, however, was never seen in the day-time, but came at night. Princess Yamato said to her husband: "As my Lord is never seen in the day-time, I am unable to view his august countenance distinctly; I beseech him therefore to delay a while, that in the morning I may look upon the majesty of his beauty." The Great God answered and said: "What thou sayest is clearly right. Tomorrow morning I will enter thy toilet-case and stay there. I pray thee be not alarmed at my form." Princess Yamato wondered secretly in her heart at this. Waiting until daybreak, she looked into her toilet-case. There was there a beautiful little snake,² of the length and thickness of the cord of a garment. Thereupon she was frightened, and uttered an exclamation. The Great God was ashamed, and changing suddenly into human form, spake to his wife, and said: "Thou didst not contain thyself, but hast caused me shame: I will in my turn put thee to shame." So treading the Great Void, he ascended to Mount Mimoro. Hereupon Princess Yamato looked up and had remorse. She flopped down on a seat and with a chopstick stabbed herself in the pudenda so that she died. She was buried at O-chi. Therefore the men of that time called her tomb the Chopstick Tomb. This tomb was made by men in the daytime, and by Gods at night. It was built of stones carried from Mount O-saka. Now the people standing close to each other passed the stones from hand to hand, and thus transported them from the mountain to the tomb. The men of that time made a song about this, saying:

¹ Or "The Great Landlord God." [Ed.]

² This is one of numerous evidences of serpent-worship in ancient Japan.

If one passed from hand to hand
 The rocks
 Built up
 On Ō-saka,³
 How hard 'twould be to send them!⁴

Enshrinement of Amaterasu

The following entries in the *Nihongi*, for the twenty-fifth year of the Emperor Suinin's reign (5 B.C. according to traditional dating, but more probably around A.D. 260), describe the founding of the great shrine to Amaterasu at Ise. The moving of the Sun Goddess no doubt refers to the transporting of the mirror thought to be her embodiment.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 175-76]

25th year, Spring, 2nd month, 8th day. The Emperor commanded the five officers, Takenu Kaha-wake, ancestor of the Abe no Omi; Hiko-kuni-fuku,⁵ ancestor of the Imperial Chieftains; O-kashima, ancestor of the Nakatomi Deity Chieftains; Tochine, ancestor of the Mononobe Deity Chieftains; and Take-hi, ancestor of the Ōtomo Deity Chieftains, saying: "The sagacity of Our predecessor on the throne, the Emperor Mimaki-iri-hiko-inie, was displayed in wisdom: he was reverential, intelligent, and capable. He was profoundly unassuming, and his disposition was to cherish self-abnegation. He adjusted the machinery of government, and did solemn worship to the Gods of Heaven and Earth. He practiced self-restraint and was watchful as to his personal conduct. Every day he was heedful for that day. Thus the weal of the people was sufficient, and the Empire was at peace. And now, under Our reign, shall there be any remissness in the worship of the Gods of Heaven and Earth?"⁶

3rd month, 10th day. The Great Goddess Amaterasu was taken from

³ The great acclivity.

⁴ The tombs of men of rank at this period of Japanese history consisted of a round mound of earth varying in size according to the station of the person interred, and containing a vault of megalithic stones, with an entrance gallery similar to those of the Imperial Mausoleum, but of much smaller size. Many of these are still to be seen in Japan, especially in the provinces near Yamato. Of course it is utterly impossible to pass from hand to hand stones of the size used in constructing these tombs.

⁵ Both these men are named in Sūjin Tennō's reign, 10th year, eighty-five years before according to the traditional reckoning. [Ed.]

⁶ This speech is thoroughly Chinese. It contains numerous phrases borrowed from the Chinese classics.

[the princess] Toyo-suki-iri-hime,⁷ and entrusted to [the princess] Yamato-hime no Mikoto. Now Yamato-hime sought for a place where she might enshrine the Great Goddess. So she proceeded to Sasahata in Uda. Then turning back from thence, she entered the land of Omi, and went round eastwards to Mino, whence she arrived in the province of Ise.

Now the Great Goddess Amaterasu instructed Yamato-hime, saying: "The province of Ise, of the divine wind,⁸ is the land whither repair the waves from the eternal world, the successive waves. It is a secluded and pleasant land. In this land I wish to dwell." In compliance, therefore, with the instruction of the Great Goddess, a shrine was erected to her in the province of Ise. Accordingly an Abstinence Palace⁹ was built at Kawakami in Isuzu. This was called the palace of Iso. It was there that the Great Goddess Amaterasu first descended from Heaven.

⁷ To whom she had been entrusted in 92 B.C., eighty-seven years before.

⁸ This is a stock epithet (*makura kotoba*) of this province.

⁹ Abstinence Palace or Worship Palace. "On the accession of an Emperor, an unmarried Princess of the Imperial House was selected for the service of the Shrine of Ise, or if there was no such unmarried Princess, then another Princess was fixed upon by divination and appointed worship-princess. The Worship-Palace was for her residence." Cf. Aston, I, 176. [Ed.]



CHAPTER III

PRINCE SHŌTOKU AND HIS CONSTITUTION

The reign of the Empress Suiko (592-628) was one of the most remarkable periods in Japanese history. A crisis had developed in Japan toward the end of the sixth century as a result of the loss of the ancient Japanese domains on the Korean peninsula and the defeat of her ally, the kingdom of Paekche. Within the country there was also serious dissension among the powerful clans, partly on account of developments in Korea. The large numbers of Korean refugees who fled to Japan from the turmoil of the peninsula added to the difficulties of the authorities. Not only were there problems of a political and economic nature, but the arrival of Buddhism some fifty years before had caused bitter controversies. Some of the important clans, representing the traditional Shinto views, were violent in their opposition to what they considered a foreign and harmful religion. Above all these difficulties was the fact that a unified and expanding China under the Sui and a unifying Korea under Silla were now facing a weak and decentralized Japan. Apart from whatever threat to their security the Japanese felt to lie in the changing conditions on the continent, there was also of course the desire to emulate the superior achievements of the rising Chinese and Korean dynasties.

In this situation the Yamato court attempted to enhance its power and prestige in the eyes of foreigners and domestic rivals alike by adopting many features of the superior Chinese civilization and especially its political institutions. The first measures included a reorganization of court ranks and etiquette in accordance with Chinese models, the adoption of the Chinese calendar, the opening of formal diplomatic relations with China, the creation of a system of highways, the erection of many Buddhist temples, and the compilation of the chronicles of the government. Most important, perhaps, was the proclamation of a "constitution"—a

set of principles of government in seventeen articles, this number probably having been derived from the combination of eight, the largest yin number, and nine, the largest yang number.

The chief architect of these great changes was the Prince Shōtoku (573-621), who served as "regent" during much of the reign of his aunt, the Empress Suiko. The veneration in which he was held after his death may be inferred from his name itself, which might be translated "sovereign moral power." Shōtoku was a member of the powerful Soga family, which had been the main support of Buddhism during its early days in Japan, and always showed a deep interest in the religion. He also appears to have been widely read in Confucian literature. His military achievements were less conspicuous than his civil ones, but at one time he had under his control in Kyushu a considerable army whose function was to have been the reassertion of Japanese influence in Korea.

Although Shōtoku was a devout Buddhist, it was to Confucian models that he turned for guidance when faced with the enormous task of reorganizing the government. His most crucial problem, the establishment of the court as the central authority, was well met by the teachings of Confucianism as it had developed under the great Han empire. According to these teachings, the universe consisted of three realms, Heaven, Earth, and Man, with Man occupying a place between the other two. The basis of all authority and order lay in Heaven, and was demonstrated to Earth by the stately progress of the sun, moon, and planets across the firmament. A sovereign was a sovereign only because of Heaven's will, and the good or ill fortune that might befall a nation or individual was likewise determined entirely by Heaven. It may be seen, then, why it was considered that no more important duty existed for a ruler than to make sure that his country was governed in accordance with the pattern established by Heaven. This is the reason for the great importance of the calendar in countries dominated by Confucian thought; unless the "time" were correct, the government on Earth would be out of step with the movements of Heaven.

A regular, determined system of government was exactly what was needed in Japan during Shōtoku's time. The Seventeen Article Constitution (A.D. 604) on first reading may seem to be little more than a set of ethical platitudes, but more careful study will give us clear indications of the chaotic conditions prevailing at the time. The insistence on harmony

(Article I) reflects the disharmony and factionalism of the court; similarly, the condemnation of bribery (Article II) or of the exaction of forced labor from the peasants at improper times (Article XVI) must have been expressions of views on existing problems rather than mere Confucian generalizations. The statement of the Han Confucian ideal of government itself is found in Article III: "The lord is Heaven; the vassal, Earth. Heaven overspreads; Earth upbears. When this is so, the four seasons follow their due course, and the powers of Nature develop their efficiency."

Buddhism is specifically mentioned in Article II, and the dictum that decisions should be discussed by many people may also have a Buddhist origin. Hints of Legalist and other non-Confucian ideas may be detected elsewhere. By and large, however, it is Han Confucianism which dominates the writing of the Constitution. The Confucian ideology of government adopted by Shōtoku was actually quite contradictory to Buddhist teachings on the subject, particularly the Buddhism of Nāgārjuna brought from India to China by Kumārajīva. These doctrines stressed the necessity for the individual to obey the guidance of his own inner light (*prajñā*) rather than any external guide. Buddhism recognized no unvarying universal order except the law of constant change. Thus, while the good Confucian sovereign was obliged to follow the unvarying motions of the celestial spheres in governing the country, the good Buddhist ruler needed to pay no attention to the stars or anything else but his inner light. This opposition of ideas does not appear to have disturbed Shōtoku very much. Where the two ideologies did not conflict he adopted both; in cases of conflict Confucianism was considered supreme in secular matters and Buddhism in spiritual ones. Buddhism and Confucianism were able thus to exist side by side in Japan for a thousand years without any serious quarrels.

Shōtoku's policy of internal reforms was complemented by his attitude toward China. He realized how much Japan had to learn from China and desired to cultivate good relations with her. Japanese students (though possibly of Chinese or Korean ancestry) were sent to Sui China to study both Confucianism and Buddhism. Shōtoku's own respect for Chinese learning is obvious from his Constitution, where no mention is made of traditional Japanese religious practices or of the Japanese principle of

the hereditary line of emperors. However, many Japanese historians have professed to discover an assertion of equality with China in the letters which Shōtoku sent to the Sui court. One of them, as we have seen in the excerpts from the Chinese dynastic histories, bore the superscription "The Son of Heaven of the Land of the Rising Sun to the Son of Heaven of the Land of the Setting Sun," and another "The Eastern Emperor Greets the Western Emperor." Whether these letters represented real attempts on Shōtoku's part to show that Japan did not join with the other "barbarian" nations in groveling before mighty China, or were merely a case of ignorance of the correct procedure, is difficult to determine. In any case it is recorded that the Sui emperor was highly displeased.

CIVIL STRIFE IN THE LATE SIXTH CENTURY

In these excerpts we get a glimpse of the struggle for power at court between the Mononobe and Soga clans just before Empress Suiko and Prince Shōtoku came to power. Against this background it becomes more apparent what relevance the seeming platitudes of Shōtoku's Constitution had to the political situation in his time. These passages also testify to a growing interest in Buddhism, which will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter. Many of the portions deleted from the account here pertain to this subject or to intercourse with the Korean kingdoms.

The episode involving Yorozu, an adherent of the defeated Mononobe, has been retained as an early example of the indomitable spirit and resourcefulness long admired in the Japanese warrior, even before these traits became systematized in the cult of the warrior, *Bushidō*, in recent centuries. Yorozu, though a rebel, is pictured as a loyalist at heart. The story of his tragic end is told with a sympathy for the underdog and the martyr which has continued to find expression in the literature and political life of Japan until the present day.

As in passages cited earlier from the *Nihongi*, these accounts are interspersed with comments on questionable points or alternative accounts from different sources, indicating at least a rudimentary sense of critical historiography.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 112-20]¹

¹ Important personal titles left untranslated by Aston are rendered here according to the usage of R. K. Reischauer in *Early Japanese History*. [Ed.]

The Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi² died in the second year of his reign [c. A.D. 587], Summer, the 4th month. In the 5th month the army of the Great Deity Chieftain³ Mononobe made a disturbance thrice. The Great Deity Chieftain from the first wished to set aside the other Imperial Princes and to establish the Imperial Prince Anahobe⁴ as Emperor. He now hoped to make use of a hunting party to devise a plan for raising him to the throne instead. So he secretly sent a messenger to the Imperial Prince Anahobe, to say: "I should like to hunt with the Imperial Prince in Awaji." The plot leaked out.

6th month, 7th day. Soga no Mumako no Sukune and other Ministers, on behalf of Kashikiya hime no Mikoto, commissioned Nifute, the Deity Chieftain of Saheki; Iwamura, the Deity Chieftain of Hashi; and Makuhi, the Imperial Chieftain of Ikuba; saying: "Do ye with rigorous discipline of arms proceed at once to execute the Imperial Prince Anahobe and the Imperial Prince Yakabe." On this day, at midnight, Nifute, the Deity Chieftain of Saheki, and his colleagues surrounded the Palace of the Imperial Prince Anahobe. Upon this the guardsmen, having first climbed up into the upper story, smote the Imperial Prince Anahobe on the shoulder. The Imperial Prince fell down from the upper story, and ran away into an outhouse. Then the guardsmen, holding up lights, executed him.

8th day. The Imperial Prince Yakabe was executed.

(The Imperial Prince Yakabe was the son of the Emperor Hinokuma⁵ and father of Princess Kamutsu hime. This is not clear.)

He was put to death because he approved the Imperial Prince Anahobe.

9th day. The nun Zen-shin and the others addressed the Great Imperial Chieftain, saying: "Discipline is the basis of the method of those who renounce the world; we pray thee to let us go to Paekche to receive instruction in the Law of Discipline."⁶ This month tribute Envoys from Paekche arrived at court. The Great Imperial Chieftain addressed the Envoys, saying: "Take these nuns with you, and when you are about to cross over to your country, make them learn the Law of Discipline.

² Yōmei Tennō.

³ Hereditary title of clan chieftains (other than imperial clan) tracing their ancestry to deities of heaven and earth.

⁴ Half-brother of the reigning emperor.

⁵ Senka Tennō.

⁶ That is, the monastic discipline of Buddhism. Paekche was the state in Southwest Korea which first sent Buddhist missionaries to Japan. [Ed.]

When they have done, send them off." The Envoys answered and said: "When we return to our frontier State, we shall first of all inform the King of our country, and it will afterwards be not too late to send them off."

Autumn, 7th month. The Great Imperial Chieftain, Soga no Mumako no Sukune, incited the Imperial Princes and the Ministers to plot the destruction of the Great Deity Chieftain, Mononobe no Moriya. . . . [Soga, the Imperial Prince Mumayado (Shōtoku), and others advanced to attack.] The Great Deity Chieftain, in personal command of the young men of his family and of a slave-army, built a rice-fort and gave battle. Then the Great Deity Chieftain climbed up into the fork of an elm at Kisuri, from which he shot down arrows like rain. His troops were full of might. They filled the house and overflowed into the plain. The army of the Imperial Princes and the troops of the Ministers were timid and afraid, and fell back three times. At this time the Imperial Prince Mumayado (Shōtoku), his hair being tied up on the temples [the ancient custom was for boys at the age of fifteen or sixteen to tie up their hair on the temples; at the age of seventeen or eighteen it was divided, and made into tufts, as is the case even now], followed in the rear of the army. He pondered in his own mind, saying to himself: "Are we not going to be beaten? Without prayer we cannot succeed." So he cut down a *nuride* tree, and swiftly fashioned images of the four Heavenly Kings.⁷ Placing them on his top-knot, he uttered a vow: "If we are now made to gain the victory over the enemy, I promise faithfully to honor the four Heavenly Kings, guardians of the world, by erecting to them a temple with a pagoda." The Great Imperial Chieftain Soga no Mumako also uttered a vow: "Oh! all ye Heavenly Kings and great Spirit King, aid and protect us, and make us to gain the advantage. If this prayer is granted, I will erect a temple with a pagoda in honor of the Heavenly Kings and the great Spirit King, and will propagate everywhere the three precious things."⁸ When they had made this vow, they urged their troops of all arms sternly forward to the attack. Now there was a man named Ichihi, Tomi no Obito, who shot down the Great Deity Chieftain from his branch and killed him and his children. His troops accordingly gave way

⁷ Buddhist guardian gods.

⁸ The three treasures of Buddhism: Buddha, the law, the monastic orders. [Ed.]

suddenly. Joining their forces, they every one put on black clothes,⁹ and going hunting on the plain of Magari in Hirose, so dispersed. . . .

A dependent of the Great Deity Chieftain Mononobe no Moriwa, named Yorozu [the personal name], of the Tottori-be, in command of one hundred men, guarded the house at Naniwa, but hearing of the Chieftain's downfall, he urged his horse into a gallop, and made his escape by night in the direction of the village of Arimaka in the district of Chinu, where, having passed his wife's house, he at length concealed himself among the hills. The court took counsel together, saying: "Yorozu cherishes traitorous feelings, and therefore has concealed himself among these hills. Let his kindred be extirpated promptly, and no remissness shown." Yorozu, in tattered and filthy raiment, and with a wretched countenance, came forth alone, of his own accord, bow in hand and girt with a sword. The officials sent several hundred guardsmen to surround him. Yorozu, accordingly, was afraid, and hid himself in a bamboo thicket, where he tied cords to the bamboos and pulled them so as to shake the bamboos, and thus make the people to doubt where he had gone in. The guardsmen were deceived, and pointing to the quivering bamboos, ran forward, saying: "Yorozu is here!" Yorozu forthwith shot his arrows, not one of which missed its mark, so that the guardsmen were afraid, and did not dare to approach. Yorozu then unstrung his bow, and taking it under his arm, ran off toward the hills. The guardsmen accordingly pursued him, shooting their arrows at him from both sides of a river, but none of them were able to hit him. Hereupon one of the guardsmen ran on swiftly, and got before Yorozu. Lying down by the river's side, he aimed at him, and hit him on the knee. Yorozu forthwith pulled out the arrow, and stringing his bow, let fly his arrows. Then prostrating himself on the earth, he exclaimed aloud: "A shield of the Emperor, Yorozu would have devoted his valor to his service, but no examination was made, and, on the contrary, he has been hard pressed, and is now at an extremity. Let some one come forward and speak with me, for it is my desire to learn whether I am to be slain or to be made a prisoner." The guardsmen raced up and shot at Yorozu, but he warded off the flying shafts, and slew more than thirty men. Then he took the sword, flung it into the midst of the water of the river. With a dagger

⁹ It is explained here that "black" was the color of underlings' clothes, and that the chiefs put on this color for disguise. The "hunting" was only a pretense.

which he had besides, he stabbed himself in the throat, and died. The Governor of Kawachi reported the circumstances of Yorozu's death to the court, which gave an order by a stamp¹⁰ that his body should be cut into eight pieces and disposed for exposure among the eight provinces. The Governor of Kawachi accordingly, in obedience to the purport of the stamped order, was about to dismember him for exposure, when thunder pealed, and a great rain fell. Now, there was a white dog which had been kept by Yorozu. Looking up, and looking down, he went round, howling beside the corpse, and at last, taking up the head in his mouth, placed it on an ancient mound. He then lay down close by, and starved to death in front of it. The Governor of Kawachi, thinking that dog's conduct very strange, reported it to the court. The court could not bear to hear of it for pity, and issued a stamped order to this effect: "The case of this dog is one that is rarely heard of in the world, and should be shown to after ages. Let Yorozu's kindred be made to construct a tomb and bury their remains." The kindred of Yorozu accordingly assembled together, and raised a tomb in the village of Arimaka, where they buried Yorozu and his dog. . . .

8th month, 2nd day. The Emperor,¹¹ upon the advice of Kashikiya hime no Mikoto and the Ministers, assumed the Imperial Dignity. Soga no Mumako no Sukune was made Great Imperial Chieftain as before. The Ministers and high officials were also confirmed in their previous ranks. . . .

4th year, Autumn, 8th month, 1st day. The Emperor addressed his Ministers, saying: "It is our desire to establish Imna.¹² What do ye think?" The Ministers said to him: "The Miyake of Imna should be established. We are all of the same opinion as Your Majesty."

Winter, 11th month, 4th day. Ki no Omaro no Sukune [and others] were appointed as Generals. Taking with them the Imperial Chieftains and Deity Chieftains of the various Houses as Adjutant-Generals of the divisions of the army, they marched out in command of over 20,000 men and stationed themselves in Tsukushi.¹³ Kishi no Kana was sent to Silla and Kishi no Itahiko to Imna to make inquiry respecting Imna.

5th year, Winter, 10th month, 4th day. A wild boar was presented to

¹⁰ *Oshide*. A stamp of red or black ink on the palm of the hand as token of authority.

¹¹ Sujun.

¹² A Japanese outpost in South Korea from which they had previously been driven. [Ed.]

¹³ Northern Kyushu.

the Emperor. Pointing to it, he said: "When shall those to whom We have an aversion be cut off as this wild boar's throat has been cut?" An abundance of weapons was provided beyond what was customary.

10th day. Soga no Mumako no Sukune, having been told of the pronouncement of the Emperor, and alarmed at his detestation of himself, called together his people and conspired with them to assassinate the Emperor.

In this month, the Hall of Worship and the covered gallery of the great Hōkōji Temple were built.

11th month, 3rd day. Mumako no Sukune lied to the Ministers, saying: "Today I present the taxes of the Eastern provinces," and sent Koma, Yamato no Aya no Atae, who killed the Emperor.

One book says: "Koma, Yamato no Aya no Atae, was the son of Ihai, Yamato no Aya no Atae."

On this day the Emperor was buried in the Misasagi¹⁴ on the hill of Kurahashi.

(One book says: The Imperial concubine Ōtomo no Koteko, incensed at her declining favor, sent a man to Soga no Mumako no Sukune with a message, saying: "Recently a wild boar was presented to the Emperor. He pointed to it and said: 'When shall the man We think of be cut off as this wild boar's throat has been cut?' Besides weapons are being made in abundance in the Palace." Now Mumako no Sukune, hearing this, was alarmed.)

5th day. Mounted messengers were sent to the General's quarters in Tsukushi, saying: "Do not let foreign matters be neglected in consequence of the internal troubles."

THE REIGN OF SUIKO AND RULE OF SHŌTOKU

From the many entries in the *Chronicles of Japan* for Suiko's reign a few have been selected to show how greatly this Empress and Prince Shōtoku came to be revered for the accomplishments of their joint rule. Particularly noteworthy is Shōtoku's reputation as a profound student of Buddhism, such that he could expound some of the great sūtras at a time when few Japanese could read any Chinese. In addition to the legendary feats of this Prince are recorded the building of many temples, the adoption of Chinese court cere-

¹⁴Imperial mound or mausoleum.

monial in the form of cap ranks, the sending of embassies (including students) to China, and the first project to write an official history of Japan comparable to the great Chinese histories.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 121-50]

The Empress Suiko, A.D. 592-628

The Empress Toyo-mike Kashiki-ya-hime¹ was the second daughter of the Emperor Ame-kuni oshi-hiraki hiro-ni-ha² and a younger sister by the same mother of the Emperor Tachibana no toyo-hi.³ In her childhood she was called the Princess Nukada-be. Her appearance was beautiful, and her conduct was marked by propriety. At the age of eighteen, she was appointed Empress-consort of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki.⁴ When she was thirty-four years of age, in the 5th year and the 11th month of the reign of the Emperor Hatsuse-be,⁵ the Emperor was murdered by the Great Imperial Chieftain Mumako no Sukune, and the succession to the Dignity being vacant, the Ministers besought the Empress-consort of the Emperor Nunakura futo-dama-shiki, viz. the Princess Nukada-be, to ascend the throne. The Empress refused, but the public functionaries urged her in memorials three times until she consented,⁶ and they accordingly delivered to her the Imperial Seal. . . .

1st year [A.D. 593], Summer, 4th month, 10th day. The Imperial Prince Mumayado no Toyotomimi [Shōtoku] was appointed Prince Imperial. He had general control of the Government, and was entrusted with all the details of administration. He was the second child of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyo-hi. The Empress-consort his mother's name was the Imperial Princess Anahobe no Hashibito. The Empress-consort, on the day of the dissolution of her pregnancy, went round the forbidden precinct, inspecting the different offices. When she came to the Horse Department, and had just reached the door of the stables,⁷ she was suddenly delivered of him without effort. He was able to speak as soon as he was born, and was so wise when he grew up that he could attend to the suits of ten men at once and decide them all without error. He knew beforehand what was going to happen. Moreover he learnt the Inner

¹ *Toyo*, abundant; *mi*, august; *ke*, food; *Kashikiya*, cook-house; *hime*, princess.

² Kimmei.

³ Yōmei.

⁴ Bidatsu.

⁵ Sujun.

⁶ It was the Chinese custom to decline such an honor twice and accept only when offered a third time.

⁷ Hence his name, Muma-ya-do, which means stable door.

Doctrine⁸ from a Koryo Priest named Hye-cha, and studied the Outer Classics⁹ with a doctor called Kak-ka. In both of these branches of study he became thoroughly proficient. The Emperor his father loved him, and made him occupy the Upper Hall South of the Palace. Therefore he was styled the Senior Prince Kamu-tsu-miya,¹⁰ Muma-ya-do Toyotomimi. [pp. 121-23]

. . . .

11th year [604], 12th month, 5th day. Cap-ranks¹¹ were first instituted in all twelve grades:

Dai-toku	. .	greater virtue
Shō-toku	. .	lesser virtue
Dai-nin	. .	greater humanity
Shō-nin	. .	lesser humanity
Dai-rei	. .	greater decorum
Shō-rei	. .	lesser decorum
Dai-shin	. .	greater faith
Shō-shin	. .	lesser faith
Dai-gi	. .	greater righteousness
Shō-gi	. .	lesser righteousness
Dai-chi	. .	greater knowledge
Shō-chi	. .	lesser knowledge

Each was made of sarcenet of a special color.¹² They were gathered up on the crown in the shape of a bag, and had a border attached. Only on the first day of the year were hair-flowers¹³ worn.

[In this year also a Chinese-style calendar was officially adopted for the first time.¹⁴] [pp. 127-28]

. . . .

⁸ That is, Buddhism.

⁹ That is, the Chinese Classics. Inner and Outer have here something of the force of our words sacred and secular.

¹⁰ Kamu-tsu-miya means upper palace.

¹¹ The Chinese custom of distinguishing rank by the form and materials of the official cap. In modern times a button on the top of the cap serves this purpose.

¹² In imitation of the contemporary Sui dynasty of China, purple was for officials of the fifth rank and upwards. *Nin* was green, *rei* red, *shin* yellow, *gi* white, and *chi* black. Princes and chief ministers wore the cap of the highest rank, viz. *tokū*.

¹³ Hair ornaments of gold or silver in the shape of flowers. Specimens are preserved in the Nara Museum.

¹⁴ Cf. R. K. Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, A, 140. [Ed.]

14th year [606], 5th month, 5th day. The imperial commands were given to Kuratsukuri no Tori, saying: "It being My desire to encourage the Inner doctrines, I was about to erect a Buddhist Temple, and for this purpose sought for relics. Then thy grandfather, Shiba Tattō, offered Me relics. Moreover, there were no monks or nuns in the land. Thereupon thy father, Tasuna, for the sake of the Emperor Tachibana no Toyohi, took priestly orders and revered the Buddhist law. Also thine aunt Shimame was the first to leave her home and, becoming the forerunner of all nuns, to practice the religion of Shākya. Now, We desired to make a sixteen-foot Buddha, and to that end sought for a good image of Buddha. Thou didst provide a model which met Our wishes. Moreover, when the image of Buddha was completed, it could not be brought into the Hall, and none of the workmen could suggest a plan of doing so. They were, therefore, on the point of breaking down the doorway, when thou didst manage to admit it without breaking down the doorway. For all these services of thine, We grant thee the rank of Dainin, and We also bestow on thee twenty *chō* of water-fields¹⁵ in the district of Sakata in the province of Afumi." With the revenue derived from this land, Tori built for the Empress the Temple of Kongō-ji,¹⁶ now known as the nunnery of Sakata in Minabuchi.

Autumn, 7th month. The Empress requested the Prince Imperial to lecture on the *Sūtra of Queen Śrīmālā*.¹⁷ He completed his explanation of it in three days.

In this year the Prince Imperial also lectured on the *Lotus Sūtra*¹⁸ in the Palace of Okamoto. The Empress was greatly pleased, and bestowed on the Prince Imperial one hundred *chō* of water-fields in the Province of Harima. They were therefore added to the Temple of Ikaruga. [pp. 134-35]

.

16th year [608], "Autumn, 9th month. At this time there were sent to the land of T'ang¹⁹ the students Fukuin [and others], together with student priests Nichibun [and others], in all eight persons.

¹⁵ That is, rice-land.

¹⁶ Diamond-temple.

¹⁷ Skt. *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanūda*; Jap. *Shōmangyō*. [Ed.]

¹⁸ The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*; Jap. *Hokke-kyō*. [Ed.]

¹⁹ China, ruled when this occurred by the Sui dynasty, but at the time of writing by the T'ang dynasty. [Ed.]

In this year many persons from Silla came to settle in Japan. [p. 139]

.
22nd year [614], 6th month, 13th day. Mitasuki, Lord of Inugami, and Yatabe no Miyakko were sent to the Land of Great T'ang. [p. 145]

.
30th year [622], Autumn, 7th month. . . . At this time the Buddhist priests E-sai and E-kō, with the physicians E-jitsu and Fuku-in, students of the learning of the Great T'ang, arrived in company with . . . others. Now E-jitsu and the rest together made representation to the Empress, saying: "Those who have resided in T'ang to study have all completed their courses and ought to be sent for. Moreover, the Land of Great T'ang is an admirable country, whose laws are complete and fixed. Constant communication should be kept up with it." [p. 150]

.
28th year [620]. This year, the Prince Imperial, in concert with the Great Imperial Chieftain Soga, drew up a history of the emperors, a history of the country, and the original record of the Imperial Chieftains, Deity Chieftains, Court Chieftains, Local Chieftains, the 180 hereditary Corporations and the common people.²⁰ [p. 148]

.
29th year [621], Spring, 2nd month, 5th day. In the middle of the night the Imperial Prince Mumayado no Toyotomimi no Mikoto died in the Palace of Ikaruga. At this time all the Princes and Imperial Chieftains, as well as the people of the empire, the old, as if they had lost a dear child, had no taste for salt and vinegar²¹ in their mouths; the young, as if they had lost a beloved parent, filled the ways with the sound of their lamenting. The farmer ceased from his plough, and the pounding woman laid down her pestle. They all said: "The sun and moon have lost their brightness; heaven and earth have crumbled to ruin: henceforward, in whom shall we put our trust?"

In this month the Prince Imperial Kamitsumiya²² was buried in the Shinaga Misasagi.

At this time Hye-cha, the Buddhist priest of Koryo, heard of the death of the Prince Imperial Kamitsumiya, and was greatly grieved thereat. He

²⁰ Almost all of this work was burned during disturbances in 645 and the remainder is no longer extant. [Ed.]

²¹ To be understood generally of well-flavored food.

²² Prince Shōtoku.

invited the priests, and in honor of the Prince Imperial gave them a meal, and explained the sacred books in person. On this day he prayed, saying: "In the Land of Nippon there is a sage, by name the Imperial Prince Kamitsumiya Toyotomimi. Certainly Heaven has freely endowed him with the virtues of a sage.²³ Born in the Land of Nippon, he thoroughly possessed the three fundamental principles,²⁴ he continued the great plans of the former sages. He revered the Three Treasures,²⁵ and assisted the people in their distress. He was truly a great sage. And now the Prince Imperial is dead. I, although a foreigner, was in heart closely united to him. Now what avails it that I alone should survive? I have determined to die on the 5th day of the 2nd month of next year.²⁶ So shall I meet the Prince Imperial Kamitsumiya in the Pure Land, and together with him pass through the metempsychosis of all living creatures." Now when the appointed day came, Hye-cha died, and all the people of that day said one to another: "Prince Kamitsumiya is not the only sage, Hye-cha is also a sage." [pp. 148-49]

The Seventeen-Article Constitution of Prince Shōtoku

The influence of Confucian ethical and political doctrines is almost everywhere apparent in this set of basic principles of government. In Article II, however, Buddhism is specifically subscribed to as contributing to the ideal of social harmony. The fact that most of these principles are stated in very general terms reflects the characteristic outlook of Confucianism: the ruler should offer his people moral guidance and instruction, not burden them with detailed laws which involve compulsion rather than elicit cooperation. Therefore this Constitution exhorts the people to lay aside partisan differences and accept imperial rule in order to achieve social harmony. Ministers and officials are urged to be diligent and considerate, prompt and just in the settlement of complaints or charges, careful in the selection of assistants and wary of flatterers, conscientious in the performance of their duties while not overreaching their authority, and ever mindful of the desires of the people so that public good is put above private interest. Articles XII and XV alone refer to specific functions or prerogatives of the imperial government: the power to raise taxes, which is essential to any government, and the seasons in which forced labor is to be exacted, likewise an aspect of the power to tax. Both of these represent practical measures indispensable to establishment of the imperial

²³ According to the Confucian conception. [Ed.]

²⁴ Viz. Heaven, Earth, and Man. The meaning is that he was a philosopher.

²⁵ Of Buddhism.

²⁶ The anniversary of the Prince's death.

authority over a hitherto uncentralized society, no doubt with a view to achieving the uniformity and centralization which the Chinese empire exemplified.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 128-33]

12th year [604], Summer, 4th month, 3rd day. The Prince Imperial in person prepared for the first time laws. There were seventeen clauses, as follows:

I. Harmony is to be valued,²⁷ and an avoidance of wanton opposition to be honored. All men are influenced by partisanship, and there are few who are intelligent. Hence there are some who disobey their lords and fathers, or who maintain feuds with the neighboring villages. But when those above are harmonious and those below are friendly, and there is concord in the discussion of business, right views of things spontaneously gain acceptance. Then what is there which cannot be accomplished?

II. Sincerely reverence the three treasures. The three treasures, viz. Buddha, the Law, and the Monastic orders, are the final refuge of the four generated beings,²⁸ and are the supreme objects of faith in all countries. Few men are utterly bad. They may be taught to follow it. But if they do not betake them to the three treasures, wherewithal shall their crookedness be made straight?

III. When you receive the imperial commands, fail not scrupulously to obey them. The lord is Heaven, the vassal is Earth. Heaven over-spreads, and Earth upbears. When this is so, the four seasons follow their due course, and the powers of Nature obtain their efficacy. If the Earth attempted to overspread, Heaven would simply fall in ruin. Therefore is it that when the lord speaks, the vassal listens; when the superior acts, the inferior yields compliance. Consequently when you receive the imperial commands, fail not to carry them out scrupulously. Let there be a want of care in this matter, and ruin is the natural consequence.

IV. The ministers and functionaries should make decorous behavior their leading principle, for the leading principle of the government of the people consists in decorous behavior.²⁹ If the superiors do not behave with decorum, the inferiors are disorderly: if inferiors are wanting in proper behavior, there must necessarily be offenses. Therefore it is that when

²⁷ From the *Analepts* of Confucius, I, 12.

²⁸ That is, the beings produced in transmigration by the four processes of being born from eggs, from a womb, moisture-bred, or formed by metamorphosis (as butterflies from caterpillars).

²⁹ The Chinese *li*, decorum, or ceremony (rites).

lord and vassal behave with decorum, the distinctions of rank are not confused: when the people behave with decorum, the government of the commonwealth proceeds of itself.

V. Ceasing from gluttony and abandoning covetous desires, deal impartially with the suits which are submitted to you. Of complaints brought by the people there are a thousand in one day. If in one day there are so many, how many will there be in a series of years? If the man who is to decide suits at law makes gain his ordinary motive, and hears cases with a view to receiving bribes, then will the suits of the rich man be like a stone flung into water,⁸⁰ while the plaints of the poor will resemble water cast upon a stone. Under these circumstances the poor man will not know whither to betake himself. Here too there is a deficiency in the duty of the minister.

VI. Chastise that which is evil and encourage that which is good. This was the excellent rule of antiquity. Conceal not, therefore, the good qualities of others, and fail not to correct that which is wrong when you see it. Flatterers and deceivers are a sharp weapon for the overthrow of the State, and a pointed sword for the destruction of the people. Sycophants are also fond, when they meet, of dilating to their superiors on the errors of their inferiors; to their inferiors, they censure the faults of their superiors. Men of this kind are all wanting in fidelity to their lord, and in benevolence towards the people. From such an origin great civil disturbances arise.

VII. Let every man have his own charge, and let not the spheres of duty be confused. When wise men are entrusted with office, the sound of praise arises. If unprincipled men hold office, disasters and tumults are multiplied. In this world, few are born with knowledge: wisdom is the product of earnest meditation. In all things, whether great or small, find the right man, and they will surely be well managed: on all occasions, be they urgent or the reverse, meet but with a wise man, and they will of themselves be amenable. In this way will the State be lasting and the Temples of the Earth and of Grain will be free from danger. Therefore did the wise sovereigns of antiquity seek the man to fill the office, and not the office for the sake of the man.

VIII. Let the ministers and functionaries attend the court early in the morning, and retire late. The business of the State does not admit of

⁸⁰ That is, they meet with no resistance.

remissness, and the whole day is hardly enough for its accomplishment. If, therefore, the attendance at court is late, emergencies cannot be met: if officials retire soon, the work cannot be completed.

IX. Good faith is the foundation of right. In everything let there be good faith, for in it there surely consists the good and the bad, success and failure. If the lord and the vassal observe good faith one with another, what is there which cannot be accomplished? If the lord and the vassal do not observe good faith towards one another, everything without exception ends in failure.

X. Let us cease from wrath, and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful when others differ from us. For all men have hearts, and each heart has its own leanings. Their right is our wrong, and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men. How can any one lay down a rule by which to distinguish right from wrong? For we are all, one with another, wise and foolish, like a ring which has no end. Therefore, although others give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we alone may be in the right, let us follow the multitude and act like them.

XI. Give clear appreciation to merit and demerit, and deal out to each its sure reward or punishment. In these days, reward does not attend upon merit, nor punishment upon crime. Ye high functionaries who have charge of public affairs, let it be your task to make clear rewards and punishments.

XII. Let not the provincial authorities or the Kuni no Miyakko³¹ levy exaction on the people. In a country there are not two lords; the people have not two masters. The sovereign is the master of the people of the whole country. The officials to whom he gives charge are all his vassals. How can they, as well as the Government, presume to levy taxes on the people?

XIII. Let all persons entrusted with office attend equally to their functions. Owing to their illness or to their being sent on missions, their work may sometimes be neglected. But whenever they become able to attend to business, let them be as accommodating as if they had had cognizance

³¹ The Kuni no Miyakko were the old local nobles, whose power was at this time giving way to that of the central government, represented in the provinces by the *kokushi*, or local governors.

of it from before, and not hinder public affairs on the score of their not having had to do with them.

XIV. Ye ministers and functionaries! Be not envious. For if we envy others, they in turn will envy us. The evils of envy know no limit. If others excel us in intelligence, it gives us no pleasure; if they surpass us in ability, we are envious. Therefore it is not until after a lapse of five hundred years that we at last meet with a wise man, and even in a thousand years we hardly obtain one sage. But if we do not find wise men and sages, wherewithal shall the country be governed?

XV. To turn away from that which is private, and to set our faces towards that which is public—this is the path of a minister. Now if a man is influenced by private motives, he will assuredly feel resentments, and if he is influenced by resentful feelings, he will assuredly fail to act harmoniously with others. If he fails to act harmoniously with others, he will assuredly sacrifice the public interests to his private feelings. When resentment arises, it interferes with order, and is subversive of law. Therefore in the first clause it was said, that superiors and inferiors should agree together. The purport is the same as this.

XVI. Let the people be employed [in forced labor] at seasonable times. This is an ancient and excellent rule. Let them be employed, therefore, in the winter months, when they are at leisure. But from Spring to Autumn, when they are engaged in agriculture or with the mulberry trees, the people should not be so employed. For if they do not attend to agriculture, what will they have to eat? if they do not attend to the mulberry trees, what will they do for clothing?

XVII. Decisions on important matters should not be made by one person alone. They should be discussed with many. But small matters are of less consequence. It is unnecessary to consult a number of people. It is only in the case of the discussion of weighty affairs, when there is a suspicion that they may miscarry, that one should arrange matters in concert with others, so as to arrive at the right conclusion.



CHAPTER IV

CHINESE THOUGHT AND INSTITUTIONS IN EARLY JAPAN

At this point a chapter devoted especially to Chinese influences in early Japan may seem needless, for under every topic discussed so far this influence has been quite conspicuous. As the Yamato people consolidated their position in central Japan, and as their rulers attempted to win undisputed supremacy over other clans of the confederacy, it was to the Chinese example that they turned more and more for political guidance and cultural direction. In Prince Shōtoku we have already seen the embodiment of this tendency to adopt and adapt all that China might contribute to the unification and pacification of a restless, turbulent people.

But the most striking examples of this trend are to be found in the series of imperial edicts issued during the period of Great Reform (Taika), which began in 645. Proceeding from the theory enunciated in Shōtoku's Constitution that "In a country there are not two lords; the people have not two masters," these reforms asserted the doctrine that "Under the heavens there is no land which is not the king's land. Among holders of land there is none who is not the king's vassal." On this ground an ambitious program was launched to curb the powers of the clan leaders, who had frequently jeopardized the Throne itself in their struggles for power. In place of the old political organization based on clan units was set up the systematic territorial administration of the Chinese, with local governors sent out by the court, centrally directed and executing a uniform law which represented the paramount authority of the emperor. In keeping with this the central administration itself was overhauled so as to provide a close replica of the vast, symmetrical bureaucracy of the great T'ang empire. A new aristocracy was thereby created of those who held office and court rank conferred by the Throne. Thus the old and

complex class structure, along with the clan hierarchy based on birth and blood, was to be replaced by a simpler division of society into two main classes, the rulers and the common people, characteristic of imperial China.

The reformers did not, however, limit their actions to the political sphere. Indeed, implicit in the erection of this state machinery was the need for economic changes which would channel the wealth of the country toward the center of political power. Thus it was recognized from the first that the T'ang tax system was indispensable to the functioning of the T'ang-type administration. The T'ang tax system, moreover, presupposed a system of land nationalization and redistribution such as that instituted during the early years of that dynasty by the famous monarch, T'ai-tsung. Accordingly the Japanese reformers attempted to abolish "private" property, nationalize the land, redistribute it on the basis of family size, and adopt the Chinese system of triple taxation on land, labor, and produce. In fact, so meticulously was the Chinese example followed that land and tax registers for this period, preserved in the imperial repository at Nara, are almost identical in form and terminology to contemporary Chinese registers discovered recently at the western outpost of the Chinese empire, Tun-huang. Furthermore, by their assertion of the imperial right to universal labor and military service, the reformers went far toward achieving for the ruling house that absolute control over all the elements of power characteristic of the greatest Chinese dynasties. But with this wholesale imitation of China came likewise the chronic difficulties experienced by these dynasties, which were to undermine the new state almost from the start.

There was, however, a more profound and lasting influence exerted by China in these early years than the political changes inaugurated in the seventh century. This was the vast system of coordinated knowledge and belief of which the Chinese imperial structure was indeed the most imposing terrestrial symbol, but which stretched out into realms of thought and action both transcending and penetrating beneath the immediate political order. Like the imperial pattern itself this far-reaching syncretism was a product of the Han dynasties (202 B.C.-A.D. 220), in which parallel tendencies worked to unify and organize both the political and intellectual life of China. In the realm of thought this development was most apparent in the adoption of Confucianism as the state creed

and cult, expounded in the imperial university, incorporated into the civil service examinations, and systematized by scholars working for the Throne who tried to arrive at a definite version of the Confucian classics.

However, the Confucianism of the Han dynasties, introduced to Japan at the latest by the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., represented more than the essential ethical teachings of Confucius and his early followers. These teachings were there, at the base of the new intellectual edifice, but they had become overlaid and to some extent obscured by the great weight of correlative learning and doctrine which had taken shelter under its copious roof. This was not necessarily due to the fact that many popular beliefs sought to gain respectability by association with doctrines having the sanction of tradition and the state. Rather Confucianism itself had to battle with other potent philosophies for official favor, and in the process the fundamental rationalism of this school penetrated into realms of thought which it had previously not fully explored. By so doing it absorbed much from other traditions, such as the Taoist and Five Elements (or yin-yang) schools, to fill out its own lean frame.

Modern minds may find a great deal here that seems to have been poorly digested. Yet it must be recognized that in terms of the knowledge then available this synthesis is remarkable for its order and coherence, and in the hands of an articulate spokesman such as Tung Chung-shu, it served well to reinforce some of the fundamental political doctrines of the Confucian school, persuading absolute monarchs to use their power wisely and with restraint. It must also be remembered that, if much of its cosmology and the "sciences" derived from it were put to superstitious use, people in all times and places have been forced to act on the basis of incomplete knowledge, and therefore we must be careful to judge the activities of these people by their standards as well as our own.

At the heart of all such Confucian speculation is the doctrine, which it shared in common with other influential schools of thought, that the universe is a harmonious whole in which man and nature constantly interact on each other in all aspects of life. From this doctrine it was concluded that the actions of men, particularly as represented by their rulers, affect the natural order, which is sensitive above all to the ethical quality of their acts. If man fails to fulfill his proper function, nature acts or operates to restore the total balance or harmony. For this reason it was believed that natural occurrences, especially spectacular aberrations

from the normal course of nature, would reveal when properly interpreted the extent to which a man or ruler had lapsed from his duty or the proper course of conduct for him to follow.

The importance in China of divination and other primitive arts or sciences is evident when we consider that the earliest Chinese writing now preserved is found on oracle bones, recording the questions and responses that the diviners obtained by scrutinizing cracks made when the bones were heated. In later times we find that the astrologers were called "historians" (*shih*), and combined the functions of both diviners and compilers of records. Their influence is apparent in the Chinese view of history as the expression of the Will of Heaven. For the early Chinese historians a noteworthy event was not merely a fact to be recorded—it was to be interpreted either as an ill-omen or as a sign of Heaven's approval. Eclipses and comets were evident attempts of Heaven to express its desires, but the sight of an unusually shaped cloud was also sometimes considered important enough to warrant changing the name by which a part of an emperor's reign was known. The close connection persisting between the diviner and the historian is attested by the statement in the preface to the *True Records of Three Japanese Reigns* (A.D. 901) where the compilers declare their intent of fully recording the "auspicious signs with which Heaven favors the Lord of Men and the portents with which Heaven admonishes the Lord of Men." The application of this method is already fully evident in such an early history as the *Nihongi*.

Behind such a statement lay the belief in the necessary correspondences between the worlds of Heaven and earth. When the astronomers reported that the heavenly bodies had reached their spring positions, the rites suitable to spring had to be performed on earth. Or, if a lucky cloud indicated that some favorable change had been decreed by Heaven, a corresponding change, such as one of the reign name, had to be made on earth. Even Confucius was reported to have changed his countenance on hearing a clap of thunder. A failure to observe the changes in Heaven might lead to disasters on earth. If, for example, a rite suitable to winter were performed in the spring because of a faulty calendar, the crops would be blasted in the bud by wintry weather. The proper rites, on the other hand, could insure such blessings as seasonal rainfall. Tung Chung-shu, the Han philosopher, described various ways to insure that rain fell when it was needed: one of them was to have the government employees

and other subjects cohabit with their wives on a day chosen by yin-yang methods.

Different sciences were evolved to deal with events in the Three Realms—Heaven, Earth, and Man. These were astrology, geomancy, and the art of “avoiding calamities” respectively. Astrology enabled man to discover what was to be the fate of a kingdom or of an individual. The twelve divisions of the heavens (based on the twelve-year period of the planet Jupiter) had corresponding divisions on earth and when, for example, Jupiter was in the division of the heavens “controlling” a particular country, that country was safe from invasion. By learning the Will of Heaven from the stars one could predict events on earth. By geomancy and the art of “avoiding calamities,” on the other hand, the Will of Heaven could be cooperated with in the interests of man. Thus, when the site of Kyoto was chosen because it possessed the “proper” number of rivers and mountains, it represented an attempt to secure by geomancy the most auspicious surroundings for the new capital. Heaven had designed such a place for a capital and man could benefit by it. An even more important method of obtaining benefits from Heaven, particularly in Japan, was the art of “avoiding calamities.”

It was in A.D. 602 that the Korean monk Kwallük brought some books on geomancy and “avoiding calamities” to Japan. Several members of the court were selected to study with Kwallük, and some of the extraordinary changes which took place in the next few years may be attributed to the success of the new learning. In 604, a year whose astrological signs marked it for the adepts of “avoiding calamities” as a “revolutionary year,” Prince Shōtoku's Constitution in seventeen articles was proclaimed. (The number of articles, it will be remembered, was derived from the combination of eight, the largest yin number, and nine, the largest yang number.) In the same year also appeared the first Japanese calendar, an event of immense importance both in the writing of history and in the development of the rites of state.

It may be, of course, that these events did not actually occur in 604, but were credited to that year by later historians anxious to impart additional significance to them by the association with a “revolutionary year.” It seems clear now, for example, that the events attributed to the reign of the legendary Emperor Jimmu were assigned to “revolutionary years” by the compilers of the *Chronicles of Japan* for a similar reason.

There is in any case ample evidence of the prevalence of yin-yang (by which the whole Han Confucian ideology is meant) thinking in both the *Records of Ancient Matters* (712) and the *Chronicles of Japan* (720). The preface to the former work begins:

Now when chaos had begun to condense, but force and form were not yet manifest, and there was nought named, nought done, who could know its shape? Nevertheless Heaven and Earth first parted, and the Three Deities performed the commencement of creation; the yin and the yang then developed, and the Two Spirits became the ancestors of all things.¹

The *Chronicles of Japan* begins:

Of old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the yin and the yang not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an egg which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out, and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth.²

Perhaps the chief purpose of the compilation of the *Records of Ancient Matters* was to establish the legitimacy of the claim of the Emperor Temmu and his descendants to the throne. This was done in terms of both genealogy and virtue or accomplishment. It was declared of Temmu, among other things, that "he held the mean between the Two Essences [yin and yang], and regulated the order of the Five Elements." We can see, then, how intimately yin-yang thinking was connected with early Japanese historiography.

Mention of the five elements brings us to the center of the art of "avoiding calamities." An elaborate system of correspondences was evolved between the planets, the elements, the directions, the seasons, the signs of the zodiac, and various other categories, as follows:

Planet	Element	Direction	Season	Signs of the Zodiac
Jupiter	wood	east	spring	tiger, hare
Mars	fire	south	summer	serpent, horse
Saturn	earth	center	solstices ³	dog, ox, dragon, sheep
Venus	metal	west	autumn	monkey, cock
Mercury	water	north	winter	boar, rat

According to the theory of the five elements, the two elements bordering any particular element were beneficial to it, while the two separated elements were harmful. Thus, both wood and earth were beneficial to

¹ Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, p. 4.

² Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 1-2.

³ Summer and winter intervals between the seasons.

fire, but metal and water were harmful. Thus too, a person born under the sign of Mars would make a suitable spouse for one born under Jupiter and Saturn, but not for one born under Venus or Mercury. It was possible to "avoid calamity" by preventing a marriage or partnership between people born under conflicting elements.

In Japan life came to be ruled very largely by such beliefs. When we read novels of the Heian Period (794-1186) we cannot but be struck by the frequent mentions of "unlucky directions" or "unlucky days." For each person, depending on the planet which governed him, different directions were auspicious or inauspicious on a certain day. Diaries giving the astrological conditions of each day of the year were popular with the great men of the state, who regulated their plans according to the heavenly influences present. To advise the government on all matters of yin-yang lore, there was a department of yin-yang (*Onyōryō*) as early as A.D. 675, and detailed provisions for its organization were given in the Taihō Code of 701-2.

The yin-yang teaching was not confined to members of the court, however. It spread to all levels of Japanese society and affected almost every phase of daily living, though unlike Buddhism or Shinto, it had no organized clergy to promote or perpetuate it. The layout of a house and even the position of articles of furniture were determined by yin-yang. Thus, it was not advisable to place a chest containing valuables in the southern part of the house, for the south was the direction governed by the element fire, and anything left there was likely to be burned. To avoid such calamities care had to be given to the yin-yang directives on all matters.

The yin-yang attempt to explain the phenomena of the universe, both physical and spiritual, in terms of the five elements was increasingly successful and met little serious opposition. Some Buddhists appear to have been hostile at first to fortune-telling on the basis of the five elements, but later attempted to do much the same with five elements of their own choosing. By and large, however, the yin-yang teachings were widely accepted and remained unchallenged until modern times. Up to 1861, for example, the reign names continued to change regularly when one of the "revolutionary years" turned up in the cycle. The yin-yang system was resorted to on many occasions even in recent decades; lucky days were still chosen by yin-yang methods, and the zodiacal sign under which a person was born was rarely ignored in making marriages.

Yin-yang was not the only variety of Chinese thought familiar to the Japanese court of the Nara and Heian periods. The classics of Confucianism and Taoism were relatively well known, as is evinced by the poetry of the *Manyōshū*, an anthology completed in the eighth century. Here we find frequent echoes of Chinese thought in a form which indicates their familiarity even at that early date. Outright imitations of Chinese thought and literature may be found in the *Kaifūsō*, a collection of poetry in Chinese dating from A.D. 751. However, it was not only in literary works that Japanese writers showed their indebtedness to Chinese style and sentiments. When, for example, the commentary on the legal code of A.D. 833 was submitted to the Throne, it was accompanied by a memorial which is a tissue of allusions to Chinese literature. Thus, not only did Japan borrow the legal institutions of the T'ang dynasty for her own purposes, but she borrowed the flowery phraseology in which the Chinese were accustomed to give their reasons for the existence of laws. The use of such language undoubtedly had a profound influence on the development of thought in Japan, and specimens of it may be found in innumerable prefaces and memorials.

The lasting remains of the introduction of Chinese thought to early Japan are apparent in every field, but especially in the concept of imperial rule, sometimes called Tennōism. It is often thought that this concept is based mainly on the Japanese rulers' claim to unbroken succession from the Sun Goddess, but the only authority for this notion in the early period comes from writers anxious to emulate or outdo Chinese dynastic traditions. As for the assumption of absolute powers, which made of the Japanese king a divine emperor (Tennō), it plainly derives from the already fully developed autocracy of China, justified by the Mandate of Heaven. The successive steps taken toward the establishment of a strong central government reflect Japanese adherence to the Chinese concept of the sovereign as the possessor of the Mandate of Heaven. Prince Shōtoku's Constitution, the Taika Reforms, the adoption of Chinese legal and bureaucratic institutions, were all intended to strengthen the claims of the emperor to being a true Son of Heaven, a polar star about whom the lesser celestial luminaries turned. Symbolic of this trend is the choice of posthumous titles for the two great rulers of the late seventh century, Tenchi (Heavenly Wisdom) and Temmu (Heavenly Might).

The establishment of a permanent capital at Nara in 708 was also necessary for the prestige of the emperor in the eyes of his people as well

as in those of such Chinese dignitaries as might visit the country. The capital at Kyoto was built in imitation of Ch'ang-an, closely following yin-yang theories. The city was divided by eight streets and nine avenues. The palace, situated in the north in accordance with yin-yang, was surrounded by nine-fold walls. The emperor was served by a bureaucracy organized into nine departments of state, with eight ranks of officials. And, as if to protect the capital from baleful influences coming from the northeast, the unlucky quarter, a Buddhist monastery was built on Mt. Hiei, which lay in that direction. But prior to this event Buddhism itself had become a force to be reckoned with by the government, and to this development we shall turn in the next chapter.

CHINESE-STYLE HISTORY AND THE IMPERIAL CONCEPT

The following excerpts should be read in conjunction with those from the *Records of Ancient Matters (Kojiki)* and *Chronicles of Japan (Nihongi)*, contained in the first chapter, which were used to illustrate the legendary beginnings of the Japanese people and ruling house. The selections here, while related to the same subject, are intended to show especially how in the writing of history on Chinese models the imperial line is clothed with all the attributes of the ideal Chinese ruler, and how the Chinese concept of sovereignty is arbitrarily applied to the Japanese situation so as to strengthen the claims of the Yamato kings. This is the beginning of Tennōism.

Most of the Preface to the *Kojiki* is given here (the part preceding the excerpt in Chapter I) to show the compiler's aim and the general view of early Japanese history which is elaborated in the text itself. The *Kojiki* (712) has been thought to show less Chinese influence than the later *Nihongi* (720), but, as the notes amply demonstrate, Chinese conceptions are almost everywhere apparent.

Preface to *Records of Ancient Matters (Kojiki)*

[Adapted from Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, pp. 4-10]

Now when chaos had begun to condense, but force and form were not yet manifest, and there was nought named, nought done, who could know its shape? Nevertheless Heaven and Earth first parted, and the Three Deities performed the commencement of creation; the Passive and Active

Essences then developed, and the Two Spirits became the ancestors of all things. Therefore did he enter obscurity and emerge into light, and the Sun and Moon were revealed by the washing of his eyes; he floated on and plunged into the sea-water, and Heavenly and Earthly Deities appeared through the ablutions of his person. So in the dimness of the great commencement, we, by relying on the original teaching, learn the time of the conception of the earth and of the birth of islands; in the remoteness of the original beginning, we by trusting the former sages, perceive the era of the genesis of Deities and of the establishment of men. Truly we do know that a mirror was hung up, that jewels were spat out, and that then an Hundred Kings succeeded each other; that a blade was bitten, and a serpent cut in pieces, so that a Myriad Deities did flourish. By deliberations in the Tranquil River the Empire was pacified; by discussions on the Little Shore the land was purified. Wherefore His Augustness Ho-no-ni-ni-gi¹ first descended to the Peak of Takachi, and the Heavenly Sovereign Kamu-Yamato² did traverse the Island of the Dragon-Fly.³ A weird bear put forth its claws, and a heavenly saber was obtained at Takakura. They with tails obstructed the path, and a great crow guided him to Eshinu. Dancing in rows they destroyed the brigands, and listening to a song they vanquished the foemen. Being instructed in a dream he was reverent to the Heavenly and Earthly Deities, and was therefore styled the Wise Monarch;⁴ having gazed on the smoke, he was benevolent to the black-haired people,⁵ and is therefore remembered as the Emperor-Sage.⁶ Determining the frontiers and civilizing the country, he issued laws from the Nearer Afumi;⁷ reforming the surnames and selecting the gentile names, he held sway at the Further Asuka.⁸ Though each differed in caution and in ardor, though all were unlike in accomplishments and in intrinsic worth, yet was there none who did not by contemplating antiquity correct manners that had fallen to ruin, and by illumining modern times repair laws that were approaching dissolution.⁹

In the august reign of the Heavenly Sovereign who governed the Eight

¹ The abbreviated form of the name of the Sun Goddess' grandson.

² That is, the first "human emperor" Jimmu.

³ That is, Japan.

⁴ "The Emperor Sūjin" must be mentally supplied as the logical subject of this clause.

⁵ Chinese term for the people of China which is applied here to the Japanese.

⁶ "The Emperor Nintoku" is referred to.

⁷ "The Emperor Seimu" is referred to.

⁸ "The Emperor Ingyō" is referred to.

⁹ Characteristics of the Chinese sage-kings which are hardly appropriate here.

Great Islands from the Great Palace of Kiyomihara at Asuka,¹⁰ the Hidden Dragon put on perfection, the Reiterated Thunder came at the appointed moment.¹¹ Having heard a song in a dream, he felt that he should continue the succession; having reached the water at night, he knew that he should receive the inheritance. Nevertheless Heaven's time was not yet,¹² and he escaped like the cicada to the Southern Mountains; both men and matters were favorable, and he marched like the tiger to the Eastern Land. Suddenly riding in the imperial Palanquin, he forced his way across mountains and rivers: the Six Divisions rolled like thunder, the Three Hosts sped like lightning. The erect spears lifted up their might, and the bold warriors arose like smoke: the crimson flags glistened among the weapons, and the ill-omened crew were shattered like tiles. Or ere a day had elapsed, the evil influences were purified: forthwith were the cattle let loose and the horses given repose, as with shouts of victory they returned to the Flowery Summer; the flags were rolled up and the javelins put away, as with dances and chants they came to rest in the capital city. The year was that of the Cock, and it was in the Second Moon.¹³ At the Great Palace of Kiyomihara did he ascend to the Heavenly seat: in morality he outstripped the Yellow Emperor, in virtue he surpassed the kings of Chou. Having grasped the celestial seals, he was paramount over the Six Cardinal Points; having obtained the heavenly supremacy, he annexed the Eight Wildernesses. He held the mean between the Two Essences,¹⁴ and regulated the order of the Five Elements. He established divine reason wherewith to advance good customs; he disseminated brilliant usages wherewith to make the land great. Moreover the ocean of his wisdom, in its vastness, profoundly investigated the highest antiquity; the mirror of his heart, in its fervor, clearly observed former ages.¹⁵

Hereupon the Heavenly Sovereign commanded, saying: "I hear that the chronicles of the emperors and likewise the original words in the

¹⁰ Viz., the Emperor Temmu, who struggled for the crown in the latter part of the seventh century of our era against the contending claims of Prince Ôtomo.

¹¹ Chinese metaphors referring to the heir-apparent.

¹² According to the Han Confucian view of sovereignty, hereditary right alone did not guarantee succession. One had to await the Mandate of Heaven. [Ed.]

¹³ That is, March, A.D. 673 as represented by the Chinese calendar.

¹⁴ Yang and yin. In this case the meaning is probably that Temmu was neither excessively strict nor excessively lax. [Ed.]

¹⁵ Sentiments typical of Han Confucianism. [Ed.]

possession of the various families deviate from exact truth, and are mostly amplified by empty falsehoods. If at the present time these imperfections be not amended, ere many years shall have elapsed, the purport of this, the great basis¹⁸ of the country, the grand foundation of the monarchy, will be destroyed. So now I desire to have the chronicles of the emperors selected and recorded, and the old words examined and ascertained, falsehoods being erased and the truth determined, in order to transmit [the latter] to after ages."¹⁷ At that time there was a retainer whose surname was Hieda, and his personal name Are. He was twenty-eight years old, and of so intelligent a disposition that he could repeat with his mouth whatever met his eyes, and record in his heart whatever struck his ears. Forthwith Are was commanded to learn by heart the genealogies of the emperors, and likewise the words of former ages. Nevertheless time elapsed and the age changed, and the thing was not yet carried out.¹⁸

Prostrate I consider how Her Majesty the Empress, having obtained Unity, illumines the empire, being versed in the Triad, nourishes the people.¹⁹ Ruling from the Purple Palace,²⁰ Her virtue reaches to the utmost limits of the horses' hoof-marks: dwelling amid the Sombre Retinue, Her influence illumines the furthest distance attained to by vessels' prows. The sun rises, and the brightness is increased; the clouds disperse, neither is there smoke. Never cease the historiographers from recording the good omens of connected stalks and double rice-ears; never for a single moon is the treasury without the tribute of continuous beacon-fires and repeated interpretations.²¹ In fame She must be pronounced superior to Wen-ming, in virtue more eminent than T'ien-i.²²

¹⁸ Literally "warp and woof," typical Confucian terminology.

¹⁷ This is the imperial decree ordering the compilation of the *Records of Ancient Matters*.

¹⁸ That is, the Emperor Temmu died before the plan of the compilation of these "Records" had been carried into execution.

¹⁹ The phrase "obtained Unity" is borrowed from Lao Tzu. The "Triad" is the threefold intelligence of Heaven, Earth, and Man. The general meaning of the sentence is that the Empress' perfect virtue, which is in complete accord with the heavenly ordinances, is spread abroad throughout the empire, and that with her all-penetrating insight she nourishes and sustains her people.

²⁰ In the following four sentences the compiler expresses his respectful admiration of the Empress Gemmyō, who was on the throne at the time when he wrote, and tells us how wide was her rule and how prosperous her reign. The "Purple Palace" is one of the ornamental names borrowed from the Chinese to denote the imperial residence.

²¹ The whole sentence is borrowed scarcely without alteration from the Chinese work *Wen Hsüan*, ch. 46, preface to "Ch'ü-shui-shih," by Yen Yen-nien. [Ed.]

²² The Great Yü and T'ang the Completer, legendary Chinese rulers.

The First Emperor, Jimmu

The following extracts from the *Chronicles of Japan* deal with the reign of the Emperor Jimmu, who reputedly founded the earthly domain of the imperial line. It is clear that the concept of sovereignty and pretensions to universal rule advanced here (and made much of in the emperor-centered nationalism of modern times) are based on Han Chinese models. Hence the incongruities which appear when the historian, obviously with one eye on the claims of imperial China to being the Central Kingdom of the world, makes similar claims for this remote island kingdom.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 109-32]

The Emperor Kami Yamato Ihare-biko's personal name was Hiko-hohodemi. He was the fourth child of Hiko-nagisa-take-u-gaya-fuki-aezu no Mikoto. His mother's name was Tama-yori-hime, daughter of the Sea God. From his birth, this Emperor was of clear intelligence and resolute will. At the age of fifteen he was heir to the throne. When he grew up, he married Ahira-tsu-hime, of the district of Ata in the province of Hyūga, and made her his consort. By her he had Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto and Kisu-mimi no Mikoto.

When he reached the age of forty-five, he addressed his elder brothers and his children, saying: "Of old, Our Heavenly Deities Taka-mi-musubi no Mikoto, and Ō-hiru-me no Mikoto, pointing to this land of fair rice-ears of the fertile reed-plain, gave it to Our Heavenly ancestor, Hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto. Thereupon Hiko-ho no ninigi no Mikoto, throwing open the barrier of Heaven and clearing a cloud-path, urged on his superhuman course until he came to rest. At this time the world was given over to widespread desolation. It was an age of darkness and disorder. In this gloom, therefore, he fostered justice, and so governed this western border.¹ Our imperial ancestors and imperial parent, like gods, like sages, accumulated happiness and amassed glory. Many years elapsed. From the date when Our Heavenly ancestor descended until now it is over 1,792,470 years.² But the remote regions do not yet enjoy the blessings of imperial rule. Every town has always been allowed to have its lord, and every village its chief, who, each one for himself,

¹ That is, Kyushu.

² This is in imitation of the great number of years ascribed to the reigns of the early Chinese monarchs.

makes division of territory and practices mutual aggression and conflict.

"Now I have heard from the Ancient of the Sea³ that in the East there is a fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains. Moreover, there is there one who flew down riding in a Heavenly Rock-boat. I think that this land will undoubtedly be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly task,⁴ so that its glory should fill the universe. It is, doubtless, the center of the world.⁵ The person who flew down was, I believe, Nigi-haya-hi.⁶ Why should we not proceed thither, and make it the capital?"

All the Imperial Princes answered, and said: "The truth of this is manifest. This thought is constantly present to our minds also. Let us go thither quickly." This was the year Kinoe Tora [51st] of the Great Year.⁷ [pp. 109-11]

.

The year Tsuchinoto Hitsuji, Spring, 3rd month, 7th day. The Emperor made an order⁸ saying: "During the six years that Our expedition against the East has lasted, owing to My reliance on the Majesty of Imperial Heaven, the wicked bands have met death. It is true that the frontier lands are still unpurified, and that a remnant of evil is still refractory. But in the region of the Central Land⁹ there is no more wind and dust. Truly we should make a vast and spacious capital, and plan it great and strong.

"At present things are in a crude and obscure condition, and the people's minds are unsophisticated. They roost in nests or dwell in caves.¹⁰ Their manners are simply what is customary. Now if a great man were to establish laws, justice could not fail to flourish. And even if some gain should accrue to the people, in what way would this interfere with the

³ Shiho tsutsu no oji.

⁴ That is, for the further development of the imperial power.

⁵ The world is here the six quarters, North, South, East, West, Zenith, Nadir. This is, of course, Chinese, as indeed is this whole speech.

⁶ Nigi-haya-hi means soft-swift-sun.

⁷ The great year is the Chinese cycle of sixty years. It is needless to add that such dates are, in this part of the *Nihongi*, purely fictitious.

⁸ This whole speech is thoroughly Chinese in every respect, and it is preposterous to put it in the mouth of an Emperor who is supposed to have lived more than a thousand years before the introduction of Chinese learning into Japan.

⁹ Claiming for Japan the name always used for China: "Central Kingdom." [Ed.]

¹⁰ The reader must not take this as any evidence of the manners and customs of the ancient Japanese. It is simply a phrase suggested by the author's Chinese studies.

Sage's¹¹ action? Moreover, it will be well to open up and clear the mountains and forests, and to construct a palace. Then I may reverently assume the Precious Dignity, and so give peace to My good subjects. Above, I should then respond to the kindness of the Heavenly Powers in granting Me the Kingdom, and below, I should extend the line of the imperial descendants and foster rightmindedness. Thereafter the capital may be extended so as to embrace all the six cardinal points, and the eight cords may be covered so as to form a roof.¹² Will this not be well?

"When I observe the Kashiwa-bara plain, which lies SW of Mount Unebi, it seems the Center of the Land. I must set it in order."

Accordingly he in this month commanded officers to set about the construction of an imperial residence. [pp. 131-32]

Nintoku: Rule of Benevolence

Here is a striking example of the legendary Japanese emperor who is clothed in all the attributes of the Chinese sage-king, as the virtuous father of his people. The benevolent paternalism ascribed to Nintoku, a much later successor to Jimmu, became an important element in the glorification of the emperor as an embodiment, not simply of awesome power, but of divine virtue and love.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 278-79]

4th year, Spring, 2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying: "We ascended a lofty tower and looked far and wide, but no smoke arose in the land. From this We gather that the people are poor, and that in the houses there are none cooking their rice. We have heard that in the reigns of the wise sovereigns of antiquity,¹³ from everyone was heard the sound of songs hymning their virtue, in every house there was the ditty, 'How happy are we.' But now when We observe the people, for three years past, no voice of eulogy is heard; the smoke of cooking has become rarer and rarer. By this We know that the five grains¹⁴ do not come up, and that the people are in extreme want. Even

¹¹ Meaning the Emperor's action, because in Chinese tradition the early rulers were "sage-kings." [Ed.]

¹² The character for roof also means the universe. The eight cords, or measuring tapes, simply means "everywhere."

¹³ Actually Chinese antiquity. [Ed.]

¹⁴ Hemp, millet, rice, wheat and barley, pulse—the Five Grains of ancient China.

in the Home provinces¹⁵ there are some who are not supplied; what must it be in the provinces outside of Our domain?"

3rd month, 21st day. The following decree was issued: "From this time forward, for the space of three years, let forced labor be entirely abolished, and let the people have rest from toil." From this day forth his robes of state and shoes did not wear out, and none were made. The warm food and hot broths did not become sour or putrid, and were not renewed. He disciplined his heart and restrained his impulses so that he discharged his functions without effort.

Therefore the Palace enclosure fell to ruin and was not rebuilt; the thatch decayed, and was not repaired; the wind and rain entered by the chinks and soaked the coverlets; the starlight filtered through the decayed places and exposed the bed-mats. After this the wind and rain came in due season,¹⁶ the five grains produced in abundance. For the space of three autumns the people had plenty, the praises of his virtue filled the land, and the smoke of cooking was also thick.

7th year, Summer, 4th month, 1st day. The Emperor was on his tower, and looking far and wide, saw smoke arising plentifully. On this day he addressed the Empress, saying: "We are now prosperous. What can there be to grieve for?" The Empress answered and said: "What dost thou mean by prosperity?" The Emperor said: "It is doubtless when the smoke fills the lands, and the people freely attain to wealth." The Empress went on to say: "The Palace enclosure is crumbling down, and there are no means of repairing it; the buildings are dilapidated so that the coverlets are exposed. Can this be called prosperity?" The Emperor said: "When Heaven establishes a Prince, it is for the sake of the people. The Prince must therefore make the people the foundation. For this reason the wise sovereigns of antiquity, if a single one of their subjects was cold and starving, cast the responsibility on themselves. Now the people's poverty is no other than Our poverty; the people's prosperity is none other than Our prosperity. There is no such thing as the people's being prosperous and yet the Prince in poverty."¹⁷

¹⁵ The territory round the capital ruled immediately by the emperor. This is a Chinese phrase, not properly applicable to Japan at this period.

¹⁶ The notion that the virtues of the emperor have a direct influence on the weather is, of course, Chinese.

¹⁷ This whole episode is the composition of someone well acquainted with Chinese literature. The sentiments are throughout characteristically Chinese, and in several cases whole sentences are copied verbatim from Chinese works.

THE REFORM ERA

The way was cleared for the inauguration of the Taika reforms in 645 by the overthrow of the powerful Soga clan. Prior to this the *Nihongi* records many strange occurrences and calamities, as if Heaven were showing its displeasure over the Soga usurpation of imperial power. Then Fujiwara Kamatari and the future Emperor Tenchi appear on the scene as leaders of a "restoration." Kamatari, from the Nakatomi clan traditionally charged with Shinto priestly functions, is said to have declined several times the post of Superintendent of the Shinto religion. After his successful coup the Emperor he installed on the throne is likewise identified in the *Nihongi* as one who "despised the Way of the Gods (Shinto)." Kamatari devoted himself to Chinese learning and is cast by the historian in the role of the Duke of Chou, the statesman instrumental in founding the Chou dynasty in China and in establishing what was regarded by Confucianists as the ideal social order.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 184-239]

Fujiwara Kamatari and the Future Emperor Tenchi

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 184-85]

The Deity Chieftain Nakatomi no Kamako [Fujiwara Kamatari] was a man of an upright and loyal character and of a reforming disposition. He was indignant with Soga no Iruka for breaking down the order of Prince and Vassal, of Senior and Junior, and cherishing veiled designs upon the State. One after another he associated with the Princes of the imperial line, trying them in order to discover a wise ruler who might establish a great reputation. He had accordingly fixed his mind on Naka no Ōe, but for want of intimate relations with him he had been so far unable to unfold his inner sentiments. Happening to be one of a football¹ party in which Naka no Ōe [the future Tenchi] played at the foot of the keyaki tree of the Temple of Hōkōji, he observed the [Prince's] leathern shoe fall off with the ball. Placing it on the palm of his hand, he knelt before the Prince and humbly offered it to him. Naka no Ōe in his turn knelt down and respectfully received it. From this time they became mutual friends, and told each other all their thoughts. There was no longer any concealment between them. They feared, however, that jealous suspicions might be caused by their frequent meetings

¹ What kind of football—like ours, or in Chinese fashion, knocking the ball from one to another like a shuttle-cock—does not appear.

and they both took in their hands yellow rolls,² and studied personally the doctrines of Chou³ and Confucius with the learned Minabuchi. Thus they at length while on their way there and back, walking shoulder to shoulder, secretly prepared their plans. On all points they were agreed.

Inauguration of the Great Reform Era

After the assassination of the Soga leaders, the reigning empress abdicated and a new government was formed with the future Tenchi as Crown Prince and Kamatari as Chief Minister actually directing affairs. A new reign and era title was therefore announced, Taika, meaning "Great Transformation."

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 197-98]

4th year of Kōkyoku (645), 6th month, 19th day. The Emperor, the Empress Dowager, and the Prince Imperial summoned together the Ministers under the great tsuki tree, and made an oath appealing to the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and saying:

"Heaven covers Us: Earth upbears Us: the imperial way is but one. But in this last degenerate age, the order of Lord and Vassal was destroyed, until Supreme Heaven by Our hands put to death the traitors. Now, from this time forward, both parties shedding their heart's blood, the Lord will eschew double methods of government, and the Vassal will avoid duplicity in his service of the sovereign! On him who breaks this oath, Heaven will send a curse and earth a plague, demons will slay them, and men will smite them. This is as manifest as the sun and moon."⁴

The style 4th year of the Empress Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi tarashihime was altered to Taika, 1st year.

Reform Edicts

Only a few of the most important edicts are included here, outlining the major steps taken by the court to extend its political and fiscal control over the country. These aimed at establishing centralized administration of the Chinese type over areas which previously had enjoyed considerable autonomy under hereditary clan chieftains.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 200-226]

² Chinese books.

³ The Duke of Chou, statesman and sage instrumental in founding the Chou dynasty in China. [Ed.]

⁴ It may be noted that there is nothing Buddhist or Shinto in this vow. It is pure Chinese. It is not exactly an oath according to our ideas, but an imprecation on rebellion.

1st year of Taika [645], 8th month, 5th day. Governors of the Eastern provinces were appointed. Then the Governors were addressed as follows: "In accordance with the charge entrusted to Us by the Gods of Heaven, We propose at this present for the first time to regulate the myriad provinces.

"When you proceed to your posts, prepare registers of all the free subjects of the State and of the people under the control of others, whether great or small. Take account also of the acreage of cultivated land. As to the profits arising from the gardens and ponds, the water and land, deal with them in common with the people. Moreover it is not competent for the provincial Governors, while in their provinces, to decide criminal cases, nor are they permitted by accepting bribes to bring the people to poverty and misery. When they come up to the capital they must not bring large numbers of the people in their train. They are only allowed to bring with them the Local Chieftains and the district officials. But when they travel on public business they may ride the horses of their department, and eat the food of their department. From the rank of Suke⁶ upwards those who obey this law will surely be rewarded, while those who disobey it shall be liable to be reduced in cap-rank. On all, from the rank of Hangan⁶ downwards, who accept bribes a fine shall be imposed of double the amount, and they shall eventually be punished criminally according to the greater or less heinousness of the case. Nine men are allowed as attendants on a Chief Governor, seven on an assistant, and five on a secretary. If this limit is exceeded, and they are accompanied by a greater number, both chief and followers shall be punished criminally.

"If there be any persons who lay claim to a title⁷ but who, not being Local Chieftains, Imperial Chieftains, or Custodians⁸ of districts by descent, unscrupulously draw up lying memorials, saying: 'From the time of our forefathers we have had charge of this Miyake or have ruled this district,' in such cases, ye, the Governors, must not readily make application to the court in acquiescence in such fictions, but must ascertain particularly the true facts before making your report.

"Moreover on waste pieces of ground let arsenals be erected, and let the swords and armor, with the bows and arrows of the provinces and

⁶ Assistant to a governor.

⁷ Literally, name.

⁸ Assistant district chief.

⁹ Collectors and guardians of tax grain.

districts, be deposited together in them. In the case of the frontier provinces which border close on the Emishi,⁹ let all the weapons be mustered together, and let them remain in the hands of their original owners. In regard to the six districts of the province of Yamato, let the officials who are sent there prepare registers of the population, and also take into account the acreage of cultivated land.

"This means to examine the acreage of the cultivated ground, and the numbers, houses, and ages of the people." [pp. 200-201]

.

9th month, 19th day. Commissioners were sent to all the provinces to take a record of the total numbers of the people. The Emperor on this occasion made an edict, as follows:

"In the times of all the Emperors, from antiquity downwards, subjects have been set apart for the purpose of making notable their reigns and handing down their names to posterity. Now the Imperial Chieftains and Deity Chieftains, the Court Chieftains and Local Chieftains, have each one set apart their own vassals, whom they compel to labor at their arbitrary pleasure. Moreover they cut off the hills and seas, the woods and plains, the ponds and rice-fields belonging to the provinces and districts, and appropriate them to themselves. Their contests are never-ceasing. Some engross to themselves many tens of thousand of *shiro*¹⁰ of rice-land, while others possess in all patches of ground too small to stick a needle into. When the time comes for the payment of taxes, the Imperial Chieftains, the Deity Chieftains and the Court Chieftains, first collect them for themselves and then hand over a share. In the case of repairs to palaces or the construction of misasagi, they each bring their own vassals, and do the work according to circumstances. The Book of Changes says: 'Diminish that which is above: increase that which is below: if measures are framed according to the regulations, the resources [of the State] suffer no injury, and the people receive no hurt.'

"At the present time, the people are still few. And yet the powerful cut off portions of land and water,¹¹ and converting them into private ground, sell it to the people, demanding the price yearly. From this time forward the sale of land is not allowed. Let no man without due authority make

⁹ Ainu.

¹⁰ A land measure of 15.13 acres.

¹¹ That is, rice ground and other cultivated land.

himself a landlord, engrossing to himself that which belongs to the helpless."

The people were greatly rejoiced. [pp. 204-5]

2nd year [646], Spring, 1st month, 1st day. As soon as the ceremonies of the new year's congratulations were over, the Emperor promulgated an edict of reform, as follows:

"I. Let the people established by the ancient Emperors, etc., as representatives of children be abolished, also the Miyake of various places and the people owned as serfs by the Wake, the Imperial Chieftains, the Deity Chieftains, Court Chieftains, Local Chieftains and the Village Headmen. Let the farmsteads¹² in various places be abolished." Consequently fiefs¹³ were granted for their sustenance to those of the rank of Daibu and upwards on a descending scale. Presents of cloth and silk stuffs were given to the officials and people, varying in value.

"Further We say. It is the business of the Daibu to govern the people. If they discharge this duty thoroughly, the people have trust in them, and an increase of their revenue is therefore for the good of the people.

"II. The capital is for the first time to be regulated, and Governors appointed for the Home provinces and districts. Let barriers, outposts, guards, and post-horses, both special and ordinary, be provided, bell-tokens¹⁴ made, and mountains and rivers regulated.¹⁵

"For each ward in the capital let there be appointed one alderman, and for four wards one chief alderman, who shall be charged with the superintendence of the population, and the examination of criminal matters. For appointment as chief alderman of wards let men be taken belonging to the wards, of unblemished character, firm and upright, so that they may fitly sustain the duties of the time. For appointment as aldermen, whether of rural townships or of city wards, let ordinary subjects be taken belonging to the township or ward, of good character and solid capacity. If such men are not to be found in the township or ward in

¹² Of serfs.

¹³ Not a true feudal domain, but lands from which these officials could draw the tax proceeds as a form of salary. [Ed.]

¹⁴ Signs of rank indicating the number of horses an official was entitled to—a Chinese practice.

¹⁵ By the regulation of mountains and rivers is meant the provision of guards at ferries and mountain passes which serve as boundaries between different provinces.

question, it is permitted to select and employ men of the adjoining township or ward.

"The Home provinces shall include the region from the River Yokogawa at Nabari on the east, from Mount Senoyama in Kii on the south, from Kushibuchi in Akashi on the west, and from Mount Afusakayama in Sasanami in Afumi on the north. Districts of forty townships¹⁶ are constituted Greater Districts, of from thirty to four townships are constituted Middle Districts, and of three or fewer townships are constituted Lesser Districts. For the district authorities, of whatever class, let there be taken Local Chieftains of unblemished character, such as may fitly sustain the duties of the time, and made Tairei and Shōrei.¹⁷ Let men of solid capacity and intelligence who are skilled in writing and arithmetic be appointed assistants and clerks.

"The number of special or ordinary post-horses given shall in all cases follow the number of marks on the posting bell-tokens. When bell-tokens are given to [officials of] the provinces and barriers, let them be held in both cases by the chief official, or in his absence by the assistant official.

"III. Let there now be provided for the first time registers of population, books of account and a system of the receipt and regranting of distribution-land.¹⁸

"Let every fifty houses be reckoned a township, and in every township let there be one alderman who shall be charged with the superintendence of the population,¹⁹ the direction of the sowing of crops and the cultivation of mulberry trees, the prevention and examination of offenses, and the enforcement of the payment of taxes and of forced labor.

"For rice-land, thirty paces in length by twelve paces in breadth shall be reckoned a *tan*.²⁰ Ten *tan* make one *chō*. For each *tan* the tax is two sheaves and two bundles [such as can be grasped in the hand] of rice; for each *chō* the tax is twenty-two sheaves of rice. On mountains or in valleys where the land is precipitous, or in remote places where the population is scanty, such arrangements are to be made as may be convenient.

¹⁶ A township consisted of 50 houses.

¹⁷ Greater and Lesser Governors.

¹⁸ The *Denryō* (Land Regulations) says, "In granting *Kō-bun-den* (land shared in proportion to population) men shall have two *tan*, women a third less, and children under five years of age none. Lands are granted for a term of six years."

¹⁹ That is, of the registers of population.

²⁰ Allowing five feet to the pace, this would make the *tan* 9,000 square feet.

"IV. The old taxes and forced labor are abolished, and a system of commuted taxes instituted. These shall consist of fine silks, coarse silks, raw silk, and floss silk, all in accordance with what is produced in the locality. For each *chō* of rice-land the rate is one rod²¹ of fine silk, or for four *chō* one piece forty feet in length by two and a half feet in width. For coarse silk the rate is two rods [per *chō*], or one piece for every two *chō* of the same length and width as the fine silk. For cloth the rate is four rods of the same dimensions as the fine and coarse silk, i.e., one *tan*²² for each *chō*. [No rates of weight are anywhere given for silk or floss silk.] Let there be levied separately a commuted house tax. All houses shall pay each one rod and two feet of cloth. The extra articles of this tax, as well as salt and offerings, will depend on what is produced in the locality. For horses for the public service, let every hundred houses contribute one horse of medium quality. Or if the horse is of superior quality, let one be contributed by every two hundred houses. If the horses have to be purchased, the price shall be made up by a payment from each house of one rod and two feet of cloth. As to weapons, each person shall contribute a sword, armor, bow and arrows, a flag, and a drum. For coolies, the old system, by which one coolie was provided by every thirty houses, is altered, and one coolie is to be furnished from every fifty houses (one is for employment as a menial servant) for allotment to the various functionaries. Fifty houses shall be allotted to provide rations for one coolie, and five *masu*²³ of rice in lieu of service.

"For waiting women in the Palace, let there be furnished the sisters or daughters of district officials of the rank of *Shōrei* or upwards—good-looking women (with one male and two female servants to attend on them) and let one hundred houses be allotted to provide rations for one waiting-woman. The cloth and rice supplied in lieu of service shall, in every case, follow the same rule as for coolies." [pp. 206-9]

. . . .

Autumn, 8th month, 14th day. An edict was issued saying:

"Going back to the origin of things, We find that it is Heaven and Earth with the male and female principles of nature,²⁴ which guard the four seasons from mutual confusion. We find, moreover, that it is this

²¹ Ten feet.

²² There are two *tan* to the *hiki* or piece, which now measures about $21\frac{1}{2}$ yards.

²³ Or *shō* = 109 cubic inches.

²⁴ The yin and yang of Chinese philosophy.

Heaven and Earth²⁵ which produces the ten thousand things. Amongst these ten thousand things Man is the most miraculously gifted. Among the most miraculously gifted beings, the sage takes the position of ruler. Therefore the sage-rulers, viz. the Emperors, take Heaven as their exemplar in ruling the World, and never for a moment dismiss from their breasts the thought of how men shall gain their fit place.

"Now as to the names of the early Princes, the Imperial Chieftains, Deity Chieftains, Court Chieftains and Local Chieftains have divided their various hereditary corporations²⁶ and allotted them severally to their various titles (or surnames). They afterwards took the various hereditary corporations of the people, and made them reside in the provinces and districts, one mixed up with another. The consequence has been to make father and child to bear different surnames, and brothers to be reckoned of distinct families, while husbands and wives have names different from one another. One family is divided into five or split up into six, and both court and country are therefore filled with contentious suits. No settlement has been come to, and the mutual confusion grows worse and worse. Let the various hereditary corporations, therefore, beginning with those of the reigning Emperor and including those in the possession of the Imperial and Deity Chieftains, etc., be, without exception, abolished, and let them become subjects of the State. Those who have become Court Chieftains by borrowing the names of princes, and those who have become Imperial or Deity Chieftains on the strength of the names of ancestors, may not fully apprehend Our purport, and might think, if they heard this announcement without warning, that the names borrowed by their ancestors would become extinct. We therefore make this announcement beforehand, so that they may understand what are Our intentions." [pp. 223-24]

.

"Let the local Governors who are now being dispatched, and also the Local Chieftains of the same provinces, give ear to what We say. In regard to the method of administration notified last year to the Court Assembly, let the previous arrangement be followed, and let the rice lands which are received and measured be granted equally to the people, with-

²⁵ That is, Nature.

²⁶ Instituted in commemoration of princes and bearing their names, or names intended to recall their memory.

out distinction of persons. In granting rice lands the peasants' houses should adjoin the land. Those whose houses lie near the lands must therefore have the preference. In this sense receive Our injunctions.

"In regard to commuted taxes,²⁷ they should be collected from males [only].

"Laborers should be supplied at the rate of one for every fifty houses. The boundaries of the provinces should be examined and a description or map prepared, which should be brought here and produced for Our inspection. The names of the provinces and districts will be settled when you come.

"With respect to the places where embankments are to be constructed, or canals dug, and the extent of rice land to be brought under cultivation, in the various provinces, uniform provision will be made for causing such work to be executed.

"Give ear to and understand these injunctions." [pp. 225-26]

The White Pheasant

Just as in the years preceding the Great Reform many calamities and bad omens are recorded in the *Nihongi* to justify a change of rule, so in after years auspicious events are recorded to show how Heaven favored the new regime. The greatest stir at court was over the discovery of a white pheasant, a sign interpreted with reference to Chinese legendry as if this were the authentic heritage of Japan itself. The episode is thus an apt illustration of the Han Confucian view in politics and the writing of history.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 236-39]

Hakuchi era, 1st year [650], 2nd month, 9th day. Shikofu, Deity Chieftain of Kusakabe, Governor of the Province of Anato, presented to the Emperor a white pheasant, saying: "Nihe, a relation of Obito, the Local Chieftain, caught it on the 9th day of the first month on Mount Onoyama." Upon this inquiry was made of the Lords of Paekche, who said: "In the eleventh year of Yung-p'ing [A.D. 68], in the reign of Ming Ti of the Later Han dynasty, white pheasants were seen in a certain place." Further, inquiry was made of the Buddhist priests, who answered and said: "With our ears we have not heard, nor with our eyes have we seen such. May it please Your Majesty to order a general amnesty; and so give joy to the hearts of the people."

. . . .

²⁷ Of other things than rice.

The Priest Bin said: "This is to be deemed a lucky omen, and it may reasonably be accounted a rare object. I have respectfully heard that when a Ruler extends his influence to all four quarters, then will white pheasants be seen. They appear, moreover, when a Ruler's sacrifices are not in mutual disaccord, and when his banquets and costumes are in due measure. Again, when a Ruler is of frugal habits, white pheasants are made to come forth on the hills. Again, they appear when the Ruler is sage and humane. In the time of the Emperor Ch'êng Wang of the Chou Dynasty, the Yüeh-shang²⁸ family brought and presented to the Emperor a white pheasant, saying: 'We were told by the old men of our country: "What a long time it has been since there have been any exceptional storms or long-continued rains, and that the great rivers and the sea have not surged up over the land! Three years have now elapsed. We think that in the Central Land there is a Sage. Would it not be well to go and pay your respects at his court?" We have therefore come, having tripled our interpreters.' Again, in the first year of Hsien-ning²⁹ in the reign of Wu-ti of the Tsin Dynasty, one was seen in Sung-tzu. This is accordingly a favorable omen. A general amnesty ought to be granted."

Upon this the white pheasant was let loose in the garden.

15th day. The array of guards at court was like that on the occasion of a New Year's reception. The Great Ministers of the Right and Left and all the functionaries formed four lines outside of the purple gate. Ihimushi, Imperial Chieftain of Ahata, and three others were made to take the pheasant's litter and move off ahead. . . . These four men . . . taking up the pheasant's litter in turn, advanced in front of the Hall. Then the Great Ministers of the Right and Left approached and held the litter by the forward end. The Prince of Ise, Maro, Lord of Mikuni, and Oguso, Imperial Chieftain of Kura, took hold of the hinder end of the litter and placed it before the imperial throne. The Emperor straightway called the Prince Imperial, and they took it and examined it together. The Prince Imperial having retired, made repeated obeisances, and caused the Great Minister Kose to offer a congratulatory address, saying: "The Ministers and functionaries offer their congratulations. Inasmuch as Your Majesty governs the Empire with serene virtue, there is here a white pheasant, produced in the western region. This is a sign that Your Majesty will continue for a thousand autumns and ten thousand years peacefully to govern the Great eight-islands of the four quarters. It is

²⁸ The name of a region lying to the south of China.

²⁹ A.D. 275.

the prayer of the Ministers, functionaries, and people that they may serve Your Majesty with the utmost zeal and fidelity."

Having finished this congratulatory speech, he made repeated obeisances. The Emperor said:

"When a sage Ruler appears in the world and rules the Empire, Heaven is responsive to him, and manifests favorable omens. In ancient times, during the reign of Ch'êng-wang of the Chou Dynasty, a ruler of the Western land,³⁰ and again in the time of Ming Ti of the Han Dynasty, white pheasants were seen. In this Our Land of Japan, during the reign of the Emperor Homuda,³¹ a white crow made its nest in the Palace. In the time of the Emperor Ô-sazaki,³² a Dragon-horse appeared in the West.³³ This shows that from ancient times until now, there have been many cases of auspicious omens appearing in response to virtuous rulers. What we call phoenixes, unicorns, white pheasants, white crows, and such like birds and beasts, even including herbs and trees, in short all things having the property of significant response, are favorable omens and auspicious signs produced by Heaven and Earth. Now that wise and enlightened sovereigns should obtain such auspicious omens is meet and proper. But why should We, who are so empty and shallow, have this good fortune? It is no doubt wholly due to Our Assistants, the Ministers, Imperial Chieftains, Deity Chieftains, Court Chieftains and Local Chieftains, each of whom, with the utmost loyalty, conforms to the regulations that are made. For this reason, let all, from the Ministers down to the functionaries, with pure hearts reverence the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and one and all accepting the glad omen, make the Empire to flourish."

Again he commanded, saying:

"The provinces and districts in the four quarters having been placed in Our charge by Heaven, We exercise supreme rule over the Empire. Now in the province of Anato, ruled over by Our divine ancestors, this auspicious omen has appeared. For this reason We proclaim a general amnesty throughout the Empire, and begin a new year-period, to be called White Pheasant. Moreover We prohibit the flying of falcons within the limits of the province of Anato."

³⁰ China.

³¹ Ôjin Tennô.

³² Nintoku Tennô.

³³ The dragon-horse has wings on its head. It crosses water without sinking. It appears when an illustrious sovereign is on the throne.

THE COMMENTARY ON THE LEGAL CODE
(RYŌ NO GIGE)

One of the principal Chinese influences on the thought of early Japan was exerted by the legal codes of T'ang China. As early as the reign of the Emperor Tenchi (662-71) there appears to have been compiled a Japanese code, but almost nothing of it remains. The Taihō Code of 701-2, on the other hand, continued to be the basic law of Japan until after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. In this code many Chinese institutions were taken over directly in spite of their unsuitability for the far less developed society of Japan. An elaborate bureaucracy was organized based on the merit system. The Taihō Code was not, however, a mere copy of T'ang precedents. New provisions were also made for the Shinto priesthood and other peculiarly Japanese institutions.

The laws themselves came to assume an even greater importance for the Japanese than they did for the Chinese, and occupied a central place in Japanese thinking for many centuries. The commentary on the legal code of 834 was an extremely successful attempt to interpret the laws and show their significance for Japanese society.

*Memorial on the Submission of the Commentary
on the Legal Code*

[From the *Kokushū Taikei*, XXII, 348-50]

Your subjects, Natsuno¹ and others, report: the study of the successive rulers of old and the perusal of early writings show that whenever a sovereign assuming the succession mounted the throne, took his position facing South,² and declared himself Emperor, decrees were invariably announced and the law proclaimed as the warp and woof of the government of the country. Rites and punishments were also established to serve as a bulwark in the protection of the dynasty. Although, just as dragons and phoenixes differ in their appearance, some rulers favored literary pursuits and others the simple virtues, they all arrived by different roads at the same end of instructing the common people and protecting them.

Your subjects prostrate themselves and state as their considered opinion: Your Majesty, whose Way shines to the four quarters and whose Virtue surpasses that of all kings, sits impassively in marble halls, a model to the world. Wherever in your domains human society exists, rites and music

¹ Kiyohara no Natsuno (782-837).

² In the yin-yang cosmology the ruler's place was in the north, facing south. He was likened to the North Star, to which all the other stars "bow."

are in honor; and as far as your powerful influence extends, all men, civilized and barbarian alike, show joyful appreciation. Now Your Majesty, who rises so early he dresses in darkness, lest the conduct of government go amiss; and who neglects eating until it is late because of his concern for the people's happiness, has issued an edict decreeing that experts in law be found. It was your consideration that the interpretations of earlier scholars were at times contradictory; the shallow observations tended to get mixed with the profound; and their merits were difficult to judge.

Your subjects cannot approach Chang Ts'ang in scholarship, nor Ch'en Ch'ung in achievements.³ Mediocre of talent as we are, how great was our honor in accepting your appointment! We have attempted to revise and correct the legal writings, now adding and now deleting. Whenever there were problems which we could not solve, or ambiguities which could not be cleared up, we always looked up to Your Majesty's august rulings for our authority. New times require new laws, which are in the spirit of those of ancient times, but suited to the present. Indeed, these laws will change the ways of thought of the people, and will also serve as a guide for all rulers. The compilation is in ten volumes and is entitled the *Commentary on the Legal Code*. Five years elapsed before the fair copy could be completed and respectfully submitted.

Your subjects, Natsuno and others, bow their heads and, with awe and trepidation, offer these words. [28th January 834.]

Regulations for Fitness Reports

A merit system of recruitment and promotion was the heart of the imperial bureaucracy in China. Here the Japanese attempt to duplicate it. Eventually inability to overcome by these means the strong native tradition of hereditary rank and office-holding completely vitiated the civil service system and with it the whole bureaucratic structure.

[From *Kokushi Taikei*, XXII, 149-56]

Fitness reports must be submitted annually by the chief of every department for all civil and military officers under his command in the court or in the provinces. The merits, demerits, conduct, and abilities of all persons for whom reports are made should be recorded in detail, so

³ Chang Ts'ang (d. 161 B.C.) and Ch'en Ch'ung (d. A.D. 107) were noted statesmen and lawgivers of the Han dynasty.

that they may be consulted in classifying the officers into nine grades of merit. The reports must be completed by the thirtieth day of the eighth moon. Reports on officers stationed in the capital or the provinces of the Inner Circuit should be submitted to the Great Council of State by the first day of the tenth moon; reports for officers in other provinces should be submitted not later than the first day of the eleventh moon through the Imperial Inspectors. Acts of merit or demerit performed after the submission of reports should be entered in the records of the following year. In case a department is without a chief, the fitness reports should be made by a vice-chief.

Reports on the acts and merits of all officers should be in the form of a day-to-day account. In cases where a private offense committed during a previous term of office is uncovered and judgment is to be passed on it, it should be treated as though it had been committed during the present term. If it is then decided to remove the officer from his position, the length of his previous service and his record should be taken into consideration.

Chiefs of department submitting fitness reports must state only the facts with no interpolations of either favorable or unfavorable material. If a false report results in an unwarranted promotion or demotion, or if an officer's actual fitness is concealed so that his rank will be raised or lowered, the reporting officer responsible shall be demoted in accordance with the seriousness of his error. An imperial inspector who promotes or demotes an officer in disregard of his record shall similarly be held responsible.

Merits:

1. When an officer has a reputation for virtue and a sense of duty, it is to be counted as a merit.
2. When an officer's honesty and conscientiousness are evident, it is to be counted as a merit.
3. When an officer's devotion to public good and justice arouses praise, it is to be counted as a merit.
4. When an officer performs faithful and diligent service, it is to be counted as a merit.

Articles of Excellence:

To carry out the festivals and ceremonies of the Deities of Heaven and

Earth in exact compliance with established procedure is to be counted the excellence of a Shinto official.

To address memorials in favor of that which is advantageous to the state and against that which is harmful; and to discuss government business in accordance with reason are to be counted the excellence of a Major Counsellor.

To act in strict accord with instructions received; and to be clear and fluent of speech are to be counted the excellence of a Minor Counsellor.

To handle general state business; and to dispose of it without delay are to be counted the excellence of a Controller.

To wait in attendance on the Emperor and transmit memorials to him; and to be prompt in the execution of his duties are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Ministry of Central Affairs.

To evaluate men; and to select all those of ability and talent are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Ministry of Ceremony.

To hold monks and nuns to the teachings of Buddha; and to keep registered subjects under control are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Ministry of Civil Administration.

To maintain order among the population; and to ensure abundant supplies in the storehouses are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Ministry of the Interior.

To select military officers; and to prepare munitions of war are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Ministry of Military Affairs.

To pass judgments without delay; and to give rewards or exact punishments justly are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Ministry of Justice.

To be scrupulous in the care of deposits; and to be well-informed of expenditures and receipts are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Ministry of the Treasury.

To be competent in furnishing provisions; and to expedite the management of the various departments of the Palace are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Ministry of the Imperial Household.

To be energetic in investigations and competent in the arraignment of suspects is to be counted the excellence of a Censor.

To promote good manners and morals; and to suppress robbery and banditry are to be counted the excellence of an Officer of the Capital.

To prepare the imperial meals; and to observe faultless cleanliness are to be counted the excellence of a Commissioner of Food.

To maintain rigid discipline and constant vigilance is to be counted the excellence of a Guards officer.

To ensure that music is well harmonized and does not fall into discord is to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Bureau of Music.

To keep order among monks and nuns; and to see to it that aliens are lodged in suitable quarters are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Bureau of Buddhism and Aliens.

To budget court expenditures; and to be accurate in accounting are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Bureau of Statistics.

To be scrupulous in the care of storehouses; and to be well-informed about incoming and outgoing shipments are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Bureau of Tax Collection.

To feed, train, and stable horses; and to have grooms available are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Bureau of Horses.

To dry in the sun or air stores with care; and to be well-informed about incoming and outgoing shipments are to be counted the excellence of an officer of the Bureau of Military Storehouses.

To serve in constant attendance at court; and to repair omissions and supplement deficiencies are to be counted the excellence of a Chamberlain.

To engage in unremitting supervision; and to be accurately informed about all incoming and outgoing property are to be counted the excellence of an Inspector-Official.

To perform night watch in the Palace; and to behave in perfect conformity to etiquette are to be counted the excellence of a Lord in Waiting.

To regulate official business; and to see to it that office hours are properly observed are to be counted the excellence of all officers of the secondary rank and above.

To promote the pure and to remove evil-doers; and to ensure that praise or censure is properly given are to be counted the excellence of a Commissioner of Personnel.

To carry out examinations in a thorough and detailed manner; and to be familiar with all types of affairs are to be counted the excellence of a judge.

To engage unremittingly in public service; and to perform one's work without oversights are to be counted the excellence of all officers.

To be assiduous in keeping records; and to examine into failings without glossing over them are to be counted the excellence of a clerk.

To keep detailed records in model order; and to excel both in language and in reasoning are to be counted the excellence of an historian.

To be clear in the recording of facts; and to communicate successfully imperial orders are to be counted the excellence of a palace scribe.

To be methodical in instruction; and to fit students for their work are to be counted the excellence of a Learned Scholar.

To be effective in yin-yang divination, astronomy, medicine, and fortunetelling is to be counted the excellence of a diviner.

To observe the motions of the celestial bodies; and to be accurate in the calculation of their movements are accounted the excellence of a Scholar of the Calendar.

To supervise markets and shops; and to prevent cheating and other forms of deception are accounted the excellence of a Markets Officer.

To investigate the facts of a case; and to reveal their circumstances are accounted the excellence of a Constable.

To perform state ceremonies; and to maintain suitable military preparations are accounted the excellence of the Governor General of Kyūshū.

To be strict in the administration of all business; and to insist on the honesty of his subordinates are accounted the excellence of a provincial governor.

To be impartial in his dealings with local people; and accomplished in his official duties are accounted the excellence of an assistant governor.

To keep the coast guard in fighting trim; and to have munitions ready for an emergency are accounted the excellence of the Coast Guards Officer.

To be brief in his questions and not to delay travelers unnecessarily is accounted the excellence of a barrier-keeper.

An officer who possesses four merits in addition to the excellence suited to his post is to be classified Superior, First Class.

An officer who possesses three merits in addition to his excellence, or who possesses four merits without his excellence, is to be classified Superior, Second Class.

An officer who possesses two merits in addition to his excellence, or who possesses three merits without his excellence, is to be classified Superior, Third Class.

An officer who possesses one merit in addition to his excellence, or who possesses two merits without his excellence, is to be classified Medium, First Class.

An officer who possesses his excellence but no merits, or who possesses one merit without his excellence, is to be classified Medium, Second Class.

An officer who has a crude competence in his position, but possesses neither a merit nor his excellence, is to be classified Medium, Third Class.

An officer who indulges in his own likes and dislikes and who is unreasonable in his judgments is to be classified Inferior, First Class.

An officer who acts against the public interest for personal reasons and fails in his official duties is to be classified Inferior, Second Class.

An officer who flatters and lies, or who appears avaricious and dishonest, is to be classified Inferior, Third Class.

Special consideration should be given when an officer's record is being reviewed whether he possesses praiseworthy characteristics not covered under the list of merits or excellences; or whether, if he is guilty of some offense, there are not extenuating circumstances; or whether, if he is technically guiltless, he should nevertheless be condemned.

NEW COMPILATION OF THE REGISTER OF FAMILIES

The importance of genealogy in determining claims to sovereignty was demonstrated by the *Records of Ancient Matters* (A.D. 712). The Japanese, who thus stressed the divine descent of the imperial family, were confirmed in this by the Han view of the Mandate of Heaven as conferred, not on individuals, but on dynasties which themselves had been provided with genealogies going back to the sage-kings. However, in the following preface, in that to the *Kojiki*, and in several Taika edicts, there is evidence that Japanese family genealogies were in a great state of confusion until the seventh century, when Chinese histories were brought over containing well-ordered genealogies of important families. This no doubt inspired the Japanese to draw up similar records, not only of the imperial house, but of all important families. The *New Compilation of the Register of Families* (*Shinsen shōji-roku*, A.D. 815) is one result of this development.

The influx of Korean and Chinese immigrants during the Nara Period and earlier had in some respects presented a challenge to the Japanese, for the immigrants were clearly superior to the Japanese in their knowledge of the techniques of civilization. The advantage that the Japanese claimed was their descent from the gods, and to this heritage they jealously clung.

In the *Register of Families*, the names given are divided into three classes: "All descendants of heavenly and earthly deities are designated as the Divine Group; all branches of the families of Emperors and royal princes are called the Imperial Group; and families from China and Korea are called the Alien Group." It perhaps seems surprising that the "descendants of heavenly and earthly deities" (who must have included a good part of the Japanese population) should have been mentioned before the imperial family. However, since these deities ruled over the land of Japan before the arrival of the imperial family from Heaven, they deserved their pride of place.

Preface in the Form of a Memorial to Emperor Saga

[From the *Kōgaku Sōsho*, IV, 123-24]

They say that the Divine Dynasty had its inception when the Grandson of Heaven descended to the land of So¹ and extended his influence in the West,² but no written records are preserved of these events. In the years when Jimmu assumed command of the state and undertook his campaign to the East, conditions grew steadily more confused, and some tribal leaders rose in revolt. When, however, the Heaven-sent sword appeared and the Golden Kite flew to earth,³ the chieftains surrendered in great numbers and the rebels vanished like mist. Jimmu, accepting the Mandate of Heaven, erected a palace in the central province and administered justice. Peace reigned throughout the country. Land was allotted to men who were deemed virtuous in accordance with their merits. Heads of clans were granted such titles as Local Chieftain [*Kuni-no-miyatsuko*] and District Chieftain [*Agata-nushi*] for the first time.

Suinin⁴ cultivated good fortune by his ever-renewed benevolent favors. Through such acts the Golden Mean was attained. [At this time] clans and families were gradually distinguished one from the other. More-

¹ An ancient name for the southern part of the island of Kyūshū. Location of Mount Takachiho where Ninigi, the Grandson of Heaven, made his descent. (See p. 20.)

² Kyūshū is in the west of Japan.

³ Signs confirming Jimmu's divine right to imperial dominion. (See Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 115, 126.)

⁴ The name Suinin means "to be benevolent" (of an emperor), and may have that meaning here rather than that of a proper name.

over, Imna came under our influence and Silla brought tribute. Later, barbarians from other countries, in due reverence for his virtue, all wished to come to Japan. Out of solicitude for these aliens, he bestowed family names on them. This was an outstanding feature of the time.

During the reign of Inkyō,⁵ however, family relationships were in great confusion. An edict was accordingly issued, ordering that oaths be tested by the trial of boiling water. Those whose oaths were true remained unscathed, while the perjurers were harmed. From this time onwards the clans and families were established and there were no impostors. Rivers ran in their proper courses.

While Kōgyoku held the Regalia,⁶ however, the provincial records were all burnt, and the young and defenseless had no means of proving their antecedents. The designing and the strong redoubled their false claims. Then, when the Emperor Tenchi was Heir Apparent, Eseki, an archivist of the Funa family, presented to the court the charred remains of the records. In the year of metal and the horse (A.D. 670) the family registers were re-compiled and the relationships of clans and families were all clarified. From this time on revisions were always made by succeeding sovereigns from time to time.

During the Tempyō Shōro era (749-57), by special favor of the court, all aliens who had made application were granted family names. Since the same surnames were given to the immigrants as Japanese families possessed, uncertainty arose as to which families were of alien and which of native origin. There were commoners everywhere who pretended to be the scions of the high and the mighty, and immigrant aliens from the Korean kingdoms claimed to be the descendants of the Japanese deities. As time passed and people changed scarcely anyone was left who knew the facts.

During the latter part of the Tempyō Hōji era (757-65) controversies about these matters grew all the more numerous. A number of eminent scholars were therefore summoned to compile a register of families. Before their work was half completed, however, the government became involved in certain difficulties. The scholars were disbanded and the compilation was not resumed. . . .

Our present Sovereign,⁷ of glorious fame, desired that the work be resumed at the point where it was abandoned. . . . We, his loyal sub-

⁵ Traditional dates: A.D. 411-53.

⁶ A.D. 642-45.

⁷ Saga (809-23).

jects, in obedience to his edicts, have performed our task with reverence and assiduity. We have collected all the information so as to be able to sift the gold from the pebbles. We have cleared the old records of confusion and have condensed into this new work the essential facts contained in them. New genealogies have been purged of fictitious matter and checked with the old records. The concision and simplicity of this work are such that its meaning will be apparent as the palm of one's hand. We have searched out the old and new, from the time of the Emperor Jimmu to the Kōnin era (811-24) to the best of our abilities. The names of 1,182 families are included in this work, which is in thirty volumes. It is entitled the "New Compilation of the Register of Families." It is not intended for pleasure-reading, and the style is far from polished. Since, however, it is concerned with the key to human relationships, it is an essential instrument in the hands of the nation.

Preface to the *Kaifūsō*

The *Kaifūsō*—"Fond Recollections of Poetry"—is the first anthology of poetry in Chinese written by Japanese. It was compiled in A.D. 751 but includes verses dating back some seventy-five years previous, to the reign of the Emperor Tenchi. The *Kaifūsō* is today chiefly of historical interest. It contains some of the earliest attempts by Japanese writers (including emperors and princes) to compose in literary Chinese, and therefore often gives more the effect of copybook exercises than true poetry. Even when the subject of a poem is Japanese—such as a visit to the Yoshino River—the main effort of the writer appears to be directed towards including as many allusions to Chinese literature and history as possible.

The preface to the *Kaifūsō* is an example of Chinese parallel prose. The style is rather clumsily handled by the unknown compiler, who is sometimes driven to desperate measures to maintain a parallel. Almost every sentence is jammed with allusions, some of them now extremely difficult to understand fully.

However imperfect the style and technique of this preface, it is important because it clearly shows how great the prestige of Chinese literature (and thought) was even during this early period.

[From (*Shinsen*) *Meika Shishū*, pp. 499-500]

From what I have heard of ancient practices and seen of the records of long ago, in the age of the divine descent from Heaven on the mountain of So and in the time when the country was founded at Kashiwabara,

Heaven's work was at its bare inception, and human culture was yet to flourish. When the Empress Jingū led the expedition over the water and the Emperor Ōjin mounted the throne, Paekche brought homage to the court and revealed the dragon-writing. Koguryo presented memorials inscribed with crow-writing and bird-writing. It was Wani who first brought learning to Karushima; Shinji later spread his teachings in the field of translation. He caused the people to become imbued with the breeze from the riversides dear to Confucius and Mencius, and made them direct their steps towards the doctrines of Ch'i and Lu.¹ With Prince Shōtoku the ranks of honor were established; the offices of government were demarcated; and court rites and ceremonies were for the first time regulated. However, because of the exclusive devotion shown to Buddhism, there was no time for literature. But when the former Emperor Ōmi received Heaven's mandate he vastly expanded the imperial achievements and widely extended the sovereign's counsels. His virtue reached to heaven and earth; his merit shone through the universe like sunlight. Thus did he long meditate: "To regulate customs and bring culture to the people, nothing is more valuable than literature; to cultivate virtues and make oneself resplendent in them, what could come before learning?" Therefore he founded schools and sought persons of flourishing talent. He determined the Five Rites and fixed the Hundred Regulations. The principles of government, the laws, and the rules of state were promulgated far and wide, as never before in history. Then the Three Classes enjoyed peace and glory; within the Four Seas reigned prosperity and wealth. The great dignitaries had surcease from their labors; the palace galleries knew much leisure. At times the emperor summoned men of letters; often great banquets were held. On these occasions the imperial brush let fall prose; the courtiers offered their eulogies in verse. Many more than a hundred were the pieces of chiseled prose and exquisite calligraphy. But with the passage of time, disorders reduced all these writings to ashes. How heart-rending it is to think of the destruction!

In later times men of letters occasionally appeared. A prince, a dragon apparent, made cranes soar in the clouds with his brush; a phoenix-like emperor floated his moonlit boat on misty waters. Ōkami, the Councillor of State, lamented his greying hair, and demonstrated the flourishing

¹ Native states of Mencius and Confucius.

fruits of his art during the last emperor's reign; Fujiwara, the Grand Minister, celebrated the imperial rule and caused his glorious voice to echo through later times.

My minor position at the court has permitted me the leisure to let my fancy wander in the garden of letters and to read the works left by the men of former days. When I recall now those sports with the moon and poetry, how blurred are my remembrances—yet, the words left by old brushes remain. As I go over the titles of the poems my thoughts are carried far away, and the tears flow without my realizing it. As I lift the lovely compositions, my mind searches the distant past, and I long for those voices which are now stilled.

Thus it has come about that I have collected the scraps left in the wall at Lu, and assembled the fragments remaining in the ashes left by Ch'in,² beginning with the long-ago reign at Ōmi and coming down to the court of Nara. Altogether I have included 120 pieces, enough to make a volume. I have listed in detail the names, court ranks, and origins of the sixty-four authors. Since my reason for making this anthology was to keep from oblivion the poetry of the great men of former days, I think it is proper to call the collection *Kaifū*—Fond Reminiscences.

It is the eleventh moon of the third year of Tempyō Shōhō [751], and the stars are at the juncture of metal and hare.

² Likening himself to the Han dynasty scholars who rediscovered and preserved the Confucian texts.



CHAPTER V

NARA BUDDHISM

In the tenth moon of A.D. 552 the King of Paekche sent to Japan an envoy with presents of an image of Buddha and sacred writings, apparently hoping thereby so to ingratiate himself with the Japanese court as to win their military support. Together with his presents he submitted a memorial lauding Buddhism in these terms:

This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent, but it is hard to explain and hard to comprehend. Even the Duke of Chou and Confucius could not attain a knowledge of it. This doctrine can create religious merit and retribution without measure and without bounds, and so lead on to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom. Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes in proportion as he used them. Thus it is with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine. Every prayer is fulfilled and naught is wanting. Moreover, from distant India it has extended hither to Korea, where there are none who do not receive it with reverence as it is preached to them.¹

We are told that the Emperor Kimmei was so delighted with these tidings that he leapt for joy. The head of the Soga clan, no less affected, urged that Japan follow the lead of all other civilized nations in adopting the new religion. More conservative elements at the court objected, however, saying that the worship of foreign deities could not but incense the national gods. Soga was presented with the image and allowed to worship it, but when, shortly afterwards, a pestilence broke out, the Shinto adherents persuaded the emperor that it was a manifestation of the wrath of the gods. The image of Buddha was thrown into a moat, and the temple built by the Soga family was razed.

Nothing much more was heard of Buddhism until 584, when another member of the Soga clan was given two Buddhist images that had come from Korea. He erected a temple to enshrine them, and had three girls ordained as nuns by a Korean priest who happened to be living in Japan.

¹ Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 66.

This, we are informed by the *Chronicles of Japan*, marked the real beginning of Buddhism in the country. However, it was not long before another plague caused the Shinto factions to throw the holy images into the moat and to defrock the nuns. When these rigorous measures failed to halt the spread of the disease, the emperor finally agreed to allow the Soga family to worship Buddhism as it chose, and the nuns were given back their robes.

Within a few years of the second start of Buddhism in Japan, a number of learned Korean priests began to arrive. Among their most eager disciples was Prince Shōtoku, who is credited with having delivered lectures on three important sūtras to the Empress Suiko. Most of the emperors and empresses in the century following were devout Buddhists; indeed, the Nara Period (709-84) in some ways marks the high point of Buddhism in Japan.

It is not difficult to understand the success of the new religion. At the time of its introduction to Japan Buddhism was nearly a thousand years old and, as the first world religion, had marched triumphantly to the east and west, raising temples and monasteries, and filling grottoes and caves with an amazing profusion of art. It had become a well organized and tested faith constituted under its Three Treasures—Buddha, the Law (Dharma), and the Monastic orders (Sangha). It possessed a highly developed and decorated pantheon as its objects of worship, a tremendous accumulation of literature called the *Tripitaka*, and a priesthood dedicated to the propagation of the teachings by oaths of celibacy, sobriety, and poverty.

In this connection it should be stressed that the importance of Buddhist missionary activity in Japan went far beyond the propagation of the faith alone. Chinese and Korean monks, carried across stormy seas by religious zeal, at the same time served as the carriers of superior Chinese culture. They were no doubt well aware that identification or association with this high culture lent them great prestige in the eyes of admiring Japanese, but whether they chose to capitalize on this or not, it would in any case have been impossible to disengage this new religion from its cultural embodiment in China, the land of its adoption. To establish the new faith in Japan required the transplanting of essential articles—images, vestments, books, ritual devices—as well as of ideas. The Japa-

nese apprenticeship in the study of Chinese writing was undoubtedly served in the copying by hand of large numbers of Buddhist sūtras, distributed by imperial order to the various temples and monasteries. Furthermore, to erect temples and monasteries carpenters and artisans had to be brought over along with missionary priests. This is illustrated by an entry in the *Nihongi* for the reign of Sujun (c. 588):

This year the land of Paekche sent envoys, and along with them the Buddhist priests, Hyejong [and others] with a present of Buddhist relics. The land of Paekche sent the Buddhist ecclesiastics Susin [and others] with tribute and also with a present of Buddhist relics, the Buddhist priest Yongjo, the ascetics Yongwi [and others], the temple carpenters Taeryangmidae and Mungagoja, a man learned in the art of making braziers and chargers, . . . men learned in pottery . . . and a painter named Poega.²

But it is apparent, too, that Buddhist priests were vessels for the transmission of branches of learning having no direct connection with religious doctrine or institutions, yet which they evidently regarded as being in no way incompatible with the former. Thus during the tenth year of Suiko (602) it is recorded:

A Paekche priest named Kwallük arrived and presented by way of tribute books of calendar-making, of astronomy and of geomancy, and also books on the art of invisibility and magic. At this time three or four pupils were selected and made to study under Kwallük. Ōchin, the ancestor of the scribes of Yako, studied the art of calendar-making. Kōsō, Otomo no Suguri, studied astronomy and the art of invisibility. Hinamitatsu, the Imperial Chieftain of Yamashiro, studied magic. They all studied so far as to perfect themselves in these arts.³

In the forms it took, Nara Buddhism was an extension of that of T'ang China. For example, it is in the Nara Period that we first hear of Buddhist sects in Japan, and it is usual to speak of the "Six Sects" then introduced from China. Some of them, particularly the two Hīnayāna sects, appear never to have been independent, having served primarily as forms of academic discipline for the priesthood. The three main philosophical features of Nara Buddhism were the dialectics of negation (Sanron or "Three-Treatises" sect, associated with the great Indian scholar Nāgārjuna and transmitted by Kumārajīva), the doctrine of the attainment of enlightenment through the powers of the mind (Hossō or

² Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 117.

³ Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 126.

"Dharma-Character" sect, associated with Vasubandhu and Hsüan-tsang), and the metaphysics of the harmonious whole (taught by the Kegon or "Flower-Wreath" sect).

Common to these seemingly disparate ideas was the basic Buddhist doctrine of change, the antithesis of the rigidity of the Han Confucian picture of the world. Heaven was not considered as the unvarying model for life on earth, but as an outward manifestation of universal evolution. Buddhism insisted on the need to free ourselves from a reliance on external things in our attempt to reach ultimate reality. Externals are so changeable that they can only deceive. They must therefore be negated exhaustively, until all the usual distinctions of becoming, which arise from incomplete knowledge, are denied and perfect knowledge can be attained. Such was the teaching of Nāgārjuna. For the followers of the Hossō sect, the school of the great Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, the outer world did not exist at all, but was a creation of our own minds. How could man turn to the motions of the stars for guidance when they were illusory and without permanent reality? Even in the Kegon school, which preached a cosmological harmony governed by Lochana Buddha, who sits on a lotus throne of a thousand petals, each of which is a universe containing millions of worlds like ours, it is the mutable nature of this system and not its permanence (like the Confucian Heaven) which is emphasized. Within the great harmony of the Kegon (or Flower Wreath) all beings are related, and capable of mutual penetration until they attain a fundamental communion with Buddha and through him with all other beings.

It is highly problematical how much of these abstruse doctrines was understood by Japanese Buddhists of the Nara Period. Expressions of religious fervor generally assumed a tangible form. The patronage of Buddhism by the court led to the building of the magnificent temples and monasteries of Nara, some of which still survive. Certain court ceremonies such as the open confession of sins (*keka*) show how the strong desire to lead a religious life permeated ruling circles. Buddhist influence led also to the making of highways and bridges, to the use of irrigation, and to exploration of distant parts of the country by itinerant monks (who drew the earliest Japanese maps). Such features of Japanese life as the public bath and cremation also date from Buddhist inspiration of this time.

For the small number of priests and scholars of the Nara Period who were well-versed in Buddhist literature, three sūtras were of especial importance: the *Sūtra of Past and Present, Cause and Effect*; the *Sūtra of the Golden Light*; and the *Kegon, or Flower Wreath Sūtra*. The first-mentioned of these sūtras is a biography of Buddha which declares his extraordinary attainments to have been the cumulative merit of his meritorious deeds from the infinitely distant past to the present. This concept offers a marked contrast to the Han Confucian doctrine of kingly attainment being based on conformity with the Way of Heaven, or the theory of the *Kojiki*, where we find genealogy to be the essential factor governing kingship.

The responsibilities of a ruler, and indeed the entire question of the relationship between the state and Buddhism, were most completely discussed in the *Sūtra of the Golden Light*. This masterpiece of Buddhist literature is a synthesis of the creative doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism, presented in a form as satisfying aesthetically as it is ethically. The *Sūtra of the Golden Light* played a more important role than any other in establishing Buddhism as the religion of Japan, and its influence continued undiminished for centuries. It opens with an eloquent proclamation of the eternity of Buddha's life, and declares that he exists not only as a historical figure with a human form, but in the cosmos as the ultimate Law or Truth, and in the life hereafter as the savior possessed of an all-embracing love. Since Buddha is omnipresent, everything that exists is subject to his eternal vigilance of boundless compassion. The sūtra declares further that the gates of the Paradise of the Lotus where Buddha dwells are always open to all of humanity, for anyone can become a Buddha. The methods the sūtra especially recommends for bringing about this change for the better are expiation and self-sacrifice; the climax of the entire narration is the parable of Buddha giving himself up to a hungry lion.

The central theme of the entire sūtra, however, is the life of reason—*prajñā*, which distinguishes good from evil and right from wrong. Everyone, from the king to his lowliest subject, must obey the dictates of the inner light of reason. The religious life starts with an awareness of one's sins and the desire to atone for them. It is reason which enables us to surmount these failings, and the highest expression of the triumph of reason is in an act of self-sacrifice. Reason is associated also with healing;

Buddha is not only supremely possessed of reason but is the great healer. It was this aspect of Buddha which appealed most to Japanese of the Nara Period as is witnessed by the predominant role of Yakushi, or the Healing Bodhisattva, not only in temples specifically dedicated to him, but in all centers of worship. The *Sūtra of the Golden Light* contains a chapter entirely devoted to medicine and healing, illustrating the close connection between religious belief and medicine. (It should be noted also that Buddhist priests introduced many medicines from China during the Nara Period.)

The political aspects of the sūtra are most clearly stated in the chapter on laws (*Ōbōshō-ron*). It is declared that government and religion are united by the Buddhist Law (or Dharma). The law of men must be universal but not final, always subject to change, with peace as its ultimate end. Any king who violates the Law will be punished; but as long as he is faithful to it, Buddha will see to it that he enjoys immeasurable blessings. Japanese monarchs during the Nara Period held this sūtra in such reverence that they attempted to make of it an instrument of state policy. Copies of the sūtra were distributed in all the provinces in A.D. 741 by order of the Emperor Shōmu, one of the most devout rulers. At about the same time Shōmu ordered each province to build a seven-storied pagoda, and to establish a Guardian Temple of the Province and an Atonement Nunnery of the Province.

It was Shōmu also who was responsible for the building of the Great Image of Lochana Buddha, the most famous monument of the Nara Period. Just as Lochana Buddha is the central figure of the cosmogony of the *Kegon* sūtra, the Great Image and its temple were intended as the center of the provincial temples and nunneries. The *Kegon* sūtra is said to have been the teaching delivered by Buddha immediately after attaining enlightenment, when he made no attempt to simplify the complexities of his doctrines for the benefit of the less capable. Its difficulty kept it from attaining the popularity of the *Sūtra of the Golden Light*, but its importance is evident from the efforts devoted to the completion of the Great Image (over fifty feet high). When in 749 gold was discovered in Japan for the first time, it was regarded as an auspicious sign for the completion of the monument. The Emperor Shōmu declared:

This is the Word of the Sovereign who is the Servant of the Three Treasures, that he humbly speaks before the Image of Lochana.

In this land of Yamato since the beginning of Heaven and Earth, Gold, though it has been brought as an offering from other countries, was thought not to exist. But in the East of the land which We rule . . . Gold has been found.

Hearing this We were astonished and rejoiced, and feeling that this is a Gift bestowed upon Us by the love and blessing of Lochana Buddha, We have received it with reverence and humbly accepted it, and have brought with Us all Our officials to worship and give thanks.

This We say reverently, reverently, in the Great Presence of the Three Treasures whose name is to be spoken with awe.⁴

We cannot but be struck by the humility of the terms employed by Shōmu. For him to have claimed to be a "servant" of the Three Treasures marks an astonishing departure from the previously held ideas of kingship in Japan. There seemingly remained only one further step to be taken to make Japan into a true Buddha-land: to have a sovereign who was a priest of Buddha's Law so that the country could be governed in perfect consonance with these teachings. During the reign of Shōmu's daughter, the Empress Shōtoku, the transference of rule to a Buddhist priest all but happened.

In A.D. 764 the Empress Shōtoku, who had previously abdicated, suddenly decided to reassume the throne in spite of the Buddhist vows she had taken. In the same proclamation she declared that she was appointing Dōkyō, a Master of the Hossō sect, to be her chief minister. Dōkyō steadily rose in power. In 766 he was appointed "king of the law" (*hōō*), and several years later the Empress, acting on a false oracle, was on the point of abdicating the throne in his favor. However, the powerful conservative forces at the court blocked this move, and Japan never again came so close to becoming a Buddha-land. The Empress Shōtoku died in 770, Dōkyō was disgraced, and the new rulers turned away from Nara to Kyoto, where new forms of Buddhism were to dominate the scene.

THE SŪTRA OF THE GOLDEN LIGHT

The full title of this work, *Sūtra of the Sovereign Kings of the Golden Light Ray* (*Konkō myō saishō ō gyō*), refers to the Deva Kings who came to pay homage to the Buddha. To its inspiration is due the first temple built by

⁴ Sansom, "The Imperial Edicts in the Shoku-Nihongi," *TASJ*, 2d series, I, 26.

the court, the Shitennō (or Four Deva Kings). When Temmu seized the throne in 672, this sūtra appears to have influenced his decision to promote Buddhism in the interest of the new regime. His predecessor, Tenchi, had been clearly associated with the Confucian political order, and, as we have seen, Tenchi's assumption of power was justified by numerous portents indicating that he had received the Mandate of Heaven. Temmu found a similar justification in the *Golden Light Sutra*, which set forth a doctrine of kingship based on merit—merit achieved in former existences and through wholehearted support of Buddhism. It is thus strongly implied that kings rule by a kind of "divine right," which is not based on any hereditary claim but rather on the ruler's proper performance of his duties. In the latter case, not only will his realm enjoy the peace and harmony from the beneficial influence of Buddhist teachings on public morality, but even the cosmic order will respond to the ruler's virtue and bestow blessings upon him and his people. Here, then, is a Buddhist parallel to the Han Confucian view of sovereignty, without the concessions made by Han theorists to dynastic inheritance. It is no wonder that Temmu held this sūtra in particular honor, and fostered the growth of Buddhism by ordering every family to have a Buddhist shrine in its house.

The Protection of the Country by the Four Deva Kings

[From Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō Shi*, Jōsei-hen, 194-95]

Then the Four Deva Kings, their right shoulders bared from their robes in respect, arose from their seats and, with their right knees touching the ground and their palms joined in humility, thus addressed Buddha:

"Most Revered One! When, in some future time, this *Sūtra of the Golden Light* is transmitted to every part of a kingdom—to its cities, towns and villages, its mountains, forests and fields—if the king of the land listens with his whole heart to these writings, praises them, and makes offerings on their behalf, and if moreover he supplies this sūtra to the four classes of believers, protects them and keeps all harm from them, we Deva Kings, in recognition of his deeds, will protect that king and his people, give them peace and freedom from suffering, prolong their lives and fill them with glory. Most Revered One! If when the king sees that the four classes of believers receive the sūtra, he respects and protects them as he would his own parents, we Four Kings will so protect him always that whatever he wishes will come about, and all sentient beings will respect him." . . .

Then Buddha declared to the Four Deva Kings:

"Fitting is it indeed that you Four Kings should thus defend the holy

writings. In the past I practiced bitter austerities of every kind for 100,000 kalpas [eons]. Then, when I attained supreme enlightenment and realized in myself universal wisdom, I taught this law. If any king upholds this sūtra and makes offerings in its behalf, I will purify him of suffering and illness, and bring him peace of mind. I will protect his cities, towns and villages, and scatter his enemies. I will make all strife among the rulers of men to cease forever.

"Know ye, Deva Kings, that the 84,000 rulers of the 84,000 cities, towns and villages of the world shall each enjoy happiness of every sort in his own land; that they shall all possess freedom of action, and obtain all manner of precious things in abundance; that they shall never again invade each other's territories; that they shall receive recompense in accordance with their deeds of previous existences; that they shall no longer yield to the evil desire of taking the lands of others; that they shall learn that the smaller their desires the greater the blessing; and that they shall emancipate themselves from the suffering of warfare and bondage. The people of their lands shall be joyous, and upper and lower classes will blend as smoothly as milk and water. They shall appreciate each other's feelings, join happily in diversions together, and with all compassion and modesty increase the sources of goodness.

"In this way the nations of the world shall live in peace and prosperity, the peoples shall flourish, the earth shall be fertile, the climate temperate, and the seasons shall follow in the proper order. The sun, moon, and the constellations of stars shall continue their regular progress unhindered. The wind and rain shall come in good season. All treasures shall be abundant. No meanness shall be found in human hearts, but all shall practice almsgiving and cultivate the ten good works. When the end of life comes, many shall be born in Heaven and increase the celestial multitudes."

THE VIMALAKĪRTI SŪTRA (YUIMA-KYŌ)

This sūtra eulogizes Buddha's lay disciple, Vimalakīrti, who lives as a householder and yet achieves a saintliness unmatched even by those following monastic discipline. At the Japanese court this ideal of the Buddhist layman found favor among men taking an active part in state affairs, and under Fujiwara auspices a date was reserved on the court calendar for the reading and

expounding of this sūtra. An extant commentary on the *Vimalakīrti* text has been traditionally ascribed to Prince Shōtoku, but it is more likely that Shōtoku only sponsored or joined in its preparation by Korean monks.

The second chapter, given here, describes the virtues of Vimalakīrti and presents his discourse on the nature of the human body as contrasted to the body of the Buddha.

[Adapted from Hokei Idumi, "Vimalakīrti's Discourse," *The Eastern Buddhist*, III, No. 2, 138-41]

At that time, there dwelt in the great city of Vaishālī a wealthy householder named Vimalakīrti. Having done homage to the countless Buddhas of the past, doing many good works, attaining to acquiescence in the Eternal Law, he was a man of wonderful eloquence,

Exercising supernatural powers, obtaining all the magic formulas [dhāraṇīs], arriving at the state of fearlessness,

Repressing all evil enmities, reaching the gate of profound truth, walking in the way of wisdom,

Acquainted with the necessary means, fulfilling the Great Vows, comprehending the past and the future of the intentions of all beings, understanding also both their strength and weakness of mind,

Ever pure and excellent in the way of the Buddha, remaining loyal to the Mahāyāna,

Deliberating before action, following the conduct of Buddha, great in mind as the ocean,

Praised by all the Buddhas, revered by all the disciples and all the gods such as a Shakra and the Brahmā Sahāpati ["lord of the world"],

Residing in Vaishālī only for the sake of the necessary means for saving creatures, abundantly rich, ever careful of the poor, pure in self-discipline, obedient to all precepts,

Removing all anger by the practice of patience, removing all sloth by the practice of diligence, removing all distraction of mind by intent meditation, removing all ignorance by fullness of wisdom;

Though he is but a simple layman, yet observing the pure monastic discipline;

Though living at home, yet never desirous of anything;

Though possessing a wife and children, always exercising pure virtues;

Though surrounded by his family, holding aloof from worldly pleasures;

Though using the jeweled ornaments of the world, yet adorned with spiritual splendor;

Though eating and drinking, yet enjoying the flavor of the rapture of meditation;

Though frequenting the gambling house, yet leading the gamblers into the right path;

Though coming in contact with heresy, yet never letting his true faith be impaired;

Though having a profound knowledge of worldly learning, yet ever finding pleasure in things of the spirit as taught by Buddha;

Revered by all as the first among those who were worthy of reverence;

Governing both the old and young as a righteous judge;

Though profiting by all the professions, yet far above being absorbed by them;

Benefiting all beings, going wheresoever he pleases, protecting all beings as a judge with righteousness;

Leading all with the Doctrine of the Mahāyāna when in the seat of discussion;

Ever teaching the young and ignorant when entering the hall of learning;

Manifesting to all the error of passion when in the house of debauchery; persuading all to seek the higher things when at the shop of the wine dealer;

Preaching the Law when among wealthy people as the most honorable of their kind;

Dissuading the rich householders from covetousness when among them as the most honorable of their kind;

Teaching kshatriyas [i.e., nobles] patience when among them as the most honorable of their kind;

Removing arrogance when among brahmins as the most honorable of their kind;

Teaching justice to the great ministers when among them as the most honorable of their kind;

Teaching loyalty and filial piety to the princes when among them as the most honorable of their kind;

Teaching honesty to the ladies of the court when among them as the most honorable of their kind;

Persuading the masses to cherish the virtue of merits when among them as the most honorable of their kind;

Instructing in highest wisdom the Brahmā gods when among them as the most honorable of their kind;

Showing the transient nature of the world to the Shakra gods when among them as the most honorable of their kind;

Protecting all beings when among the guardians as the most honorable of their kind;

—Thus by such countless means Vimalakīrti, the wealthy householder, rendered benefit to all beings.

Now through those means he brought on himself sickness. And there came to inquire after him countless visitors headed by kings, great ministers, wealthy householders, lay-disciples, brahman princes and other high officials. Then Vimalakīrti, taking the opportunity of his sickness, preached to any one who came to him, and said:

"Come, ye gentlemen, the human body is transient, weak, impotent, frail, and mortal; never trustworthy, because it suffers when attacked by disease;

Ye gentlemen, an intelligent man never places his trust in such a thing; it is like a bubble that soon bursts.

It is like a mirage which appears because of a thirsty desire.

It is like a plantain tree which is hollow inside.

It is like a phantom caused by a conjurer.

It is like a dream giving false ideas.

It is like a shadow which is produced by karma.

It is like an echo which is produced by various relations.

It is like a floating cloud which changes and vanishes.

It is like the lightning which instantly comes and goes.

It has no power as the earth has none.

It has no individuality as the fire has none.

It has no durability as the wind has none.

It has no personality as the water has none.

It is not real and the four elements are its house.

It is empty when freed from the false idea of me and mine.

It has no consciousness as there is none in grasses, trees, bricks or stones.

It is impotent as it is revolved by the power of the wind.

It is impure and full of filthiness.

It is false and will be reduced to nothingness, in spite of bathing, clothing, or nourishment.

It is a calamity and subject to a hundred and one diseases.

It is like a dry well threatened by decay.

It is transient and sure to die.

It is like a poisonous snake or a hateful enemy or a deserted village as it is composed of the (five) *skandhas*, the (twelve) *āyatanas* and the (eighteen) *dhātus*.¹

O ye gentlemen, this body of ours is to be abhorred, and the body of Buddha is to be desired. And why?

The body of Buddha is the body of the law.

It is born of immeasurable virtues and wisdom.

It is born of discipline, meditation, wisdom, emancipation, wisdom of emancipation.

It is born of mercy, compassion, joy, and impartiality.

It is born of charity, discipline, patience, diligence, meditation, emancipation, *saṃādhi*, learning, meekness, strength, wisdom, and all the *Pāramitās*.

It is born of the necessary means.

It is born of the six supernatural powers.

It is born of the threefold intelligence.

It is born of the thirty-seven requisites of enlightenment.

It is born of the concentration and contemplation of mind.

It is born of the ten powers, threefold fearlessness, and the eighteen special faculties.

It is born by uprooting all wicked deeds and by accumulating all good deeds.

It is born of truth.

It is born of temperance.

Of these immeasurable pure virtues is born the body of Tathāgata.² Ye

¹ Components of the human being, the five *skandhas* are form (body), sensation, perception, psychic construction, and consciousness. The twelve *āyatanas* are the six senses and six sense organs. The eighteen *dhātus* are the six sense organs, six sense objects, and six senses.

² A title of the Buddha—the Truth-revealer, literally, "He who comes thus."

gentlemen, if one wishes to obtain the body of Buddha and exterminate the diseases of all beings he should cherish the thought of supreme enlightenment."

Thus Vimalakīrti, the wealthy householder, rightly preached for the profit of those who came to visit him on his bed of sickness and made all these countless thousand people cherish the thought of supreme enlightenment.

STATE SPONSORSHIP AND CONTROL OF BUDDHISM

Proclamation of the Emperor Shōmu on the Erection of the Great Buddha Image

[From *Shoku Nihongi*, in *Rikkokushi*, III, 320-21]

Having respectfully succeeded to the throne through no virtue of Our own, out of a constant solicitude for all men We have been ever intent on aiding them to reach the shore of the Buddha-land. Already even the distant sea-coasts of this land have been made to feel the influence of Our benevolence and regard for others,¹ and yet not everywhere in this land do men enjoy the grace of Buddha's Law. Our fervent desire is that, under the aegis of the Three Treasures, the benefits of peace may be brought to all in heaven and on earth, even animals and plants sharing in its fruits, for all time to come.

Therefore on the fifteenth day of the tenth month of the fifteenth year of the Tempyō reign [743], which is the year of the Goat and Water Junior,² We take this occasion to proclaim Our great vow of erecting an image of Lochana Buddha in gold and copper. We wish to make the utmost use of the nation's resources of metal in the casting of this image, and also to level off the high hill on which the great edifice is to be raised, so that the entire land may be joined with Us in the fellowship of Buddhism and enjoy in common the advantages which this undertaking affords to the attainment of Buddhahood.

It is We who possess the wealth of the land; it is We who possess all

¹Cardinal Confucian virtues which here signify the spread of Confucian ethics as exemplified by the Imperial rule.

²Year designation according to the Chinese sexagenary cycle (See Chapter IV).

power in the land. With this wealth and power at Our command, We have resolved to create this venerable object of worship. The task would appear to be an easy one, and yet a lack of sufficient forethought on Our part might result in the people's being put to great trouble in vain, for the Buddha's heart would never be touched if, in the process, calumny, and bitterness were provoked which led unwittingly to crime and sin.

Therefore all who join in the fellowship of this undertaking must be sincerely pious in order to obtain its great blessings, and they must daily pay homage to Lochana Buddha, so that with constant devotion each may proceed to the creation of Lochana Buddha.³ If there are some desirous of helping in the construction of this image, though they have no more to offer than a twig or handful of dirt, they should be permitted to do so. The provincial and county authorities are not to disturb and harass the people by making arbitrary demands on them in the name of this project. This is to be proclaimed far and wide so that all may understand Our intentions in the matter.

Two Edicts of the Empress Shōtoku Concerning Dōkyō

These edicts, one making the priest Dōkyō chief minister of the court and the other naming him King of the Law, preceded the Empress Shōtoku's attempt to abdicate the imperial throne in his favor.

[From *Shōku Nihongi*, in *Rikkōkushū*, IV, 93-141]

EDICT OF OCTOBER 19, 764

It has been represented to Us, in view of the Master's constant attendance on Us, that he has ambitions of rising to high office like his ancestors before him, and We have been petitioned to dismiss him from Our Court. However, We have observed his conduct and found it to be immaculate. Out of a desire to transmit and promote Buddha's Law, he has extended to Us his guidance and protection. How could We lightly dismiss such a teacher?

Although Our head has been shaven and We wear Buddhist robes, We feel obliged to conduct the government of the nation. As Buddha declared in the [*Bommō*, *Brahmajāla*] Sūtra, "Kings, ye who take up

³ Though to Western minds it might seem impious that the Cosmic Buddha himself could be so created, in the Kegon philosophy the particular and the universal are one and inseparable, so that an image properly conceived with a devout realization of the Buddha's true nature might stand for the Buddha himself.

thrones, receive the ordination of the bodhisattvas!" These words prove that there can be no objection even for one who has taken holy orders in administering the government. We deem it proper therefore, since the reigning monarch is ordained, that the Chief Minister should also be an ordained priest. Hearken, all ye people, to Our words: We confer on the Master Dōkyō the title of Chief Minister and Master, though the title is not of his seeking. [pp. 93-94]

EDICT OF NOVEMBER 26, 766

We do affirm in this edict Our belief that when the Law of Buddha, the Supreme One, is worshiped and revered with perfect sincerity of heart, he is certain to vouchsafe some unusual Sign. The sacred bone of the Tathāgata which has now been manifested, of perfect shape and unusually large, is brighter and more beautiful of color than ever We have seen; the mind cannot encompass its splendor. Thus it is that night and day alike We pay it humble reverence with Our unwavering attention. Indeed, it appears to Us that when the Transformation Body of the Buddha extends its guidance to salvation in accordance with circumstances, his compassionate aid is manifested with no delay. Nevertheless, the Law depends on men for the continuation and spread of its prosperity. Thus, it has been due to acts of leadership and guidance in consonance with the Law performed by Our Chief Minister and Master, who stands at the head of all priests, that this rare and holy Sign has been vouchsafed Us. How could so holy and joyous a thing delight Us alone? Hearken, all ye people, to your sovereign's will: We bestow on Our teacher, the Chief Minister, the title of King of the Law.⁴ We declare again that such worldly titles have never been of his seeking; his mind is set, with no other aspiration, on performing the acts of a bodhisattva and leading all men to salvation. Hearken, all ye people, to your sovereign's will: We confer this position on him as an act of reverence and gratitude. [pp. 140-41]

Regulation of Buddhist Orders by the Court

Not all of those who embraced Buddhism, "left the world," and joined monastic orders, did so with a full realization of what would be required of them in the religious life. Consequently it was not long after the first estab-

⁴ Sometimes translated as "pope."

ishment of monasteries and nunneries in Japan that charges were made of flagrant violations of Buddhist vows in regard to the taking of life, sexual incontinence, and drunkenness. Since the Throne had taken a prominent part in the establishment of Buddhist institutions, it was to be expected that the court would likewise assert its control over them, as indicated by the measures taken by Suiko as early as A.D. 623. However, such external controls proved largely ineffective, for serious violations were frequent throughout the seventh and eighth centuries, and it remained for reformers in the priesthood itself, such as Ganjin and Saichō (see Chapter VI), to attempt the tightening of discipline from within.

[Adapted from Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 152-54]

31st year [623], Spring, 4th month, 3rd day. There was a Buddhist priest who took an axe and smote therewith his paternal grandfather. Now the Empress, hearing of this, sent for the Great Imperial Chieftain Soga, and gave command, saying: "The man who has entered religion should be devoted to the Three Treasures, and should cherish devoutly the prohibitions of the Buddhist law. How can he without compunction be readily guilty of crime? We now hear that there is a priest who has struck his grandfather. Therefore, let all the priests and nuns of the various temples be assembled, and investigation made. Let severe punishment be inflicted on any who are convicted of offenses." Hereupon the priests and nuns were all assembled, and an examination held. The wicked priests and nuns were all about to be punished, when Kwallük, a Buddhist priest of Paekche, presented a memorial, as follows: "The law of Buddha came from the Western Country to Han.¹ Three hundred years later it was handed on to Paekche, since which time barely one hundred years had elapsed, when Our King, hearing that the Emperor of Nippon was a wise man, sent him tribute of an image of Buddha and of Buddhist sūtras. Since that time, less than one hundred years have passed, and consequently the priests and nuns have not yet learned the Buddhist laws, and readily commit wickedness. On this account all the priests and nuns are afraid, and do not know what to do. I humbly pray that with the exception of the wicked [priest who struck his grandfather] all the other priests and nuns be pardoned and not punished. That would be a work of great merit."

Accordingly the Empress granted [his petition].

13th day. A decree was made as follows: "If even the priests continue

¹ The Chinese dynasty of that name.

to offend against the law, wherewithal shall the laymen be admonished? Therefore from this time forward we appoint a Sōjō and a Sōzu for the superintendence of the priests and nuns."

Autumn, 9th month, 3rd day. There was an inspection of the temples, and of the priests and nuns, and an accurate record made of the circumstances of the building of the temples, and also of the circumstances under which the priests and nuns embraced religion, with the year, month and day of their taking orders. There were at this time 46 temples, 816 priests, and 569 nuns—in all, 1,385 persons.

32nd year [624], Spring, 1st month, 7th day. The King of Koryo sent tribute of a Buddhist priest, named Hyegwan. He was appointed Sōjō [superintendent of priests and nuns].²

² The Japanese were still such novices in Buddhism that Korean priests were generally selected as religious authorities. [Ed.]

PART TWO

THE HEIAN PERIOD

- 794 Heian-kyō (Kyoto) becomes the capital.
- 805 Saichō (767-822) returns from study in China.
- 806 Kammu dies. Kūkai (774-835) returns from China.
- 812 Final subjugation of the Ainu (northern aborigines) by Japanese.
- 815 *New Compilation of the Register of Families (Shinsen Shōjiroku)*.
- 816 Kōya-san monastery founded by Kūkai.
- 818 Saichō codifies regulations for monks at Mt. Hiei.
- 833 *Commentary on the Legal Code (Ryō no gige)*.
- 838 Ennin goes to China as member of last official embassy to the T'ang, and returns (847) to found Tendai esotericism in Japan.
- 858 Establishment of hereditary civil dictatorship of the Fujiwara family. Enchin returns from China and founds a study center at Miidera.
- 905 *Kokin-shū*.
- 927 *Institutes of the Engi Period (Engi-shiki)*.
- 933 Beginning of intermittent armed strife between Miidera and Hiei-zan factions of the Tendai sect.
- 972 Kūya (903-972), early popularizer of devotion to Amida.
- c. 990- Classic age of Japanese prose. *Tale of Genji*, *Pillow Book*, works of
- 1020 Izumi Shikibu, *Honchō Monzui* (Chinese prose by Japanese).
- 1017 Genshin (942-1017), author of *Essentials of Salvation*.
- 1068 Go-Sanjō Tennō. Beginning of attempt to curb the power of the Fujiwara family.
- 1086 Establishment of "Cloistered Government" upon retirement into Buddhist orders of Shirakawa Tennō.
- 1095 First descent into the capital by marauding monks from Mt. Hiei.
- 1132 Ryōnin (1071-1132), forerunner of Pure Land sect.
- 1156 Taira Kiyomori, of the military and provincial aristocracy, controls the civil government in the capital.
- 1185 Defeat of the Taira clan. Minamoto Yoritomo supreme in Japan.
- 1192 Founding of Kamakura Shogunate.



INTRODUCTION

MAHĀYĀNA UNIVERSALISM AND THE SENSE OF HIERARCHY

The name Heian means "peace and tranquillity," and was originally given to the imperial capital, Kyoto, which remained the actual seat of ruling power throughout this period (eighth to twelfth centuries A.D.). During its earlier years, at least, the period lived up to its name. After removal of the court to Kyoto in 795 the struggles for power around the throne, which had marked the Nara Period, diminished in intensity, and there was no recrudescence of the drastic reforms attempted earlier to remake Japan on the Chinese model. Not that complete success had been achieved in unifying Japan and centralizing its administration—on the contrary, control of the so-called "provinces," tenuous even at the start, was in the ninth and tenth centuries almost entirely lost to great families who made a mockery of the land and tax system imported from T'ang China. And if there was a greater stability and continuity of power at the court itself, this too was gained, not through a strengthening of the bureaucratic structure or civil service, but through the complete triumph of the hereditary principle and the concentration of power in a single family, the Fujiwara. Such peace as the Heian Period enjoyed, then, was due to the skill of the Fujiwara in managing their own interests and those of the imperial house so as to preserve their dominance even in the new circumstances. That the diffusion of power from the court was a long and gradual process, during which the imperial capital remained the unrivaled center of national life, is due also to the great weight of tradition and to the enormous prestige of the capital in cultural affairs. Indeed, Kyoto's position as the cynosure of civilization was even further enhanced during this period by the relative decline of T'ang China, to which the Japanese looked less and less as a final authority in all matters. In religion, it is true, the two great movements inaugurated in the early

eight century, the Tendai Buddhism introduced by Saichō and the Esoteric Buddhism ably propagated by Kūkai, were direct imports from China. Nevertheless, their progress was furthered by close association with the court and their characteristic forms of expression increasingly reflected the attitudes and manner of life which predominated at court. Thus, although both these forms of Buddhism were egalitarian in theory—that is, as outgrowths of the Mahāyāna teaching they stressed that all men had the potentialities for Buddhahood—in the Japanese setting their activities were strongly conditioned by the aristocratic nature of court society. Again, despite the universalistic claims of the Mahāyāna as revealed in Tendai and Shingon eclecticism—that is, their readiness to find a place for all religious teachings and all forms of the religious life in a comprehensive view of Truth—there was a noticeable tendency to stress the hierarchic order of these forms of religious consciousness in the ascent to Truth (a retrospective view of this contradiction in Heian Buddhism is afforded by the fifteenth century Nō play, *Sotoba Komachi*). Thus, even though Tendai and Shingon Buddhism contained within them the seeds later sown abroad by the popular religious movements of the medieval period, in the Heian Period itself the germination process was long delayed.

Meanwhile, however, the Heian court attained great heights of cultural achievement. Increasingly the Japanese asserted their independence of the Chinese forms in literature and art, and developed a native script better suited to the expression of their own language. The great monuments of this period of cultural efflorescence are the famous *Tale of Genji* by Lady Murasaki and the *Pillow Book* of Sei Shonagon, which mirror the court life of the time and the aesthetic preoccupations of the Heian aristocrats, as well as the great imperial collections of native poetry and the magnificent scroll paintings of this period. In them we find elegant expressions of the Heian passion for aesthetic refinement and the first clear intimations of the classic canons of Japanese taste, which inspired and guided the later development of a distinctive and highly distinguished artistic tradition.





CHAPTER VI

SAICHŌ AND MOUNT HIEI

One day in the seventh moon of 788 a young priest made his way up the side of Mt. Hiei repeating this song of prayer he had composed:

O Buddhas
Of unexcelled complete enlightenment
Bestow your invisible aid
Upon this hut I open
On the mountain top.¹

The priest was Saichō (767-822) and the little temple he founded was to develop into the center of learning and culture of the entire nation; such it remained until, by order of an impetuous military leader, the complex of 3,000 temple buildings on Mt. Hiei was razed in 1571. Saichō's temple would almost certainly never have attained so remarkable a growth had it not been for the decision of the Emperor Kammu to move the capital away from Nara, the stronghold of the Six Sects of Buddhism. Kammu was a Confucian by training and as such was opposed to the encroachment of political power by the Buddhist clergy. The attempt to establish Dōkyō as ruler of Japan represented the closest the priests came to success in creating a "Buddha-land," but even when this failed they were by no means reduced to a purely religious status. It was in order to restore to the sovereign his full prerogatives that Kammu determined to move the seat of the government. In this decision he had the support of the Fujiwara and certain other important families traditionally opposed to Buddhism, as well as of the descendants of such Chinese immigrant families as the Hata, who are credited with having introduced sericulture to Japan. Saichō himself was of Chinese descent, as was another outstanding figure of the period, the General Sakanoue Tamuramaro, who extended the imperial domains to the northern end of the main island of Japan.

Although Kammu's dislike of the secular ambitions of the priests and

¹ *Dengyō Daishi zenshū*, IV, 756.

his impatience at their interminable wrangling had made him generally anti-Buddhist, he realized that he needed Buddhist support for the reforms he intended to effect. Saichō met ideally Kammu's needs. He had originally left Nara because of his dissatisfaction with the worldliness and, as he considered, the decadence of the priesthood there. He became convinced that only in an entirely different environment could a true moral purge and ethical awakening take place. When he first established his little temple, the area around Mt. Hiei was mainly uncultivated marshland, but six years later, in 794, it was chosen as the site of the capital. Saichō may have been instrumental in the adoption of this site; in any case, once the removal there had been effected he enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor Kammu. Saichō was sent to China in 804, chiefly to gain spiritual sanction for the new Buddhist foundation on Mt. Hiei. China was considered to be the "fatherland" of Japanese Buddhism, and without Chinese approval Saichō's monastery had no standing alongside those of the powerful sects in Nara.

Saichō does not appear originally to have desired to found a new sect. When his first temple was opened, the Healing Buddha was enshrined there, just as in so many of the Nara temples. While he was in China, however, he studied the Tendai (T'ien-t'ai) teachings, and he brought back this doctrine to Japan after a year abroad. The Tendai sect, as founded by Saichō, was essentially the same as its parent sect in China, and was based like it on the teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra*. The Nara sects, with the exception of the Kegon, had derived authority for their doctrines from secondary sources—the commentaries—instead of from the sūtras. Saichō denounced this feature of Nara Buddhism in pointing out the superiority of the Tendai teachings based on Buddha's own words.

Saichō referred often to the "Two Vehicles" of Nara Buddhism. By this he meant Hīnayāna and what may be called Quasi-Mahāyāna, the latter referring to such schools as the Hossō and Sanron. Against these doctrines Saichō upheld the "One Vehicle" of the true Mahāyāna. The emphasis on "oneness" took various forms. It meant, most importantly, universality, in contrast, say, to the Hossō sect, which had evolved as an aristocratic and hierarchic religion, with certain persons excluded by their inborn shortcomings from Buddhist perfection; Tendai Buddhism preached enlightenment for all. Saichō declared that all men had innate in them the possibility of gaining enlightenment:

In the lotus-flower is implicit its emergence from the water. If it does not emerge, its blossoms will not open; in the emergence is implicit the blossoming. If the water is three feet deep, the stalk of the flower will be four or five feet; if the water is seven or eight feet deep, the stalk will be over ten feet tall. That is what is implied by the emergence from the water. The greater the amount of water, the taller the stalk will grow; the potential growth is limitless. Now, all human beings have the lotus of Buddhahood within them. It will rise above the mire and foul water of the Hīnayāna and Quasi-Mahāyāna, and then through the stage of the bodhisattvas to open, leaves and blossoms together, in full glory.²

Another aspect of oneness as found in Tendai Buddhism was the insistence on the basic unity of Buddha and all other beings. In every person is the Buddha-nature which must be realized. No matter how wicked a man may be, he is potentially a Buddha. The way that one may attain Buddhist perfection is to follow the way of Buddha by leading a life of moral purity and contemplation. Indeed, it was his emphasis on moral perfection rather than any more metaphysical aspect of the Tendai philosophy which most conspicuously appeared in Saichō's teachings.

In contrast, again, with the Nara Buddhists who lived in the old capital, Saichō required Tendai monks to remain in the seclusion of the monastery on Mt. Hiei for twelve years. There they received the "training of a bodhisattva," including a study of the Mahāyāna sūtras (especially the *Lotus*), and a kind of mystic contemplation known as "Concentration and Insight" (*shikan*). The discipline on Mt. Hiei was severe, necessarily so if, as Saichō hoped, the monastery was to supply the nation with its teachers and leaders.

There was a close connection between Mt. Hiei and the court, but it was a relationship quite unlike that which existed between the sovereigns and the great temples when the court was in Nara. The Emperor Shōmu had proclaimed himself to be the slave of the Three Treasures, and his daughter was willing to yield the throne to a priest, but the new Buddhism was in the service of the court and not its master. Saichō's monastery was declared to be the "Center for the Protection of the Nation," and Saichō constantly reiterated his belief that Mahāyāna Buddhism was the great benefactor and protector of Japan. He distinguished three classes of monks among those who would "graduate" from Mt. Hiei. The first class was those gifted both in their actions and words; they were the "treasure of

² *Dengyō Daishi zenshū*, I, 436.

the nation" and more precious than the richest jewels. Such monks were to remain on Mt. Hiei and serve their country by their religious practices. Monks who were not so gifted either in actions or in words would leave the mountain and become servants of the state. Some would teach; others would engage in agricultural and engineering projects for the nation's benefit.

Saichō's writings sometimes appear to be tinged with nationalism, probably because of his strong feelings for the prestige of the court. Many of the important Buddhist monks of the Nara Period had been Chinese or Koreans and showed little specific attachment for the Japanese court or Japan itself. Saichō, on the other hand, in spite of his Chinese ancestry was thoroughly Japanese in his love of what he called "the country of Great Japan" (*Dai-Nippon-Koku*) and in his reverence for the sovereign. In the oath which the Tendai monks were required to swear, Saichō included a moving acknowledgment of the sect's debt to the Emperor Kammu. The fortunes of Tendai Buddhism were in fact so closely linked at first to Kammu that when he died in 806 Tendai's supremacy was immediately threatened. The Nara priests were bitterly opposed to Saichō because of his part in the removal of the capital, and because of their jealousy over the honors that Kammu had later bestowed on the Tendai monk. One of the charges against Saichō was that he was not properly qualified to pose as a "monk who sought the Buddhist Law in China" (the title Saichō often used) because he had failed to visit Ch'ang-an, the Chinese capital. The accusations exchanged between Nara and Mt. Hiei became increasingly acrimonious.

Another threat to the prosperity of Tendai came in the same year as Kammu's death—the return to Japan of Kūkai, who was to become the great religious leader of the period. Kūkai quickly ingratiated himself with Kammu's successor by presenting him with many treasures from China. Before long Kūkai's Shingon Buddhism, with its emphasis on aestheticism, was in higher favor with the court than the severely moral Tendai school.

The relations between Saichō and Kūkai were at first very friendly. Saichō eagerly sought to learn the teachings which Kūkai brought back from China. This was one of the most appealing sides of Saichō's character—his genuine desire to improve his knowledge and understanding of Buddha's Law regardless of whether or not the material he studied formed part of the Tendai teachings. He stated as his principle:

A devout believer in Buddha's Law who is also a wise man is truly obliged to point out to his students any false doctrines, even though they are principles of his own sect. He must not lead the students astray. If, on the other hand, he finds a correct doctrine, even though it is a principle of another sect he should adopt and transmit it. This is the duty of a wise person. If a man maintains his partisan spirit even when his teachings are false; conceals his own errors and seeks to expose those of other people; persists in his own false views and destroys the right views of others—what could be more stupid than that? From this time forward, priests in charge of instruction in the Law must desist from such practices.³

Saichō was much impressed by the esoteric teachings. He was baptized by Kūkai at the latter's first initiation rites, and frequently borrowed works on esotericism from him. Saichō even sent Taihan, one of his favorite disciples, to study with Kūkai. The happy relations between Saichō and Kūkai came to an abrupt end, however, when Kūkai, writing on Taihan's behalf, refused Saichō's request that he return to Mt. Hiei. When Saichō asked to borrow a certain esoteric sūtra, Kūkai this time replied that if he wished to study the Truth it was everywhere apparent in the cosmos, but if he wished to learn about Esoteric Buddhism he would have to become a regular student. The tone of Kūkai's letter was extremely unpleasant, and we cannot be surprised that Saichō was embittered by it. Saichō's last years were unhappily spent. His most ardent wish, that a Mahāyāna ordination center be established on Mt. Hiei, so that Tendai Buddhists might be completely free from the Nara ordination hall with its Hīnayāna practices, was successfully opposed by the Nara Buddhists. Only after Saichō's death in 822 was permission finally granted.

Saichō's lasting contributions to Buddhism were probably more in the field of organization than of doctrine. His writings are in an undistinguished and even tedious style, often repetitious, seldom engrossing. They possess, however, an earnestness and sincerity which tell us much about the man. Saichō may not dazzle us by the brilliance of his achievements the way Kūkai does, but the student of Buddhism may well turn to him for an example of the highest ideals of the Buddhist priesthood.

THE LOTUS SŪTRA

The *Lotus Sūtra*, which was the chief text of Saichō's Tendai sect in Japan, was also one of the most influential and popular sūtras among Mahāyāna

³ *Dengyō Daishi zenshū*, I, 447.

Buddhists in the Far East. Its authorship and date are obscure, but the *Lotus* was first translated from Sanskrit into Chinese during the third century A.D. In vivid language overpowering the imagination, it relates the final discourse on Vulture Peak of Shākyamuni, before his entry into Nirvāna. Here he offers to his assembled disciples a vision of infinite Buddha-worlds, illuminated by Buddhas revealing the Truth to innumerable disciples, just as Shākyamuni does in this world. This is a foreshadowing of the later revelation that Shākyamuni is just one manifestation of the Eternal Buddha, who appears in these infinite realms whenever men threaten to be engulfed by evil. The saving Truth which he reveals, called the Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle or Career), is so profound that only beings possessed of the highest intelligence can comprehend it. These are the bodhisattvas, destined for Buddhahood, to whom Shākyamuni entrusts the truth of this Wonderful Law and who, by the display of their transcendent virtues, provide the example which men are to follow in seeking release from this world. Through the inspiration and compassionate care of these bodhisattvas, all men may ultimately achieve salvation.

The Lotus, as vital a symbol of Buddhism as the Cross is of Christianity, represents purity and truth rising above evil just as the lotus flower rises above turbid waters. In its wider aspect it represents the Universe, one and infinite, flowering in innumerable Buddha-realms.

The passages which follow tell of Shākyamuni's revelation of the Mahāyāna doctrine. He is aware that many who have followed his earlier teachings, including the practice of severe disciplines, will feel cheated rather than be rejoiced by the news that Buddhahood is open to all, even the humblest of the faithful, rather than only to the few who have prepared themselves for the attainment of Nirvāna. These are identified as followers of the Hīnayāna (Lesser Vehicle or Career). Shākyamuni proceeds to explain why it has been necessary for him first to preach the Hīnayāna doctrine, intended for the self-improvement of individuals, as a preparation for the final revelation of Universal Salvation. One of the outstanding features of Tendai Buddhism as developed in China and carried to Japan, was its elaboration of this doctrine to show that the principal divisions and sects of later Buddhism all represented valid expressions of Buddha's teaching, adapted so as to accommodate people in varying stages of spiritual development.

[From the abridged translation of W. E. Soothill, *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law*, pp. 71-153]

The Revelation of the Mahāyāna

The dull, who delight in petty rules,
Who are greedily attached to mortality,
Who have not, under countless Buddhas,
Walked the profound and mystic Way,

Who are harassed by all the sufferings—
 To these I [at first] preach Nirvāna.
 Such is the expedient I employ
 To lead them to Buddha-wisdom.
 Not yet could I say to them,
 "You all shall attain to Buddhahood,"
 For the time had not yet arrived.
 But now the very time has come
 And I must preach the Great Vehicle.

. . . .

The Buddha appears in the world
 Only for this One Reality,
 The other two not being real;
 For never by a smaller Vehicle (Hīnayāna)
 [Could a Buddha] save any creature.
 The Buddha himself is in the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna)
 And accordant with the Truth he has attained,
 Enriched by meditation and wisdom,
 By it he saves all creatures.
 I, having proved the Supreme Way,
 The universality of the Great Vehicle,
 If, by a Small Vehicle, I converted
 Were it but one human being,
 I should fall into grudging selfishness,
 A thing that cannot be.
 If men turn in faith to the Buddha,
 The Tathāgata will not deceive them,
 Having no selfish, envious desires,
 Being free from all sins of the Law.
 Hence, the Buddha, in the universe,
 Is the One being perfectly fearless.

. . . .

Know, O Shāriputra!
 Of yore I made a vow,
 In desire to cause all creatures
 To rank equally with me.

. . . .

Whene'er I meet any of the living
 I teach them the Buddha-Way;
 The unwise remain confused
 And, deluded, accept not my teaching.

. . . .

I know that all these creatures
 Have failed in previous lives,
 Are firmly attached to base desires
 And, infatuated, are in trouble.

. . . .

They suffer the utmost misery.
 Received into the womb in embryo,
 They pass from generation to generation,
 Poor in virtue and of little happiness,
 Oppressed by all the sorrows
 And dwelling in the thickets of debate,
 Such as, Existence? or Non-existence?
 Relying on their propositions,
 Sixty-two in number,
 They became rooted in false philosophy,
 Tenacious and unyielding,
 Self-sufficient and self-inflated,
 Suspicious, warped, without faith.
 During thousands and millions of kalpas
 Such hear not the name of Buddha,
 Nor ever learn of the Truth;
 These men are hard to save.
 For this reason, Shāriputra,
 I set up an expedient for them,
 Proclaiming a Way to end suffering,
 Revealing it as Nirvāṇa.
 Yet, though I proclaim Nirvāṇa,
 It is not real extinction;
 All things from the beginning
 Are ever of Nirvāṇa nature.
 When a Buddha-son fulfils [his] course,
 In the world to come he becomes Buddha.

It is because of my adaptability
 That I tell of a Three-Vehicle Law,
 [But truly] the World-honored Ones
 Preach the One-Vehicle Way.

. . . .

If there are any beings
 Who have met the former Buddhas,
 If, after hearing the Truth,
 They have given kindly alms,
 Or kept the commands, enduring,
 Been zealous, meditative, wise,
 Cultivating blessedness and virtue,
 Such men and beings as these
 Have all attained to Buddhahood.
 If, after the Nirvāṇa of Buddhas,
 Men have become gentle of heart,
 All such creatures as these
 Have all attained to Buddhahood.
 After the Nirvāṇa of Buddhas,
 Those who worshiped their relics,
 And built myriads, *koṭis* [millions] of stūpas,
 With gold, silver, and crystal,
 With moonstone and with agate,
 With jasper and lapis lazuli,
 Purely and abundantly displayed,
 Superbly shown on every stūpa;
 Or those who built shrines of stone,
 Of sandal-wood or aloes,
 Of eagle-wood or other woods,
 Of brick and tiles, or clay;
 Or those who, in the wilds,
 Built Buddha-shrines of earth;
 Even children who, in play,
 Gathered sand for a Buddha's stūpa;
 Such men and beings as these,
 Have all attained to Buddhahood.
 If men, for the sake of Buddhas,

Have erected images of them,
Carved with the [sacred] signs,
They have all attained to Buddhahood.

* * * *

Even boys, in their play,
Who with reed, wood, or pen,
Or, even with finger-nail,
Have drawn Buddha's images;
Such men and beings as these
Gradually accumulating merit,
And becoming pitiful in heart,
Have all attained to Buddhahood,
And converted many bodhisattvas,
Saving countless creatures.

* * * *

If men, to the stūpas and shrines,
To a precious image or painting,
With flowers, incense, flags and umbrellas,
Have paid homage with respectful hearts;
Or employed others to perform music,
Beat drums, blow horns and conches,
Pan-pipes and flutes, play lutes and harps,
Gongs, guitars and cymbals,
Such mystic sounds as these,
Played by way of homage;
Or with joyful hearts have sung
Praise to the merits of Buddhas,
Though with but one small sound,
[These, too,] have attained to Buddhahood.
Even one who, distracted of mind,
With but a single flower,
Has paid homage to a painted image,
Shall gradually see countless Buddhas.
Or, those who have offered worship,
Were it merely by folding the hands,
Or even by raising a hand,
Or by slightly bending the head,

By thus paying homage to the images,
 Will gradually see countless Buddhas,
 Attain the Supreme Way,
 Widely save numberless creatures
 And enter the perfect Nirvāṇa.

.

[For] all Buddhas take the one vow:
 "The Buddha-way which I walk,
 I will universally cause all the living
 To attain this same Way with me."
 Though Buddhas in future ages
 Proclaim hundreds, thousands, *koṭis*,
 Countless ways into the doctrine,
 In reality there is but the One-Vehicle.

.

In the perilous round of mortality,
 In continuous, unending misery,
 Firmly tied to the passions
 As a yak is to its tail;
 Smothered by greed and infatuation,
 Blinded and seeing nothing;
 Seeking not the Buddha, the Mighty,
 And the Truth that ends suffering,
 But deeply sunk in heresy,
 By suffering seeking riddance of suffering;
 For the sake of all these creatures
 My heart is stirred with great pity.

.

Know, Shāriputra!
 The stupid and those of little wit,
 Those tied to externals and the proud,
 Cannot believe this Truth.
 But now I gladly and with boldness
 In the midst of [you] bodhisattvas,
 Straightway put aside expediency
 And only proclaim the Supreme Way.

.

In the same fashion that the Buddhas,
Past, present, and future, preach the Law,
So also will I now proclaim
The one and undivided Law.

Even in infinite, countless kalpas,
Rarely may this Law be heard,
And those able to hearken to it,
Such men as these are rare.

Who hears and joyfully extols it,
Though but by a single word,
Has thus paid homage to
All Buddhas in the three realms.

Know, all of you, Shāriputra,
That this Wonderful Law
Is the secret of all the Buddhas.

Rejoice greatly in your hearts,
Knowing that you will become Buddhas.

The Efficacy of the Lotus Sūtra

The *Lotus Sūtra* directs the veneration and faith of the Mahāyāna believer not only to the compassionate bodhisattvas, custodians of Buddha's saving Truth, but also to the sūtra itself. In the following passage Shākyamuni explains to the Bodhisattva King of Healing what merits and rewards will accrue to those who honor this sūtra.

[From the abridged translation of W. E. Soothill, *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law*, pp. 151-53]

Should one wish to dwell in Buddhahood
And attain to intuitive Wisdom,
He must always earnestly honor
The keepers of the Flower of the Law.
Should one wish quickly to attain
To complete omniscience,

He must receive and keep this sūtra
 And honor those who keep it.
 Should one be able to receive and keep
 The Wonderful Law-Flower Sūtra,
 Let him know he is the Buddha's messenger,
 Who compassionates all living beings.
 He who is able to receive and keep
 The Wonderful Law-Flower Sūtra,
 Casting aside his Paradise, and,
 From pity for the living, being re-born,
 Know, such a man as this,
 Free to be born where he will,
 Is able, in this evil world,
 Widely to preach the Supreme Law.
 You should, with celestial flowers and perfumes,
 Robes of heavenly jewels, and heaps
 Of wonderful celestial jewels,
 Pay homage to such a preacher of the Law.
 In evil ages after my extinction
 Those who are able to keep this sūtra
 Must be worshiped with folded hands,
 As if paying homage to the World-honored One.
 With the best of dainties and sweets,
 And every kind of garment,
 This son of Buddha should be worshiped
 In hope of hearing him if but for a moment.
 In future ages, if one is able
 To receive and keep this sūtra,
 I will send him to be amongst men,
 To perform the task of the Tathāgata.

SAICHŌ

Vow of Uninterrupted Study of the Lotus Sūtra

(Taken by Monks of Mt. Hiei)

[From *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, IV, 749]

The disciple of Buddha and student of the One Vehicle [name and court rank to be filled in] this day respectfully affirms before the Three

Treasures that the saintly Emperor Kammu, on behalf of Japan and as a manifestation of his unconditional compassion, established the Lotus Sect and had the *Lotus Sūtra*, its commentary, and the essays on "Concentration and Insight," copied and bound, together with hundreds of other volumes, and installed them in the seven great temples. Constantly did he promote the Single and Only Vehicle, and he united all the people so that they might ride together in the ox-cart of Mahāyāna¹ to the ultimate destination, enlightenment. Every year festivals² of the *Golden Light Sūtra* were held to protect the state. He selected twelve students, and established a seminary on top of Mt. Hiei, where the *Tripitaka*, the ritual implements, and the sacred images were enshrined. These treasures he considered the guardian of the Law and its champion during the great night of ignorance.

It was for this reason that on the fifteenth day of the second moon of 809 Saichō with a few members of the same faith, established the uninterrupted study of the *Sūtra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law*.

I vow that, as long as heaven endures and earth lasts, to the most distant term of the future, this study will continue without the intermission of a single day, at the rate of one volume every two days. Thus the doctrine of universal enlightenment will be preserved forever, and spread throughout Japan, to the farthest confines. May all attain to Buddhahood!

A Manifestation of the Discipline

The rather long essay of this title, of which an excerpt is given here, was written and presented to the Emperor Saga in 819. It was intended as an answer to the attacks on Saichō and the Tendai teachings which were being made by the Nara monks.

The first paragraph of the translation is in verse in the original.

[From *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, I, 16-17]

I now initiate the discipline of the One Vehicle in order to profit and delight all sentient beings; this essay has been written to initiate the discipline of universality. I offer my prayers to the everlasting Three Treasures to extend their invisible and visible protection, so that the

¹ Three vehicles are described in the *Lotus Sūtra*; of them the ox-cart stands for Mahāyāna.

² These festivals, often called *gosaie* ("imperial vegetarian entertainments" of priests), were held during the first moon in the Imperial Palace from 802, when Kammu founded them, until 1467. (See De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, pp. 471-79.) The text studied was that of the *Golden Light Sūtra*.

discipline will be transmitted unhampered and unharmed, protecting the nation for all time to come. May all sentient beings who lead worldly or spiritual lives ward off what is wrong, put an end to all evil, and protect the seed of Buddhahood; may they awaken to the universal nature of things and partake of spiritual joy in the land of tranquil light.

I have heard that a gentleman of the laity should not pride himself on his superiority—how much less should I, a monk, discuss the failings of others? If, however, I followed such a philosophy and kept silent, the discipline of universality might perish. If, on the other hand, I were to speak out boldly, as is the fashion nowadays, there would be a never-ending controversy. I have therefore compiled this essay elucidating the discipline. I submit it to the Emperor.³

His Majesty the Emperor is equal to the sun and the moon in enlightenment, and his virtue does not differ from that of heaven and earth. His administration is in accord with the five human relationships,⁴ and his religious faith is based on the teachings of Buddha. Nothing falls outside the scope of his great benevolence; there is no wise statesman but serves the court. The Buddha-sun shines brightly again, and the Way of inner realization flourishes. Now is the moment for the Mahāyāna discipline of the Perfect Doctrine to be proclaimed and promoted; it is the day when the temple should be erected. I have therefore cited the texts which describe the three kinds of temples⁵ in making my request for a Mahāyāna Hall where Manjushrī may be installed and bodhisattva-monks be trained. When a white ox-cart is granted, the three other vehicles are unnecessary.⁶ When a positive teaching has been found, why should we use the negativism of others?⁷ The *Lotus Sūtra* says, "Choose the straight way and cast aside expediences; preach the peerless doctrine." It also says, "What we should practice now is Buddha's wisdom alone."

At present the six supervisors⁸ wield so much power as to suppress the Buddha's discipline. The hordes of monks have vociferously been demanding that I debate with them: in three hundred ways have they

³ The Emperor Saga, reigned 809-23.

⁴ Of Confucianism.

⁵ Mahāyāna, Hinayāna, and combined Mahāyāna-Hinayāna.

⁶ The white ox was frequently used as a symbol for Mahāyāna. The other three vehicles were the means of enlightenment expounded by Hinayāna and Quasi-Mahāyāna sects.

⁷ Saichō considered that the Hinayāna desire to achieve Nirvāna, extinction of the self, was as negative as "getting rid of excrement," the image he uses here.

⁸ Each of the Six Sects of the Nara Period had its "supervisor" or nominal head.

slashed my heart. How then can I remain silent? Instead of speech, however, I have used my brush to express the barest fraction of my thoughts.

Regulations for Students of the Mountain School I

Saichō's importance as a religious organizer is apparent in these regulations for the students who were annually appointed by the government to study Tendai Buddhism. The ideal he held up for the monks was a lofty and demanding one: that they should combine the religious dedication of the bodhisattva with the Confucian virtues of service to the State and society.

The stylistic failings of Saichō's writings are also apparent in this work, but his repetition of such words as "treasure of the nation" has a certain cumulative power.

The original version of these regulations is in three sections of which the first two are translated here.

[From *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, I, 5-10]

What is the treasure of the nation? The religious nature is a treasure, and he who possesses this nature is the treasure of the nation. That is why it was said of old that ten pearls big as pigeon's eggs do not constitute the treasure of a nation, but only when a person casts his light over a part of the country can one speak of a treasure of the nation. A philosopher of old⁹ once said that he who is capable in speech but not in action should be a teacher of the nation; he who is capable in action but not in speech should be a functionary of the nation; but he who is capable both in action and speech is the treasure of the nation. Apart from these three groups, there are those who are capable neither of speech nor action: these are the betrayers¹⁰ of the nation.

Buddhists who possess the religious nature are called in the west bodhisattvas; in the east they are known as superior men.¹¹ They hold themselves responsible for all bad things, while they credit others with all good things. Forgetful of themselves, they benefit others: this represents the summit of compassion.

Among Buddha's followers there are two kinds of monks, Hīnayāna

⁹ Mou Tzu, a late Han philosopher, who attempted to make a synthesis of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism, according to Buddhism the highest position. (Saichō quotes from *Mou Tzu*, p. 13b, *Ping-chin-kuan ts'ung-shu* edition.)

¹⁰ This word seems far too strong for the offense. There may be a corruption in the text: Mou Tzu calls these people "mean" (or "lowly").

¹¹ Or "gentlemen"—the name given by Confucius to the people who followed his code.

and Mahāyāna; Buddhists possessing a religious nature belong to the latter persuasion. However, in our eastern land only Hīnayāna images are worshiped,¹² and not the Mahāyāna ones. The Great Teaching is not yet spread; the great men have not been able to rise. I fervently pray that, in accordance with the wishes of the late Emperor,¹³ all Tendai students annually appointed will be trained in the Mahāyāna doctrines and become bodhisattva monks.¹⁴

REGULATIONS FOR THE TWO STUDENTS ANNUALLY APPOINTED BY THE COURT

1. All annually appointed Tendai Lotus students, from this year 818 to all eternity, shall be of the Mahāyāna persuasion. They shall be granted Buddhist names, without however losing their own family names. They shall be initiated into the Ten Precepts of Tendai before they become novices, and when they are ordained government seals will be requested for their papers.

2. All Mahāyāna students, immediately after their ordination, shall be administered the oaths of Sons of Buddha, and then become bodhisattva monks. A government seal will be requested for the certificates of oaths. Those who take the Vow will be required to remain on Mt. Hiei for twelve years without ever leaving the monastery. They shall study both disciplines.

3. All monks who study the Concentration and Insight (*shikan*) discipline shall be required every day of the year to engage in constant study and discussion of the *Lotus*, *Golden Light*, *Benevolent Kings*, *Protector* and other Mahāyāna sūtras for safeguarding the nation.¹⁵

4. All monks who study the Vairochana discipline shall be required every day of the year to recite the True Words (*mantra*) of the Vairochana, the Peacock, the Eternal, the Crown and other sūtras for safeguarding the nation.¹⁶

5. Students of both disciplines shall be appointed to positions in keeping with their achievements after twelve years' training and study. Those

¹² Even though Nara Buddhism was predominantly Mahāyāna, for the most part the images worshipped were Hīnayāna.

¹³ Emperor Kammu (reigned 781-806) shortly before his death issued this order.

¹⁴ That is, Mahāyāna monks, for the bodhisattva was held up by Mahāyāna Buddhism as the ideal to be followed.

¹⁵ Japanese names for the sūtras: Hokke-kyō, Konkō-kyō, Ninnō-kyō, and Shugo-kyō.

¹⁶ Japanese names for the sūtras: Dainichi-kyō, Kujaku-kyō, Fukū Kensaku Kannon-gyō, Ichiji Chōrinnō-gyō. These represent the esoteric discipline.

who are capable in both action and speech shall remain permanently on the mountain as leaders of the order: these are the treasure of the nation. Those who are capable in speech but not in action shall be teachers of the nation, and those capable in action but not in speech shall be the functionaries of the nation.

6. Teachers and functionaries of the nation shall be appointed with official licenses as Transmitters of Doctrine and National Lecturers. The national lecturers shall be paid during their tenure of office the expenses of the annual summer retreat and provided with their robes. Funds for these expenses shall be deposited in the provincial offices, where they will be supervised jointly by provincial and district governors.

They shall also serve in such undertakings which benefit the nation and the people as the repair of ponds and canals, the reclamation of uncultivated land, the reparation of landslides, the construction of bridges and ships, the planting of trees and ramie¹⁷ bushes, the sowing of hemp and grasses, and the digging of wells and irrigation ditches. They shall also study the sūtras and cultivate their minds, but shall not engage in private agriculture or trading.

If these provisions are followed, men possessing the religious nature will spring up one after another throughout the country, and the Way of the Superior Man shall never die.

The above six articles are based on the teachings of mercy and will lead all sentient beings to the Great Teaching. The Law of Buddha is eternal; because the nation will always remain strong, the seeds of Buddhism will not die.

Overcome by profound awe, I offer these articles of Tendai and respectfully request the imperial assent.

Saichō, the Monk who Formerly Sought the Law in China. [19 June 818]

Regulations for Students of the Mountain School II

1. Twelve regular students of the Tendai Sect will be appointed for terms of six years each. If during the course of a year two places fall vacant, they will be filled by two other men.

The method of examining students will be as follows. All Tendai

¹⁷ A plant whose fibers are similar to those of hemp in their properties and uses.

teachers will assemble in the Seminary Hall and there examine candidates on their recitations of the *Lotus* and *Golden Light* sūtras. When a student passes the examinations his family name and the date of the examination will be reported to the government.

Students who have completed six years of study will be examined in the above manner. Students who fail to complete the course will not be examined. If any students withdraw, their names, together with those of candidates for their places, should be reported to the government.

2. Regular students must provide their own clothing and board. Students who possess the proper mental ability and whose conduct is excellent, but who cannot provide their own clothing and board, shall be furnished by the monastery with a document authorizing them to seek alms throughout the country for their expenses.

3. If a regular student's nature does not accord with the monastic discipline and he does not obey the regulations, a report will be made to the government requesting his replacement in accordance with the regulations.

4. Regular students are required to receive the Mahāyāna initiation during the year of their ordination. After the ceremony they shall remain for twelve years within the gates of the monastery engaged in study. During the first six years the study of the sūtras under a master will be their major occupation, with meditation and the observance of discipline their secondary pursuits. Two-thirds of their time will be devoted to Buddhism, and the remaining third to the Chinese classics. An extensive study of the sūtras will be their duty, and teaching others about Buddhism their work. During the second six years in residence, meditation and the observance of discipline will be their chief occupation, and the study of the sūtras their secondary pursuit. In their practice of Concentration and Insight (*shikan*) students will be required to observe the four forms of concentration, and in their esoteric practices will be required to recite the three sūtras.¹⁸

5. The names of Tendai students registered at the Ichijō Shikan Monastery¹⁹ on Mt. Hiei, whether students with annual grants or privately enrolled, should not be removed from the rolls of temples to

¹⁸ The three basic sūtras of esoteric Buddhism: the Dainichi-kyō, the Kongōchō-gyō, and the Soshichi-kyō.

¹⁹ The temple's name may be translated literally "the Vehicle of One-ness; Concentration and Insight."

which they were originally affiliated. For the purposes of receiving provisions, they should nevertheless be assigned to one of the wealthy temples in Ōmi.²⁰ In keeping with Mahāyāna practices, alms will be sought throughout the country to provide them with summer and winter robes. With the material needs of their bodies thus taken care of, they will be able to continue their studies without interruption. Once admitted to the monastery it will be a fast rule for these students that a thatched hut will serve as their quarters and bamboo leaves as their seats.²¹ They will value but slightly their own lives, reverencing the Law. They will strive to perpetuate the Law eternally and to safeguard the nation.

6. If ordained priests belonging to other sects and not recipients of annual appointments wish of their own free will to spend twelve years on the mountain in order to study the two disciplines, their original temple affiliation and the name of their master, together with documents from this monastery, must be deposited in the government office. When they have completed twelve years of study they will be granted the title of Master of the Law as in the case of the annual appointees of the Tendai sect. If they should fail to live up to the regulations they are to be returned to the temple with which they were originally affiliated.

7. The request will be made that the court bestow the title of Great Master of the Law on students who have remained twelve years on the mountain, and have studied and observed the disciplines in strict adherence to the regulations. The request will be made that the court bestow the title of Master of the Law on students who, although they may not be accomplished in their studies, have spent twelve years on the mountain without ever having left it.

If any members of the sect fail to observe the regulations and do not remain on the mountain, or if, in spite of their having remained on the mountain, they have been guilty of numerous infractions of the Law or have failed to remain the full period, they will be removed permanently from the official register of the Tendai sect and returned to the temple with which they were originally affiliated.

8. Two lay intendants will be appointed to this Tendai monastery to supervise it alternately, and to keep out robbers, liquor, and women. Thus the Buddhist Law will be upheld and the nation safeguarded.

²⁰ The region near Lake Biwa where many rich immigrants were domiciled.

²¹ That is, they will lead a life of poverty.

The above eight articles are for the maintenance of the Buddhist Law and the benefit of the nation. They should serve to guide all men and to encourage future generations in the way of goodness.

The imperial assent is respectfully requested.

Saichō, the Monk who Formerly Sought the Law in China. [30 September 818.]



CHAPTER VII

KŪKAI AND ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

Outstanding among the Buddhist leaders of the Heian Period was Kūkai (774-835), a man whose genius has well been described, "His memory lives all over the country, his name is a household word in the remotest places, not only as a saint, but as a preacher, a scholar, a poet, a sculptor, a painter, an inventor, an explorer, and—sure passport to fame—a great calligrapher."¹

Kūkai came from one of the great aristocratic families. At the time of the decision to move the capital from Nara, Kūkai's family was closely associated with the group opposed to the move, and was even implicated in the murder of the leader of the opposing faction. The subsequent disgrace of his family may have been a factor in Kūkai's eventual decision to become a Buddhist monk rather than to win the high place in the government that his talents and birth should have guaranteed him. Even as a small boy he showed exceptional ability in his studies, and was taken under the protection of his maternal uncle, a Confucian scholar. In 791 Kūkai entered the Confucian college in the capital. According to some sources, it was in the same year that he completed the first version of his *Indications to the Teachings of the Three Religions*, a work which treats the doctrines of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism more or less novelistically. In its early form the book may actually have been intended more as a literary exercise than as an interpretation of the three religions. If it was in fact composed in 791, it was an amazing achievement for a youth of seventeen, but, as often in the case of the great men of former ages, it may be that Kūkai's admirers have sought to make him appear even more of a prodigy than he was.

The 797 version of the *Indications* was Kūkai's first major work. In it he proclaimed the superiority of Buddhism over the other two religions

¹ G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History* (London, 1946), p. 230.

discussed because it went beyond them in its concern for man's future existence. Kūkai did not deny the validity of Confucian and Taoist beliefs as such, but pointed out how inadequate they were. For Kūkai Buddhism was not only superior, but actually contained all that was worthwhile in the other two beliefs. We can thus find even in this early work signs of the syncretism which marked his mature philosophy. Although Kūkai clearly reveals himself as Buddhist in the *Indications*, we know that he was not satisfied with the forms of the religion known to him in Japan. In later years he recalled that period of his life: "Three vehicles, five vehicles, a dozen sūtras—there were so many ways for me to seek the essence of Buddhism, but still my mind had doubts which could not be resolved. I beseeched all the Buddhas of the three worlds and the ten directions to show me not the disparity but the unity of the teachings."²

In the hope of finding the unifying Buddhism he sought, Kūkai sailed to China in 804 with the same embassy that Saichō also accompanied, although on a different ship. At this early date a voyage to China was extremely hazardous; ships which arrived safely were the exception and not the rule. When Kūkai's ship was about to sail, apprehension of the dangers was so great that the ambassadors' "tears fell like rain and everybody present also wept."³ The crossing took thirty-four days, and instead of arriving at the mouth of the Yangtze, the probable goal, the ship reached the coast of Fukien, where the authorities were at first unwilling to let the Japanese ashore. Kūkai's mastery of written Chinese here served the embassy in good stead; the governor was so impressed that he created no further obstacles.

Kūkai proceeded with the embassy to the capital at Ch'ang-an. There he met his great master Hui-kuo (746-805) who was immediately struck by the young Japanese and treated him as his chosen disciple. After Hui-kuo's death in the following year Kūkai was selected to write the funeral inscription, a signal honor for a foreigner. He returned to Japan late in 806. The Emperor Kammu, who had strongly favored the removal of the capital from Nara, and who was thus presumably not so well disposed towards Kūkai, had died in the spring of that year, and his successor showed Kūkai every kindness. After Kūkai had been granted many

² From Kūkai's so-called *Testament*, written by another hand. Quoted in Moriyama (ed.), *Kōbō Daishi Den*, p. 85.

³ Kuwabara Jitsuzō, "Daishi no Nyūto" in *Kōbō Daishi to Nihon Bunka*, p. 479.

honors, he asked in 816 for permission to build a monastery on Mt. Kōya, which later became the center of the Shingon Sect. In 822 Saichō, Kūkai's rival, died, and in the following year Kūkai was appointed Abbot of the Tōji, the great Buddhist temple which commanded the main entrance to the capital. He died in 835 on Mt. Kōya.

The Buddhism which Kūkai learned in China and brought back to Japan was known as the True Words (*Mantrayāna* in Sanskrit, *Shingon* in Japanese). The name itself indicates the importance accorded to speech as one of the Three Mysteries—body, speech, and mind. These three faculties are possessed by every human being, but in them resides all secrets, and through them one can attain to Buddhahood. The mysteries of the body include the various ways of holding the hands (known as *mudrā*) in accordance with the Buddha or bodhisattva invoked, the postures of meditation, and the handling of such ritual instruments as the symbolic thunderbolt (*vajra*) and lotus flowers. The mysteries of speech included the "true words" and other secret formulas. The mysteries of the mind referred mainly to the "five wisdoms," methods of perceiving truth. In Shingon Buddhism these mysteries are transmitted orally from master to disciple and not written in books where anyone might read of them. This constitutes one of the main differences between esoteric (for the initiated) and exoteric (for the public) Buddhism. The reason given for keeping these teachings secret is that, unlike the doctrines of Shākyamuni, the historical Buddha, which were expounded with the limitations of his audience in mind, the esoteric teachings were voiced for his own enjoyment by Vairocana, the cosmic Buddha. The truths of the esoteric teachings were considered to be absolute, independent of place or time, and uniting in them the truths of all schools of thought. Only the initiated could hope to understand fully doctrines of such magnitude.

In the Esoteric school of Buddhism the relation between a master and his disciples was extremely close. Often the master would divulge all of his knowledge of the secret teachings only to one pupil of outstanding ability. Kūkai related how his master, Hui-kuo, waited almost until his death before he found in the Japanese an adequate receptacle for his knowledge. The personal nature of the transmission of the teachings was such that no independent Shingon sect was formed in China. It was left to Kūkai to present the Shingon teachings as a systematized doctrine and thus establish a sect. The immediate occasion for Kūkai's *Ten Stages of*

the Religious Consciousness, in which Shingon is treated as a separate philosophy, was a decree issued in 830 by the Emperor Junna ordering the six existing Buddhist sects to submit in written form the essentials of their beliefs. Of the works submitted at this time, Kūkai's *Ten Stages* was by far the most important, both in quality and magnitude. It consisted of ten chapters, each one presenting a successive stage upward of religious consciousness. The work was written entirely in Chinese, not merely good Chinese for a Japanese writer, but with an ornate poetical style which may remind one somewhat of Pope's attempt in the *Essay on Man* to present philosophical ideas in rhymed couplets. Kūkai's use of this cumbersome medium of expression was dictated largely by the fashion of his time. We may regret this today, for in spite of Kūkai's remarkable mastery of the techniques of Chinese composition, his statement of the doctrines of Shingon Buddhism was inevitably hampered by the necessity of casting his words into a rigid and unsuitable mold. His writings are today difficult to understand, and his attempts at parallel constructions made him at times prolix, but in spite of such handicaps Kūkai remains the towering intellectual figure of Japanese Buddhism.

The *Ten Stages* was the first attempt made by a Japanese to appraise existing Buddhist literature of every variety preliminary to his elucidation of the doctrines of a new sect. Kūkai even went beyond the field of Buddhism in his discussion of the stages of the religious life: Confucianism and Taoism were considered as two stages of the ten. At the bottom of the ten stages Kūkai placed the animal life of uncontrolled passions, the life without religious guidance. Only one step upwards was Confucianism, where the mind is as yet ignorant of the true religion, but is led by teaching to the practice of secular virtues. The third stage was Taoism (and, according to some authorities, Brāhmanism), where the believers hope for heaven but ignore its nature. Two Hinayāna stages follow; here there is a partial understanding only, and the highest aspiration is that of personal extinction in Nirvāna. This is in contrast to the Mahāyāna belief that even those who have attained Heaven must descend to the lower stages of existence to help save others. The sixth stage is the first of Mahāyāna belief sometimes identified as Quasi- or Pseudo-Mahayana. It is that of Hossō Buddhism which "aims at discovering the ultimate entity of cosmic existence in contemplation, through investigation into the specific characteristics of all existence, and through

the realization of the fundamental nature of the soul in mystic illumination." ⁴ Because it is Mahāyāna, it is also characterized by its compassion for those who still wallow in ignorance. The seventh stage is the Sanron, which follows Nāgārjuna in the "Eightfold Negations" as a means of eliminating all false conceptions which hinder the mind in its search for the truth. The eighth stage is that of the universality of Tendai, where one moment contains eternity and a sesame seed may hold a mountain. The Kegon teachings, with its insistence on interdependence and convertibility, form the ninth stage. At the summit are the esoteric teachings of Shingon.

Although Kūkai insisted on the difference between the exoteric teachings of other schools of Buddhism and the esoteric Shingon teachings, an examination of doctrine would seem to show that the concept of Vairocana, the cosmic Buddha, had been anticipated by the Tendai concept of the eternal Buddha or the Kegon interpretation of Lochana Buddha. The essential difference was that the latter two concepts of Buddhahood were purported to have been visions revealed to the historical Buddha, while the Vairocana Buddha discussed by Kūkai was not merely an ideal, but the cosmos itself, limitless, without beginning or end. The cosmos was held to consist of six elements: earth, water, fire, air, space, and consciousness. Unlike certain other Buddhist schools, Shingon did not consider the world to be consciousness only; matter and mind are inseparable, "two but not two." In the Shingon insistence on consciousness as an element it differed from the Chinese Five Elements which were physical forces. Esoteric Buddhism was able to synthesize both the previous Buddhist concepts of the universe and the yin-yang theory of five elements. It was later also to absorb Shinto.

The great appeal of Esoteric Buddhism for Heian Japan lay in its aesthetic qualities. Kūkai himself excelled in the arts, and this fact may partially explain the important role which art played in his teachings. Kūkai's master, Hui-kuo, had told him that only through art could the profound meaning of the esoteric scriptures be conveyed, and when Kūkai returned to Japan he elaborated this theory:

The law [dharma] has no speech, but without speech it cannot be expressed. Eternal truth [*tathatā*] transcends color, but only by means of color can it be understood. Mistakes will be made in the effort to point at the truth, for there is no clearly defined method of teaching, but even

⁴M. Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, p. 95.

when art does not excite admiration by its unusual quality, it is a treasure which protects the country and benefits the people.

In truth, the esoteric doctrines are so profound as to defy their enunciation in writing. With the help of painting, however, their obscurities may be understood. The various attitudes and mudrās of the holy images all have their source in Buddha's love, and one may attain Buddhahood at sight of them. Thus the secrets of the sūtras and commentaries can be depicted in art, and the essential truths of the esoteric teaching are all set forth therein. Neither teachers nor students can dispense with it. Art is what reveals to us the state of perfection.⁵

The arts were generally considered by Kūkai's school under four aspects: 1) painting and sculpture, 2) music and literature, 3) gestures and acts, and 4) the implements of civilization and religion. Ability in any or all of the arts may be achieved by a mastery of the Three Mysteries, and can result in the creation of flowers of civilization which are Buddhas in their own right. For Kūkai whatever was beautiful partook of the nature of Buddha. Nature, art and religion were one. It is not difficult, then, to see why so aesthetic a religion found favor at a time when Japanese civilization was at the height of its flowering.

Probably the most important use of painting made by the Shingon school was in the two Mandalas, representations of the cosmos under the two aspects of potential entity and dynamic manifestations. The indestructible potential aspect of the cosmos is depicted in the Diamond (*Vajra*) Mandala. In the center Vairochana Buddha is shown in contemplation, seated on a white lotus and encircled by a white halo. Around him are various Buddhas and the sacred implements. The dynamic aspect of the cosmos is depicted in the Womb (*Garbha*) Mandala, "wherein the manifold groups of deities and other beings are arrayed according to the kinds of the powers and intentions they embody. In the center there is a red lotus flower, with its seed-pod and eight petals, which symbolizes the heart of the universe. . . ." ⁶ Vairochana Buddha is seated on the seed-pod of the lotus and the petals are occupied by other Buddhas.

The Mandalas were used to represent the life and being of Vairochana Buddha, and also served to evoke mysterious powers, much in the way that the mudrās were performed. One important ceremony where the Mandalas figured was that in which an acolyte was required to throw

⁵ From Kūkai's *Memorial on the Presentation of the List of Newly Imported Sūtras*, quoted in Moriyama (ed.), *Kōbō Daishi Den*, p. 249.

⁶ Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, pp. 126-27.

a flower on the Mandalas. The Buddha on which his flower alighted was the one he was particularly to worship and emulate. It is recorded that Kūkai's flower fell on Vairochana Buddha both in the Diamond and Womb Mandalas. His master was amazed at this divine indication of the great destiny in store for the young Japanese.

An unusual feature of Kūkai's teachings was the emphasis placed on a knowledge of Sanskrit. It is not certain what degree of proficiency Kūkai himself was able to attain in Sanskrit after his relatively brief study of the language in China, but with his unusual gifts he may well have gained a considerable command. He described the importance of Sanskrit:

Buddhism had its inception in India. The lands of the West and those of the East are culturally and geographically far removed, and both in language and writing India differs from China. Thus we have had to rely on translations in order to study the Buddhist texts. However, the True Words in the original language are exceedingly abstruse, each word possessing a profound meaning. This meaning is changed when its sound is altered, and can easily be falsified by different punctuation. One may get a rough impression of the meaning, but no clear understanding. Unless one reads the Sanskrit original it is impossible to distinguish the qualities of the vowels. That is why we must go back to the source.⁷

According to traditional accounts at least, Kūkai put his Sanskrit to excellent use in the invention of the Japanese syllabary (*kana*), a contribution which made possible the glorious literature of the Heian Period. Regardless of Kūkai's part, it is certain that the syllabary was evolved in imitation of Sanskrit use.

Esoteric Buddhism became the most important religion of Heian Japan. Although its profound secrets could be transmitted only from masters to their disciples, the main features of the doctrines could be grasped quite easily. Life was conceived of in terms of constant change, upwards to Buddhahood, or downwards to hell, when Mahāyāna compassion led the enlightened ones to seek the salvation of those still living as "butting goats." However, the esoteric teachings did not deny the importance of this world and of happiness in this life. By correct performance of the mysteries, material benefits could immediately be obtained. This belief led at first towards a spirit of intellectual curiosity in the things of this world which distinguishes Shingon from most other forms of Buddhism. Later, however, the hope of securing practical advantages through the

⁷ Moriyama, *Kōbō Daishi Den*, p. 246.

intermediary of an adept in magical formulae led to many superstitious excesses. It was largely in protest against this latter development of Shingon Buddhism that the Jōdo and other dissident sects first arose.

KŪKAI

Kūkai and His Master

This passage and the one following are taken from the *Memorial Presenting a List of Newly Imported Sūtras* which Kūkai wrote to the emperor upon his return from studying in China. In addition to listing the many religious articles which he brought back with him, Kūkai reported on the results of his studies and extols the doctrines into which he was initiated. Among the points which he especially emphasizes are 1) his personal success in gaining acceptance by the greatest Buddhist teacher of the day in China; 2) the authenticity of this teaching in direct line of succession from the Buddha; 3) the great favor in which this teaching was held by the recent emperors of the T'ang dynasty, to the extent that it represented the best and most influential doctrine current in the Chinese capital; and 4) the fact that this teaching offers the easiest and quickest means of obtaining Buddhahood, probably an important recommendation for it in the eyes of a busy monarch.

[From *Kōbō Daishi zenshū*, I, 98-101]

During the sixth moon of 804, I, Kūkai, sailed for China aboard the Number One Ship, in the party of Lord Fujiwara, ambassador to the T'ang court. We reached the coast of Fukien by the eighth moon, and four months later arrived at Ch'ang-an, the capital, where we were lodged at the official guest residence. The ambassadorial delegation started home for Japan on March 15, 805, but in obedience to an imperial edict, I alone remained behind in the Hsi-ming Temple where the abbot Yung-chung had formerly resided.

One day, in the course of my calls on eminent Buddhist teachers of the capital, I happened by chance to meet the abbot of the East Pagoda Hall of the Green Dragon Temple. This great priest, whose Buddhist name was Hui-kuo, was the chosen disciple of the Indian master Amoghavajra. His virtue aroused the reverence of his age; his teachings were lofty enough to guide emperors. Three sovereigns revered him as their master and were ordained by him. The four classes of believers looked up to him for instruction in the esoteric teachings.

I called on the abbot in the company of five or six monks from the

Hsi-ming Temple. As soon as he saw me he smiled with pleasure, and he joyfully said, "I knew that you would come! I have been waiting for such a long time. What pleasure it gives me to look on you today at last! My life is drawing to an end, and until you came there was no one to whom I could transmit the teachings. Go without delay to the ordination altar with incense and a flower." I returned to the temple where I had been staying and got the things which were necessary for the ceremony. It was early in the sixth moon, then, that I entered the ordination chamber. I stood in front of the Womb Mandala and cast my flower in the prescribed manner. By chance it fell on the body of the Buddha Vairochana in the center. The master exclaimed in delight, "How amazing! How perfectly amazing!" He repeated this three or four times in joy and wonder. I was then given the fivefold baptism and received the instruction in the Three Mysteries that bring divine intercession. Next I was taught the Sanskrit formulas for the Womb Mandala, and learned the yoga contemplation on all the Honored Ones.

Early in the seventh moon I entered the ordination chamber of the Diamond Mandala for a second baptism. When I cast my flower it fell on Vairochana again, and the abbot marveled as he had before. I also received ordination as an *āchārya* early in the following month. On the day of my ordination I provided a feast for five hundred of the monks. The dignitaries of the Green Dragon Temple all attended the feast, and everyone enjoyed himself.

I later studied the Diamond Crown Yoga and the five divisions of the True Words teachings, and spent some time learning Sanskrit and the Sanskrit hymns. The abbot informed me that the Esoteric scriptures are so abstruse that their meaning cannot be conveyed except through art. For this reason he ordered the court artist Li Chen and about a dozen other painters to execute ten scrolls of the Womb and Diamond Mandalas, and assembled more than twenty scribes to make copies of the Diamond and other important esoteric scriptures. He also ordered the bronzesmith Chao Wu to cast fifteen ritual implements. These orders for the painting of religious images and the copying of the *sūtras* were issued at various times.

One day the abbot told me, "Long ago, when I was still young, I met the great master Amoghavajra. From the first moment he saw me he treated me like a son, and on his visit to the court and his return to the

temple I was as inseparable from him as his shadow. He confided to me, 'You will be the receptacle of the esoteric teachings. Do your best! Do your best!' I was then initiated into the teachings of both the Womb and Diamond, and into the secret mudrās as well. The rest of his disciples, monks and laity alike, studied just one of the mandalas or one Honored One or one ritual, but not all of them as I did. How deeply I am indebted to him I shall never be able to express.

"Now my existence on earth approaches its term, and I cannot long remain. I urge you, therefore, to take the two mandalas and the hundred volumes of the Esoteric teachings, together with the ritual implements and these gifts which were left to me by my master. Return to your country and propagate the teachings there.

"When you first arrived I feared I did not have time enough left to teach you everything, but now my teaching is completed, and the work of copying the sūtras and making the images is also finished. Hasten back to your country, offer these things to the court, and spread the teachings throughout your country to increase the happiness of the people. Then the land will know peace and everyone will be content. In that way you will return thanks to Buddha and to your teacher. That is also the way to show your devotion to your country and to your family. My disciple I-ming will carry on the teachings here. Your task is to transmit them to the Eastern Land. Do your best! Do your best!" These were his final instructions to me, kindly and patient as always. On the night of the last full moon of the year he purified himself with a ritual bath and, lying on his right side and making the mudrā of Vairochana, he breathed his last.

That night, while I sat in meditation in the Hall, the abbot appeared to me in his usual form and said, "You and I have long been pledged to propagate the esoteric teachings. If I am reborn in Japan, this time I will be your disciple."

I have not gone into the details of all he said, but the general import of the Master's instructions I have given. [Dated 5th December 806.]

The Transmission of the Law

[From *Kōbō Daishi zenshū*, I, 83-84]

The ocean of the Law is one, but sometimes it is shallow and sometimes deep, according to the capacity of the believer. Five vehicles have been

distinguished, sudden or gradual according to the vessel. Even among the teachings of sudden enlightenment, some are exoteric and some esoteric. In Esotericism itself, some doctrines represent the source while others are tributary. The masters of the Law of former times swam in the tributary waters and plucked at leaves, but the teachings I now bring back reach down to the sources and pull at the roots.

You may wonder why this is so. In ancient times Vajrasattva personally received the teachings from Vairocana. After many centuries it was transmitted to the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna, who later transmitted it to the Āchārya Nāgabodhi. He in turn transmitted it to the Āchārya Vajrabodhi, the master of Indian and Chinese learning, who first taught the esoteric doctrines in China during the K'ai-yüan era [713-42]. Although the emperor himself revered his teachings, Vajrabodhi could not spread them very widely. Only with our spiritual grandfather Amoghavajra, the great master of broad wisdom, did the teachings thrive. After he had been initiated by Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra visited the place in southern India where Nāgabodhi had taught, and silently mastered the eighteen forms of yoga. After attaining a complete understanding of the Womb Mandala and other parts of the esoteric canon, he returned to China during the T'ien-pao Era [742-65]. At this time the Emperor Hsüan-tsung was baptized; he revered Amoghavajra as his teacher.

In later years both the Emperors Su-tsung and Tai-tsung in turn received the Law. Within the imperial palace the Monastery of the Divine Dragon¹ was established, and in the capital ordination platforms were erected everywhere. The Emperor and the government officials went to these platforms to be formally baptized. This was the period when the Esoteric sect began to flourish as never before; its methods of baptism were widely adopted from this time on.

According to exoteric doctrines, enlightenment occurs only after three existences; the esoteric doctrines declare that there are sixteen chances of enlightenment within this life. In speed and in excellence the two doctrines differ as much as Buddha with his supernatural powers and a lame donkey. You who reverence the good, let this fact be clear in your minds! The superiority of the doctrines and the origins of the Law are explained at length in the five esoteric formulas of Vajrasattva and in the memorials and answers written by Benshō.

¹ "Divine dragon" was an era (705-6) during the reign of the Emperor Chung-tsung.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EXOTERIC
AND ESOTERIC BUDDHISM
(*BEN KEMMITSU NIKYŌ-RON*)

This work of Kūkai was probably an outgrowth of disputations among the sects established in or near the capital, and is intended to show the superiority of the Shingon doctrine to all others. Kūkai puts Shingon in a class by itself as the Esoteric (private) teaching of the Buddha, while other sects, whether identified as Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna, are classed together as exoteric (public) teachings. The superiority of the former is based on its claim to represent the inner experience of the Buddha in his absolute, spiritual aspect, as revealed in secret formulas to his closest disciples. Although shrouded in mystery, this Truth is attainable by all because each individual has the potentiality for Buddhahood as the very Law of his being. Properly understood and practiced this teaching offers the quickest and surest means of attaining Buddhahood in this life.

Kūkai's argument is carefully and systematically presented, taking up one by one the positions of the other schools and commenting upon them. Often he makes effective use of the impersonal dialogue form. After examining passages from the sūtras upon which the other teachings are based, he cites his own scriptural passages to show that the supreme knowledge of the Cosmic Buddha, Vairochana, was not totally incommunicable, as other sects maintained, and that certain of Buddha's followers possessed the secret keys to the storehouse of Truth. Kūkai's introduction to this work summarizes the arguments elaborated in the body of the text.

Introduction

[From *Kōbō Daishi zenshū*, pp. 474-75]

Buddha has three bodies;² his doctrines are in two forms. The doctrine expounded by Nirmāna Buddha is called exoteric, since the words are open and brief, and adapted to those taught. The doctrine taught by Dharma Buddha is called the esoteric treasury; the words are secret and of absolute truth. The sūtras used in exotericism number in the millions. The collection is divided by some into fifteen and by others into eleven parts. They speak of single, double, triple, quadruple, and quintuple

² The three bodies are called in Sanskrit Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya, and Nirmānakāya, respectively the Buddha-body in its essential nature; Buddha's body of bliss, which he "receives" for his own "use"; and his body of transformation, by which he can appear in any form. In the Esoteric sect, the Dharma-body is associated with Vairochana, the Sambhoga-body with Amitābha, and the Nirmāna-body with the historical Buddha, Shākyamuni.

Vehicles. In discussing actions, the six ways of obtaining salvation are one of their main tenets; in explanations of the absolute, three great characteristics are delimited. The reasons why these complicated doctrines arose was clearly explained by the Great Sage. According to the esoteric *Diamond Crown Sūtra*, Buddha manifested himself in human form and taught the doctrine of the Three Vehicles of gradual enlightenment for the sake of bodhisattvas-to-be and the believers in Hīnayāna and Quasi-Mahāyāna.³ Buddha also manifested himself in his Sambhogabody and taught the exoteric doctrine of the One Vehicle of universal enlightenment for the benefit of bodhisattvas on earth. Both of these teachings were exoteric. The Dharma Buddha who manifested himself for his own sake, for his own enjoyment, expounded the doctrine of the Three Mysteries, with only his own retinue⁴ present. These were the esoteric teachings. The doctrine of the Three Mysteries lies in the realm of the inner wisdom of the Buddha, and even bodhisattvas who have attained ten steps of enlightenment cannot penetrate it, much less the ordinary believers of the Hīnayāna and Quasi-Mahāyāna. Therefore, though the *Jiron* and *Shakuron*⁵ declare that the Truth does not depend on the faculties, and the *Yuishiki* and *Chūkan*⁶ praise the Truth as a thing beyond words or thought, the absolute truth of which they speak was known to the compilers of these commentaries (shāstras) only in theory; they were not the work of men who had attained Buddhahood.

How can we know the Truth? Within the Buddhist canon itself is clear evidence, and in the following pages I shall indicate it in detail. It is hoped that all who seek Buddha will understand their import. Some may become entangled in the net of exotericism, and thereby get into inextricable difficulties. Or, blocked by the barrier of the Quasi-Mahāyāna, they may waste their days. They will be lotus-eaters in the false Nirvāna of the Hīnayāna, children prizing yellow willow-leaves like gold. How can they hope to preserve the glorious treasures which lie within themselves, numberless as the sands of Ganges? They will be casting away the rich liquor skimmed from butter⁷ to look for milk; or

³ Hossō, Sanron and various other Mahāyāna schools were so termed.

⁴ That is, the bodhisattvas, dragon kings, etc.

⁵ Shāstras—commentaries—written not by Buddha but by bodhisattvas and other holy men, in this case Vasubandhu and Nāgārjuna respectively.

⁶ Commentaries by Dharmapāla and Kumārajīva respectively.

⁷ Used for the perfect Buddha-truth as found, according to Tendai, in the *Nirvāna and Lotus sūtras*.

discarding pearls⁸ to pick up fish-eyes. Such believers are victims of a mortal disease before which even the King of Medicine would fold his hands in despair, a disease for which even the most precious medicine would be of no avail.

If men and women once catch the fragrance of these teachings, they will behold the source of knowledge reflected as in a flawless mirror, and the differences between the temporal and the real doctrines will melt away.

THE PRECIOUS KEY TO THE SECRET TREASURY

In his master work, *The Ten Stages of Religious Consciousness*, Kūkai presented a systematic evaluation of the principal schools of Buddhist teaching, as well as of Confucianism, Taoism and Brāhmanism. When it was shown to the reigning Emperor, the latter praised it highly but requested that Kūkai compose a simplified and condensed version which would make less formidable reading. His *Precious Key to the Secret Treasury* was written in response to this request.

In the opening lines of his Introduction, Kūkai acknowledges how difficult it is to make a comprehensive study of the numerous scriptures and texts representing the development of Buddhist doctrine, yet he insists that only by referring to them (as he does in the body of this work) can the manifold aspects of religious truth be made known. As a result the condensation itself is an imposing monument of scriptural scholarship. In the Introduction, however, Kūkai gives a concise résumé of his views, presented in verse, prose, and tabular form. His language is highly rhetorical and at times so obscure or allusive that a variety of interpretations or translations may be derived from a few words of text.

Introduction

[From *Kōbō Daishi zenshū*, I, 417-19]

From the deep, dim, most distant past,
A thousand thousand tomes we hold
Of sacred texts and learned lore.
Profound, abstruse, obscure and dark,
Teachings diverse and manifold—
Who can encompass such a store?

⁸ A symbol of Buddha and his doctrines (in Sanskrit, *mañi*).

Yet, had no one ever written such,
 And if no one read what they have told,
 What should we know, what should we know?
 However hard they strove in thought,
 The saint today, the sage of old
 Would still be lost, have naught to show.

The ancient god with herb and balm⁹
 Took pity on the stricken host
 Of suffering, sore humanity.
 And he who made the compass-cart¹⁰
 Showed them the way whose way was lost,
 A guide in their perplexity.

Yet senseless dawdlers in this world,
 The three-fold realm of fantasy,
 Mad, their madness do not perceive;
 And all the four-fold living things
 Are blinded so they cannot see
 How blind they are, the self-deceived.

Born, reborn, reborn and reborn
 Whence they have come they do not know.
 Dying, dying, ever dying
 They see not where it is they go.

. . . .

How could the Great Enlightened One, feeling a fatherly compassion for all sentient beings and seeing the misery of their existence, silently let it pass? It was for this reason indeed that He provided many sorts of remedies to guide them in their perplexities. To this end he established the following teachings:

1. [The first stage of religious consciousness is the brutish existence described above.]
2. That which, through personal cultivation of the Five Cardinal Virtues and Three Human Relationships, promotes social order by

⁹ Shen-nung, the early Chinese God of Agriculture.

¹⁰ The Duke of Chou, statesman instrumental in founding the Chou dynasty of Ancient China, was said to have provided a "south-pointing chariot" for some foreign emissaries who could not find their way back home.

enabling prince and minister, father and son each to fulfill his proper mission in life. [Confucianism.]

3. That which, through practice of the six disciplines and the four methods of mental concentration, produces contempt for the world below and desire for that above, from which one may proceed to the attainment of happiness in heaven. [Brāhmanism and popular Taoism.]

4. That which, recognizing that the self is unreal and represents only a temporary combination of the Five Components¹¹ strives to achieve the eight forms of disentanglement and six supernatural powers that come from concentrated meditation. [The Shrāvaka vehicle of Hīnayāna Buddhism practiced by the direct disciples of the Buddha.]

5. That which, through personal practice of the meditation on the Twelve Links of Causation,¹² makes one aware of the impermanence and ego-lessness of all things, and thus uproots the seeds of karma. [The Pratyeka-Buddha vehicle of Hīnayāna Buddhism, practiced by those seeking enlightenment for themselves.]

6. That which, from a sense of unlimited compassion for others, and following the highest inner knowledge which transcends all external circumstances, overcomes all impediments within the mind to transform the eight consciousnesses into the Fourfold Wisdom of the Buddha.¹³ [Hossō school of Quasi-Mahāyāna.]

7. That which, by understanding one's nature through the method of eightfold negation¹⁴ and by transcending ordinary forms of argument through realization that Truth is void of name or character, brings the mind to a state of tranquility, absolute and indescribable. [Sanron school of Quasi-Mahāyāna.]

8. That which, by realizing the absolute and universal way in one's primal nature, causes the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kannon,¹⁵ to smile with delight. [Tendai school of Mahāyāna.]

¹¹ Form (body), sensation, perception, psychic construction, and consciousness.

¹² Blindness, will to live, subconsciousness, name and form, sense organs, contact, perception, desire, cleaving, formation of being, birth and death—together making up the Wheel of Life or Cycle of Causations and Becomings.

¹³ According to the psychological doctrines of the Hossō school there are eight consciousnesses: five sense consciousnesses, the sense-center, thought-center, and ideation center. These are transformed into the wisdom of accomplishing works, awareness of diversity, awareness of equality, and the wisdom of mirror-like objectivity.

¹⁴ Negation of all specific features: no production, no extinction; no annihilation, no permanence; no unity, no diversity; no coming, no going.

¹⁵ Avalokiteśvara—here a symbol of the Tendai doctrine of the One in the Many, the identity of noumenon and phenomenon.

9. That which, by embracing cosmic existence in the first awakening of religious consciousness, causes the Bodhisattva Fugen¹⁶ to beam with satisfaction. [Kegon school of Mahāyāna.]

10. By these teachings the dust and stains of the world are cleansed away, revealing the splendor and solemnity of the world of the Mandalas. As the performer of the Mantra meditates on the syllables *Ma* and *Ta*, the Buddha's nature shines forth and dispels the darkness of ignorance. In the lasting light of sun and moon appear the Bodhisattvas of Wisdom, while the Five Buddhas¹⁷ reign supreme, each making his characteristic sign of the hand. The universe is filled with the radiance of the Four Mandala Circles¹⁸ representing the Buddha-world.

Achala, the God of Fire, with his left eye closed and right wide open, glares out over the realm of sentient beings and stills the stormy winds of worldly desire. The King of Triumph, Trailokyavijaya, three times roars forth his mighty "*Hūm*," evaporating the unruly waves of lust. The Eight Angelic Maidens¹⁹ [at the corners of the Diamond Mandala] float through the clouds and over the seas to make their exquisite offerings, while the Four Queens of Wisdom²⁰ are enraptured by the bliss of the Law.

Such is this state that even those most advanced in the various stages of ordinary Buddhism are unable even to glimpse it, and those who have diligently cultivated the Three Divisions of the Eight-fold Path²¹ cannot approach it. It is the secret of all secrets, the enlightenment of all enlightenments. [Esoteric Buddhism.]

Alas, men are ignorant of the treasures they possess, and in their confusion consider themselves enlightened. What is it but utter foolishness! The Buddha's compassion is indeed profound, but without his teaching

¹⁶ Samantabhadra—here a symbol of the Kegon doctrine of the interdependence of all things, all-embracing love.

¹⁷ The Cosmic Buddha, the Buddhas of the four quarters and the Bodhisattvas of the four corners make up the central figures of the Mandalas.

¹⁸ The Great Circle, consisting of graphic Buddha-figures; the Symbol Circle, consisting of the articles carried by each; the Law Circle, consisting of letters representing saintly beings; and the Circle of Works, represented by sculptured figures.

¹⁹ Those of the first division, serving inside, representing the smile, hair tresses, song and dance; those of the second division, serving outside, representing incense, flowers, lanterns and ointment.

²⁰ Representing the Diamond (*Vajra*), Jewel (*Cintāmaṇi*), Law (Dharma) and Action (Karma).

²¹ Right Views, Thought, Speech and Action are the elements of human character or self-control; Right Mindfulness, Endeavor and Livelihood are the elements of human life or self-purification; Right Concentration is the element of self-development.

how can they be saved? The remedies have been provided, yet if men refuse to take them, how can they be cured? If we do naught but spend our time in vain discussion and vain recitation, the King of Healing will surely scold us for it.

Now there are nine kinds of medicine²² for the diseases of the mind, but the most they can do is sweep away the surface dust and dispel the mind's confusion. Only in the Diamond Palace²³ do we find the secret treasury opened wide to dispense its precious truths. To enjoy them or reject them—this is for everyone to decide in his own mind. No one else can do it for you; you must realize it for yourself.

Those who seek Buddha's wisdom must know the difference between a true jewel and an ordinary stone, between cow's milk and the milk of an ass. They must not fail to distinguish them; they must not fail to distinguish them.

The ten stages of religious experience, as revealed in the scriptures and their commentaries, are clearly and systematically presented in what follows.

Recapitulation of the Ten Stages of Religious Consciousness

[From *Kôbô Daishi zenshû*, I, 420]

1. The mind animal-like and goatish in its desires.

The mass-man in his madness realizes not his faults.

He thinks but of his lusts and hungers; he is like a butting goat.

2. The mind ignorant and infantile yet abstemious.

Influenced by external causes, the mind awakens to temperance in eating.

The will to do kindnesses sprouts, like a seed in good soil. [Confucianism.]

3. The mind infantile and without fears.

The pagan hopes for birth in heaven, there for a while to know peace.

He is like an infant, like a calf that follows its mother. [Brâhmanism or popular Taoism.]

4. The mind recognizing only the objects perceived, not the ego.

The mind understands only that there are Elements, the ego it completely denies.

²² The first nine teachings or stages of religious consciousness.

²³ Esoteric Buddhism.

- The *Tripitaka* of the Goat-Cart is summed up by this verse. [Shrāvaka vehicle of Hīnayāna Buddhism.]
5. The mind freed from the causes and seeds of karma.
 Having mastered the 12-divisioned cycle of causations and beginning, the mind extirpates the seeds of blindness.
 When karma birth has been ended, the ineffable fruits of Nirvāna are won. [Pratyeka-Buddha vehicle of Hīnayāna Buddhism.]
 6. The Mahāyāna mind bringing about the salvation of others.
 When compassion is aroused without condition, the Great Compassion first appears.
 It views distinctions between "you" and "me" as imaginary; recognizing only consciousness it denies the external world. [The Hossō sect.]
 7. The mind aware of the negation of birth.
 Through eightfold negations, foolishness is ended; with one thought the truth of absolute Voidness becomes apparent.
 The mind becomes empty and still; it knows peace and happiness that cannot be defined. [The Sanron sect.]
 8. The mind which follows the one way of Truth.
 The universe is by nature pure; in it knowledge and its objects fuse together.
 He who knows this state of reality has a cosmic mind. [The Tendai sect.]
 9. The mind completely lacking characteristics of its own.
 Water lacks a nature of its own; when met by winds it becomes waves.
 The universe has no determined form, but at the slightest stimulus immediately moves forward. [The Kegon sect.]
 10. The mind filled with the mystic splendor of the cosmic Buddha.
 When the medicine of exoteric teachings has cleared away the dust, the True Words open the Treasury.
 When the secret treasures are suddenly displayed, all virtues are apparent. [The Shingon sect.]



CHAPTER VIII

THE SPREAD OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

A student of the history of Japanese Buddhism is likely to get the impression that the various sects represented successive stages in the development of the religion. He may thus imagine that the sects of the Nara Period gave way to Tendai and Shingon Buddhism, which in turn were replaced by one after another of the popular sects of the medieval period. More careful examination will show, however, that instead of following a regular pattern of rise, flourishing, decline and extinction, most of the sects continued to exist long after their period of glory, oblivious to the signs of decline which the historian might observe, and capable always of unexpected revivals. This was certainly true of the Nara sects, some of which not only preserved their identity throughout the Heian and medieval periods but still exist today. Similarly Esoteric Buddhism, by which is meant here both Tendai and Shingon, continued to make its influence felt long after Kūkai's time. Esoteric Buddhism set the predominant tone of religious life in the Heian Period, and its influence extended to all the other schools. Even the popular sects that turned away from its excessive emphasis on ritual drew much of their inspiration from doctrines contained in the vast storehouse of Esoteric Buddhism. Its syncretism lent itself readily to combination with other beliefs, whether the Buddhism of other sects, Shinto, or even alien teachings like yin-yang. And a place for some new god could always be found in its spacious pantheon.

When, however, the hundreds of deities who populated the maṇḍalas proved too much even for the polytheistic Japanese, their number was gradually reduced to thirteen selected objects of worship: Fudō, Shaka, Monju, Fugen, Jizō, Miroku, Yakushi, Kannon, Seishi, Amida, Ashiku, Dainichi, and Kokūzō. Of these thirteen the most exalted were considered to be Dainichi (Vairocana), Ashiku (Akshobhya), Amida (Ami-

tābha), Miroku (Maitreya) and Shaka (Shākyamuni). Dainichi occupied the center of the pantheon of Esoteric Buddhism. To the east of him sat Ashiku, the source of life, and to the west Amida, the dispenser of infinite love. Miroku, the Buddha of the future, and Shaka, the historical Buddha, completed this group of Tathāgatas.

Each of the thirteen deities had claims to the worshipers' attention, but by the late Heian Period two of them came to occupy a special place in the religious life of Japan: Kannon (Avalokiteshvara), one of the Bodhisattva attendants of Amida, who came to be worshiped as a Goddess of Mercy (although a male deity in India), and Fudō (Achala), a fierce god apparently of Indian origin although neither a Buddha nor a Bodhisattva. Statues of Kannon were erected at thirty-three sites of remarkable beauty in Japan, and pilgrimages to the different shrines were popular with all classes, from the imperial family downwards. The famous temple of the "33,333 Kannon," each with a "thousands hands" for dispensing mercy, was built in the twelfth century, and serves as an indication of the extreme popularity of this deity during the late Heian Period. In contrast to the merciful Kannon, Fudō was represented as "a terrible figure, livid blue in color and of a ferocious expression. He is surrounded by flames and carries a sword and a rope to smite and bind evil. He is generally explained as typifying the fierce aspect assumed by Vairocana when resenting wrong doing."¹ If Kannon represented the female (or *Garbha* mandala), Fudō stood for the male (or *vajra*), and as such was popular with the rising warrior class, who may have likened themselves, the guardians of the state in the face of disorder, to the powerful Fudō. The cult of Fudō spread not to the charming scenic spots chosen for Kannon but to regions where nature presented her severest face—rocky crags and the shores of the sea.

Probably the most important event in the history of Esoteric Buddhism in the years following the death of Kūkai (who had established the teachings in Japan) was its triumph on Mt. Hiei, the stronghold of Tendai. Saichō himself had studied Esoteric learning with Kūkai, but it remained for his disciple and successor Ennin (794-864) to found Tendai esotericism (*Taimitsu*). Ennin had led a rather colorless life as a priest and teacher and was already in his forties when he was sent to China for study in 838. At first unable to obtain the necessary authoriza-

¹ Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism*, pp. 348-49.

tion to visit either Wu-t'ai shan or T'ien-t'ai shan, the two most important Buddhist centers, he managed with great difficulty to be set ashore on the Chinese coast, and was later fortunate enough to meet a general who secured permission for him to visit Wu-t'ai shan and other holy sites. Ennin finally returned to Japan in 847 after extensive study with the masters of each of the Tendai disciplines. Upon his return to Mt. Hiei he organized study of the two maṇḍala, initiated Esoteric baptism and promoted other branches of Esoteric learning. Ennin also introduced to Japan the invocation of Buddha's name (*nembutsu*) which he had heard at Wu-t'ai shan, and had a special hall built for this purpose. *Nembutsu* was to become in some of the popular sects an all-sufficient means of gaining salvation, but for Ennin it appeared to be of less importance than Esoteric learning.

The establishment of Tendai esotericism marked a new phase in the relations between Tendai and Shingon. The Tendai monks had never forgiven Kūkai for having placed Tendai below Kegon in his *Ten Stages*, and for a long time they had sought some way of emerging from under the domination of Shingon. With the development of Tendai esotericism it was believed on Mt. Hiei that Shingon's claim to stand at the head of the Ten Stages in unique splendor had been at last rendered untenable. The two schools of esoteric teaching had many points in common, but at least one basic difference: Shingon had originated in China as the esoteric teachings of the Kegon school, and held as its central tenet the incompatibility of Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism; Tendai esotericism, on the other hand, originated in China as the esoteric discipline of Tendai itself, which taught that the exoteric and esoteric teachings were one.

The contest between Tendai and Shingon for recognition as the center of esotericism resulted in victory for the Hiei monks. Their success was due partially to the failure of Shingon to produce great leaders in the generations after Kūkai, and partially to the advantage which geographical proximity to the capital gave to Hiei over the more distant Kōya. However, the split in the ranks of Tendai esotericism caused by the founding of the Miidera school prevented the Mt. Hiei monks from taking full advantage of the supremacy they gained over Shingon, and led to some of the least attractive episodes in the history of Japanese Buddhism.

Miidera was a temple founded originally in 674 by the shores of Lake

Biwa. It was associated with the Ōtomo family, and with the decline in the fortunes of the Ōtomo the temple had fallen into ruins. Enchin (814–891), a nephew of Kūkai, founded a center of study at the Miidera shortly after his return to Japan in 858 from six years' study in China of the Tendai and esoteric teachings. In 864 the temple was attached to the Enryaku-ji on Mt. Hiei. Enchin's appointment in 868 as abbot of the Enryaku-ji made him the most important figure in Tendai Buddhism, and his strong personality earned for him devoted followers and bitter enemies. The immediate successors of Enchin to the abbacy of the Enryaku-ji were of his school, but they were followed by a line of men who were identified with Ennin. When in 933 a supporter of Enchin's was unexpectedly appointed as abbot by the emperor, the Ennin faction rebelled against him, and as a result the followers of Enchin marched from Mt. Hiei to the Miidera, where they formed an almost entirely independent school. Violent disputes frequently broke out between the two branches of Tendai esotericism. In 1039, for example, the appointment of a Miidera man resulted in a demonstration by 3,000 Hiei monks before the house of the regent in Kyoto, thereby compelling the deposition of the unwanted abbot. Violence reached its height in 1081 when Hiei monks burst into the confines of the Miidera and set it afire, destroying most of the buildings. They returned three months later to finish off the job. In the course of the next three centuries the Miidera was burned seven times, usually by Hiei monks, and reconstructed each time by the determined followers of Enchin.

The rise of the "warrior-monks" was a prominent feature of medieval Buddhism. Their lawlessness was at its peak during the reigns of the Emperor Shirakawa (1072–1086) and his immediate successors. Whenever the monks had some demand to make, they would march in force on the capital, bearing with them the palanquins of the Shinto god Sannō, the guardian deity of Mt. Hiei. The first such descent took place in 1095, and almost every one of the thirty or forty following years saw at least one visitation either of the Tendai "warrior-monks" or those of the Hossō sect from the Kōfuku-ji in Nara, who periodically stormed into the capital with the sacred tree of the Kasuga (Shinto) Shrine. Frequent battles between the Tendai and the Hossō monks disturbed the peace of the capital for about a century from Shirakawa's reign onwards. In 1165 the Hiei monks burned the Kiyomizu-dera, the stronghold of the Hossō

sect in Kyoto, and the Hossō monks attempted unsuccessfully to burn the Enryaku-ji.

Beset by such internecine warfare, Esoteric Buddhism also had to struggle against a tendency for the impressive rituals associated with the Three Mysteries to degenerate into mere superstition. The spells recited to prolong life were typical of this trend in the late Heian Period. Texts of these spells had been brought to Japan from China by Kūkai, Ennin, and Enchin, but the earliest mention of the performance of the secret rituals accompanying them dates from 1075, during the reign of Shirakawa, when the abbot of the Enryaku-ji executed the ceremony. It was performed again in 1080 in the imperial palace. This ritual was carried out in exact conformity to the texts. It was prescribed that before the presiding priest could perform the spell he had to bathe with perfumed water, don newly purified clothes, receive the Eight Commandments, and eat a meal of plain rice, honey, and milk. The actual ceremony required twenty-one small platforms built on top of a large platform, and different types of rare incense and flowers to accompany each part of the prayers. Such a ceremony was open to serious criticism not only because of its costliness, but because the prolongation of life on earth by means of spells seemed clearly contrary to the teachings of the Buddha.

As time went on, moreover, various heresies gained currency which tended to bring discredit on all of Esoteric Buddhism. The most notorious of them was the so-called Tachikawa school, founded in the early twelfth century by a Shingon believer with the aid of a yin-yang teacher whom he met while in exile. They evolved a doctrine teaching that "the Way of man and woman, yin and yang, is the secret art of becoming a Buddha in this life. No other way exists but this one to attain Buddhahood and gain the Way."² As authority for this statement, the *Vajra* and *Garbha Mandalas* were declared to be symbols of the male and female principles, and other elaborate yin-yang correspondences were drawn. The immoral rites practiced by the somewhat similar Shāktist sects of Tibet appear also to have been indulged in by the Tachikawa school. In 1335 as the result of a memorial submitted by the Mt. Kōya monks against the Tachikawa school, its leader was exiled and books which expounded its principles were ordered to be burned. Traces of its doctrines still survive in existing Buddhist sects.

² Statement in the *Hōkyōshō*, an anti-Tachikawa work which is one of our chief sources of information on the school.

Prayer of the Retired Emperor Shirakawa on Offering the Tripiṭaka to Hachiman

In November of 1128 the retired Emperor Shirakawa, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of emperors reigning in his own lifetime, offered his prayer to the god Hachiman for ten years more of life. On this occasion he presented a copy of the *Tripiṭaka*, to be read uninterruptedly by six priests, and in his prayer he enumerated other acts of piety already performed. These reflect the Esoteric Buddhism then prevalent at court, especially in its iconographic forms. The syncretic tendencies of Esoteric Buddhism are also apparent in its association with notions concerning immortality and longevity which are typical of popular Taoism. These same tendencies account for the making of such an offering to Hachiman. It may seem curious that the Shinto God Hachiman was favored with a copy of the Buddhist scriptures, but in the ages of the Combined Faith Hachiman was worshiped as a great bodhisattva, and such a gift seemed wholly appropriate. In spite of the fervent prayers made to him, however, Shirakawa died the following year.

The practice of a sovereign abdicating and becoming a Buddhist priest, while continuing to rule in the name of a boy emperor, was inaugurated by the Emperor Uda (r. 889-97) and became an established institution with Shirakawa. Not only a devout Buddhist but an astute politician, the latter saw the advantages of governing from behind the scenes with the title "Emperor of the [Buddhist] Law (*hōō*)."

This represents a fusion of the *Tennō* concept deriving from Chinese absolutism with the title *hōō* (King of the Law) once accorded the priest Dōkyō, who was thwarted in his attempt to become emperor in the Nara period. Now when emperors themselves became priests, the parallel development of Chinese political institutions and Buddhist religious ideals became merged in a single symbol of sovereignty.

Shirakawa's prayer was actually written by a courtier, Fujiwara no Atsumitsu (1062-1144). It is in balanced-prose, the ornate Chinese style which Kūkai had popularized in Japan.

[From Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō Shi*, Jōsei Hen, pp. 728-33]

This copy of the *Tripiṭaka*, transcribed by imperial order, is composed as follows:

Mahāyāna sūtras	2,395 volumes
Hīnayāna sūtras	618 volumes
Mahāyāna vinayas	55 volumes
Hīnayāna vinayas	441 volumes
Mahāyāna shāstras	515 volumes
Hīnayāna shāstras	695 volumes
Biographies of the Bodhisattvas and Arhats	593 volumes
Total	5,312 volumes

The above enumerated sūtras, vinayas, shāstras and biographies are respectfully offered to the Hachiman Temple at Iwashimizu, to be used for lectures and sermons.

I recall that when I was still young and inexperienced, the former sovereign transmitted to me the imperial rank. Grave though the responsibility was, I remained ignorant of the ways of administration. When I received the documents and records of the domains within the four seas, I felt as though I stood before a profound abyss, and when I tried to control the multifarious activities of government, it was like driving a team of horses with rotting reins. How, I wondered, could I devise a good plan, so that I might rule my land in peace? I placed my faith in the spirits of my ancestors, and relied on the powers of the gods of Heaven and Earth.

Soon after my assumption of the imperial rank, in the year 1074, I paid homage at the palace of the Bodhisattva Hachiman. Since that time I have arranged an imperial visit every year in the third moon. In the morning, when the petals of the palace cherry-blossoms are wet with dew, I leave the purple gate in my palanquin; in the evening, when the mountain nightingales are singing in the mist, I stand in worship by the fence of the shrine while voices and flutes harmoniously blend. This has become an established practice, although unknown in former times.

More than forty years have passed since my abdication. Often have I urged my carriage forward through stormy winds in the pine-clad hills; many times have I offered my devotion on the steps of the shrine in the woods. I have made this pilgrimage twenty-five times. During this period I have built a pagoda at the Usa Shrine to help establish the prestige of the sacred precincts. I have had the *Great Sūtra of Wisdom* copied in gold to extol the bliss of the temporal and real Law. It would be hard to recall all the treasures that have been offered, the lectures on the holy writings that have been sponsored, and the devotion expressed by my pilgrimages of thanks. During all this time, whenever I have stood in thought by the window, my mind has been drawn to the moon¹ of clear insight, and whenever I have sat in meditation, my graying brows have been knitted in concentration.

My descendants, always increasing in numbers, have succeeded one after another to the imperial rank,² and each one has enjoyed a long

¹ In Buddhist writings the moon is often used as a symbol of wisdom.

² Shirakawa reigned from 1072-86. He abdicated in favor of his seven-year-old son

reign devoted to solicitude for the people. That now, despite my advanced age, I am able to help my lord, the boy sovereign, is indeed a sign that I have obtained the grace of Heaven and the favor of the gods. For me to have witnessed my great-grandson receive the prognostications for his reign³ shows that I have attained an age approaching a rarity.

"It is not the millet which has a piercing fragrance; it is bright virtue."⁴ Buddha's teachings and not bright gems are precious. All the true teachings we possess are those preached by the peerless Shākyamuni during his lifetime. At his birth he stood on the lotus, and the air of the Lumbinī Grove first was replete with his fragrance.⁵ In his wanderings he saw the Tree, and the moon of enlightenment attained its fullness. On high mountains and level fields alike the sun of mercy shone everywhere. In the Deer Park and on Vulture Peak the fructifying rain of the Law fell in abundance. The Greater and the Lesser Vehicles ran abreast and the Basic and the Complete Schools⁶ both opened their gates. The teachings traveled 10,000 leagues over the boundless seas, above the high-tossing billows, to be transmitted at last from those distant lands to our imperial realm. Here sovereigns and subjects have all offered devout reverence; the high and the mighty have vied with each other in acts of piety. The prosperity of the land has no other source but this.

Therefore, I have had several copies of the sūtras, vinayas and shāstras made on behalf of the Three Bodies of the Buddha, in order to promote the Surpassing Cause of enlightenment and to bring about the perfect and ultimate Enlightenment of the Buddha. Now, in early winter, the seventeenth of November, the maigre repast⁷ has been spread out on the sacrificial altar. To the shrine among the elms and oaks have come the gorgeous carriages of the court, and the illustrious officials follow behind;

Horikawa, who reigned from 1086-1107. On his death his four-year-old son Toba succeeded (Shirakawa's grandson). He reigned from 1107-23, abdicating in favor of his four-year-old son Sutoku (Shirakawa's great-grandson). In 1128, the year of this document, Shirakawa was seventy-five years old, his son was dead, his grandson Toba was twenty-five years old, and his great-grandson Sutoku was nine years old.

³ Prepared at the beginning of an emperor's reign by specialists in the Chinese art of prognostication.

⁴ A quotation from the *Book of History*. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics, Shoo-King*, Part V, Book XXI, p. 2.

⁵ Important episodes in the life of the historical Buddha are given here: his birth in the Lumbinī Grove, his attainment of enlightenment under the Bodhi Tree, his first sermon at the deer park in Benares, and his teaching to the ascetics of Vulture Peak.

⁶ The two vehicles and two schools refer to Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.

⁷ A vegetarian feast for monks.

to the mountain of paulownia and cedar have repaired the splendidly robed priests, and the numberless monks are gathered like clouds. Present also is my dutiful grandson, who inclines his dark cap in profound piety; it was the reigning Emperor, my great-grandson, who gave instructions to the officials for this maigre feast. The rhythmic flutes alternately play, transmitting their lovely melodies to the Cloud Gates;⁸ dancing sleeves frequently twist, capturing a wonderful charm on the dewy ground. This day of the year has been established as a day of ceremony, known as the Feast of the *Tripitaka*, a precedent for all ages to follow. In order to continue what has been begun today throughout future years, six priests will permanently reside here, to read aloud the whole of the scriptures. The recitation is to continue without a break; when once finished, it is to be started again. In one year, one complete reading may be accomplished; in ten years ten readings may be performed. Through the merit that accrues from ten readings my life will be prolonged ten years. I do not venture to describe what may happen in this life when once I have attained that age. Let the readings then continue perpetually, to the glory of the Law, so that all living creatures may rely on the divine aid. May this unending reading lead to a true awakening.

It is my conviction that Buddhism renders help to the gods; it also protects the imperial rule. Therefore, early in my reign, I solemnly vowed to have a beautiful site selected east of the capital for the erection of a great monastery. This was the Hōshō Temple. In the Golden Pavilion were installed a gilt image 32 feet tall of the Buddha Vairocana, images 20 feet tall of four Buddhas of the Womb Mandala, two 9-foot-tall polychrome images of the Two Guardian Kings, and 8-foot-tall images of the Four Deva Kings. In the Lecture Hall were installed a 20-foot-tall gilt image of Shākyamuni and 16-foot-tall images of Samantabhadra and Manjushrī. Every year in the tenth moon I had priests and monks of the different sects lecture on the five parts of the Mahāyāna Sūtras. In the Amida Hall were installed nine gilt images of the Buddha Amitābha, each 16 feet tall, together with 10-foot-tall images of the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteshvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, attended by polychrome images of the Four Deva Kings, each 6 feet tall. In the Yakushi Hall were installed seven gilt images of the Healing Buddha, with his two attendant Bodhisattvas, Sunlight and Moonlight. In the Hall of the Five Illustrious

⁸ Meaning the heavens and also suggesting a kind of classical Chinese music.

Deities⁹ were installed a polychrome image 26 feet tall of Achala, together with 16-foot-tall images of the Four Deva Kings. In the Lotus Hall was installed a pagoda of the Seven Treasures, and six priests remain there to perform the samādhi discipline. An octangular, nine-storied pagoda enshrined within it gilt images 8 feet tall of the Five Tathāgatas who embody the five wisdoms of Buddha.

[At this point are omitted the details of other donations by the Emperor Shirakawa, including temples, statues, and the copying of the *Tripitaka*.]

Of the six fundamental disciplines, the observance of the commandments is considered the most important; of the ten commandments, the prohibition on the taking of life is the prime one. All living creatures are our dear friends; successive generations are of one flesh and blood. There is no end to the turning of the Wheel, and no escape from the torments of hell. There is no one source of life, but fish, insects, birds, and beasts are variously born from transformation, moisture, eggs, and the womb.¹⁰ However tiny a creature may be, it clings to its life as though more important than Mt. T'ai. However fierce an animal may be, its love for its young surpasses that found among human beings. And yet the practice has been transmitted of making a living by the slaughter of animals. Some urge forward their horses in sanguinary pursuit of hart and hind. Some carry blue falcons on their wrists for flying at pheasants and hares. In the desolate fields, some shoot captive arrows¹¹ above the evening clouds; on the vast expanse of the sea, some delight to catch the fish of the icy waves. The pangs of sympathy were not to be borne; the desire for penitence rose within me. When word reached me that various provinces offered a tribute of fish, in accordance with regulations, I forbade this practice completely. Eleven provinces halted their offerings of regional maritime produce; the people left off their tribute. As time went on, fish could dart about without fear.¹² In addition, 8,823 fine-meshed

⁹ These were gods of wrath especially worshipped in Shingon Buddhism. The most important was Fudō (Achala).

¹⁰ The four modes of birth: 1) birth from the womb as animals; 2) birth from the egg as birds; 3) from moisture as fish and insects; 4) sudden birth without any apparent cause, as bodhisattvas.

¹¹ Arrows having a cord attached, used in shooting birds.

¹² An allusion to Chuang Tzu 17, "See how the minnows are darting about! That is the pleasure of fishes" (tr. Giles, *Chuang Tzu*, 218). Here it simply means that the fish were now protected from fishermen and could dart about happily.

fishing-nets were burnt, and in more than 45,300 places hunter's trails were covered. Those who violated the edicts were severely punished.

The virtue of sparing life comes from the fact that it arouses divine retribution. Brahmā, sitting in his lofty palace in Heaven, scrutinizes the minds of men and clearly knows their thoughts. Shakra, dallying in his pleasure garden, turns his compassionate glance and illuminates all actions. He who accomplishes an act of mercy will have a prayer accomplished; he who increases the happiness of others will have his span of life increased. When the Yellow Emperor asked Heaven about old age, he learned that 120 years was considered a very long life. The Emperor Wu of Han by praying to Mt. T'ai lived until his eightieth year. When I consider my own life and attempt to calculate how long it will last, I realize that if I pray to live 120 years, there are but rare precedents for such a great age. If I hope for eighty years, not much remains of my old age. The most I desire is to prolong my life ten years more. Then, as progenitor of three successive sovereigns, I shall be without peer in the world, and as the senior by six years of Shākyamuni,¹³ I shall have all I desire in this mortal world. If the Great Bodhisattva Hachiman extends his divine protection, the gods will answer my great prayer; if the Tathāgatas of the ten directions¹⁴ vouchsafe their aid, my life will be strong as the Diamond. I shall then be able to attain enlightenment, and I shall certainly be born in the paradise of peace and purity. The moral force of good actions brings neighbors;¹⁵ their merit has no bounds. This one good action will reach alike the reigning Emperor, the retired Emperor, the Empress Dowager, the Empress, the princes and the princesses, and they will enjoy great longevity. The nation will boast a reign of peace and harmony; all people will be at liberty to enjoy their pleasures. Thus may all, from the pillars of Heaven above, to the circle of the wind below,¹⁶ taste the savor of the Law and sojourn in the garden of enlightenment. [17th November 1128.]

¹³ Shirakawa, by Japanese reckoning, was seventy-six years old. Since Shākyamuni is said to have died at the age of eighty, if Shirakawa lived ten more years he would be six years older than Shākyamuni was.

¹⁴ The eight points of the compass plus up and down.

¹⁵ A quotation from the *Analects*. "The Master said: Moral force never dwells in solitude; it will always bring neighbors." (IV, 25. tr. Waley).

¹⁶ The lowest circle of the world in the Buddhist cosmogony was that of the wind.

Sex and Buddhahood—A Shingon Heresy(Selections from *The Precious Mirror* [*Hōkyōshō*])

This short work written by the Shingon priest Yūkai (1345-1416) is of interest in tracing certain developments in the later history of Esoteric Buddhism. In its emphasis on the pedigree of the Shingon teachings, it was no more than echoing Kūkai's words of six hundred years before, but in the meantime the orthodox tradition had suffered much from the numerous heresies which developed out of the Tantric aspects of the religion. In the excerpts here given Yūkai attacks one of the most notorious heresies, the so-called Tachikawa School; in other parts of his essay he mentions how Shingon's name had been lent to magical arts which bore little relation to the doctrines taught by Kūkai, including the art of discovering buried treasure and the art of flying about at will. Even the most outlandish heresy was capable of producing scriptural evidence for the validity of its view, for the Buddhist canon as transmitted to Japan contained an incredible variety of texts, some of them little more than thinly disguised formulae for magical rites. The Tachikawa School was almost extinct by Yūkai's day, as he himself states, but other bizarre heresies continued to dominate Esoteric Buddhism.

[From *Taishō daizōkyō*, Vol. 77, pp. 847-49]

Shingon Esotericism is the secret doctrine taught by Vairocana, the King of Enlightenment, and transmitted by the Eight Founders. It is called the Supreme Highest Vehicle of the Buddha, and bears the title of the Realm Surpassing all Sects. Indeed, only through this teaching can one exterminate the extremely heavy burdens of karma, or save the living creatures difficult of conversion, or quickly realize the Buddhist knowledge. That is why in ancient times eight wise philosophers who went to China to seek the Law received instruction in Shingon. The Eastern temple [Shingon] had five transmitters of the teachings: Kūkai, Shūei, Eun, Engyō and Jōgyō.¹ The other school [Tendai] had three transmitters: Saichō, Ennin and Enchin. . . . Among the teachings received from China, those obtained by Kūkai are the senior ones, because they were passed down from one heir to the traditions to the next, from the Great Founder Vairocana to Hui-kuo, the abbot of The Green Dragon Temple in China. I cannot enter into details here, but although Hui-kuo transmitted the Law to many people . . . only Kūkai and I-ming were in-

¹ Shūei (808-84), Eun (798-869), Engyō (799-852) and Jōgyō (d. 866), together with the more famous Kūkai, Saichō, Ennin and Enchin are often spoken of as the eight priests who sought the Law in China.

structed in the two maṇḍalas, and I-ming was not fully instructed. He died without transmitting the Law to anyone. Only Kūkai was the true heir of Hui-kuo. . . . Kūkai in turn transmitted the teachings to many disciples. [Genealogical tables omitted.]

Someone asked, "It is indeed true that the Shingon teachings are the highest of all the sects, and are the direct road for attaining Buddhahood. However, in late years the false and the true have become confused. To enter a false path and to violate the true way of becoming a Buddha is like saying East is West, and the point of view becomes topsy-turvy. How then can one attain the goal of becoming a Buddha? I crave your instruction on this matter."

I replied, "It is difficult to distinguish jade and stone; it is easy to be misled by worthless things, and difficult to establish the difference between the false and the true. For example, among the disciples of the Daigo Sambō-in there was a man called the *ajari* Ninkan. On account of some crime of which he was found guilty, he was exiled to the province of Izu, and there he earned his living by teaching Shingon to married laity and to meat-eating, defiled people, whom he made his disciples. A yin-yang teacher from a place called Tachikawa in the province of Musashi studied Shingon with Ninkan and combined it with his yin-yang doctrines. The false and the true were thus confounded; the inner and the outer learning were indiscriminately mixed. He called it the Tachikawa School, and expounded it as a branch of Shingon. This was the origin of the heresy. . . .

The principle of this sect was to consider the way of men and women, yin and yang, to be the secret art of obtaining Buddhahood in this flesh, and the only means of obtaining Buddhahood and gaining the Way. They made outrageous assertions that the Buddha had previously taught their doctrines, a diabolic invention deserving of eternal punishment in hell. Ignorant people, not realizing this, upheld it as the most profound and secret Law. How can one say that they possessed true views and genuine knowledge? The *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* declares, "Those who secretly desire to perform acts of greed and lust are fond of saying that the eyes, ears, nose, and tongue are all 'pure land' and that the male and female organs are the true places of perfect knowledge [bodhi] and Nirvāṇa. The ignorant people believe these foul words. They are to be called poisoners, hinderers, and demons. When they die they become devils who

afflict and unsettle people in this world, causing them to become confused and unwittingly to fall into the hell of eternal punishment." How can people belonging to that hell be called Shingon believers? . . .

This Tachikawa School later spread to the province of Etchū. In successive generations two teachers, Kakumei and Kakuin, lived on Mount Kōya [and taught Tachikawa doctrine there]. At this time many secret manuals and texts of this heretical school were in circulation, often called "oral transmission of the secrets of esoteric doctrine." To this day there are ignorant people who study such works and believe them to possess the loftiest thoughts. In truth they are neither exoteric nor esoteric, but merely so many stones wrapped in jade. . . . Many people studied these teachings, but they did not meet with divine favor, and for the most part both the teachings and the men have perished. A few are left, but I do not know how many.

Prayers for the Shogun

This letter was written to the Shogun Yoriie by the Shingon monk, Mongaku, who had been a close adviser of Yoriie's father, Minamoto Yoritomo. In refusing to offer prayers for the shogun, Mongaku does not hesitate to scold him for his failings as a ruler. The forthrightness and independence of mind displayed by even this priest of the formalistic Shingon sect show that these were not qualities characteristic of Zen alone but of Kamakura Buddhism in general. Nothing could better illustrate than this letter both the abuse of esoteric practices by those with little understanding of them, and the reaffirmation of true men of religion like Mongaku that the performance of these rituals must go hand in hand with genuine piety and exemplary moral conduct.

[From *Kōkushi Taikei*, XXXII, *Azuma Kagami*, 579-84]

LETTER OF THE PRIEST MONGAKU TO SHOGUN YORIE A.D. 1200

I respectfully acknowledge your second letter. I sent you an answer before, but since you have written me again, I am replying again in the same tenor. While reading your letter, I repeatedly felt that I was listening to a message from the late Generalissimo and I was deeply moved.

[You ask me] to offer prayers—and I remember with gratitude beyond expression that the Generalissimo rebuilt the East Temple¹ and made possible through his generosity the re-establishment of the Takao mon-

¹ Tōji in the original text, but it must refer to the Tōdaiji in Nara, which Yoriie's father, Yoritomo, helped to rebuild in 1190.

astery. Through these merits, he will be saved in the life hereafter. It is also due only to his generosity that I, Mongaku, have been able to do something for Buddhism and accomplish something for the good of man. I therefore have remained ever grateful for his generosity and happy beyond words. Even before you asked me to offer prayers, it was always my fervent desire that you should enjoy peace and security.

[May I say], however, that prayer takes effect only for those who practice virtue and who love the good. In the dwellings of those who offend, prayer is of no avail. By offenders, I mean those who destroy life without proper cause, and those who live a life of pleasure and indulge themselves with liquor, women, and wealth, ignoring the grief of others and disregarding the well-being of the nation. When men are virtuous and good, on the other hand, it means that they reverence both the law of Buddha and the law of the state and are ever concerned with the welfare of the people. In short, it means that they must have character such as is expected of a parent by all people, even the lowliest man or woman—peasants and those in all walks of life.

When a man who has no concern for these things, or who is ruthless and offensive, or who has only selfish motives, orders a monk or other spiritual intermediary to offer prayers, there may be those who will reply with favorable words because the order comes from a lofty source. But if the petitioner is not a good man, he must not only expect that there will be no answer to his prayers, but he must expect that he may be worse off than before.

Therefore, if you must have prayers offered, Your Highness should command only those monks or astrologers who are not dishonest or subservient, but are straightforward. Your Highness should tell them your misdemeanors and try at all times to make amends. This Your Highness should by all means do. If your actions are not good and you tell others to pray for you, you are really putting yourself in a precarious situation.

Your Highness is the Generalissimo of Japan. He who is asked to pray for you should be a man of great mind and great integrity. A person of steadfast virtue and lofty disdain of flattery, but yet of compassionate heart, must be selected to be the master of your prayers.

When it is a question of offering prayer as a sovereign as well as an individual, the first object of prayer should be the whole country and the whole people. How one may pray depends upon one's position in

life. He whose influence does not affect the nation may offer prayers for his own benefit. But in these days the rulers as well as the ruled offer up prayers on their own account. Such prayers have no effect, for they are not in accord with the invisible mind of Buddha and are in discord with the transparent light of Heaven. I beg Your Highness, and must repeat it again and again, that you deem it your duty to merit the confidence of all, so that with you as Generalissimo in Kamakura, complaints of injustice will nowhere be heard and unreason will nowhere prevail.

If Your Highness acts in that way, you have no need for prayers for yourself. [The Goddess of] the Great Shrine of Ise, the Bodhisattva Hachiman, [the deities of] Kamo and Kasuga will all be pleased; and all Buddhas, sages, gods, and goddesses, without exception, will extend their hands to safeguard you.

Even before Buddhism came into existence, there were in India and in China, as well as in Japan, wise kings and sage rulers under whom all the land was prosperous and all the people lived a happy life. The sovereigns, long of life, were like father and mother to the people. The Five Emperors and the Three Sovereigns, among whom were Yao and Shun, were rulers who came before the time of Buddha. Your Highness is more fortunate [than they] in that you are acquainted with the Three Treasures of Buddhism² which those others could not know. Your Highness, therefore, should put your mind on the life hereafter. You should endeavor to get away from this "house of fire" of the three existences and, rising above the troubles of repeated transmigration, attain to Buddhahood. Such should be the first prayer of the ruler as well as of the ruled.

Needless to say, Buddhism, like other religions, helps to extirpate evil and to bring good fortune. Throughout its history in three countries, there are records of answers to prayer and of benefits received. If Your Highness will first pay strict attention to your own conduct and then proceed to put your administration in order, then when you offer prayer, an answer will come just as surely as sound follows when a word is spoken. There will be no failure.

In these days, however, all religious works and rituals sponsored by the great are merely for the eye and are only an expense to the country and a burden to the people. Buddha and the deities do not accept them at all.

²The Three Treasures: The Buddha, the Dharma (Law, or Scriptures containing the Law), and Saṅgha (Monastic Orders).

Those who pray should know that Buddha and the deities accept only virtue and faith; material treasures have no appeal for them.

It is with this in mind that Your Highness, at the head of your warriors, should guard the Emperor and become the mainstay of the whole nation. If you go astray in any way or have evil in your heart, you will prove to be only an enemy of the country. Its downfall will be the logical result.

It would be possible for me, without going into detailed reasons and unmindful of Buddha and the deities, to reply favorably to Your Highness and offer up prayers. But that would mean wasting the land's substance without benefiting anyone and only harming Your Highness. I myself would have to pay the penalty also. How can I permit Your Highness to carry out a project so injurious to yourself? I say again that the Goddess of Ise and Hachiman and the other deities will never consent to be indulgent because of material offerings; they extend their hands only to those whose heart is pure and whose conduct is proper. The Bodhisattva Hachiman said, according to the oracle: "Even if I should have to drink molten copper, I would not accept offerings from those whose hearts are tainted." He said again, according to another oracle: "Day and night I stand guard over the land. If the ruler is evil, he will be unpleasing to the Three Treasures and to all the Devas.³ Such a thing would be most lamentable, most deplorable." Also, according to the oracle of the temple of Jingo in Takao, self-reliance only can be depended upon; in that lies the strength of Buddha. One should rely first upon the efficacy of one's own power, not upon the gods, who themselves depend upon the Three Treasures to protect the Throne and nurture the people. Your Highness should bear in mind that through your prestige you can make all temples and monasteries prosper.

Just as water runs together into the ocean because the land lies lower there, so good fortune and happiness will accumulate for him whose heart is undefiled. When Hachiman said that he would extend his hand to the pure in heart, he meant that the Emperor, the ministers and the shogun, if their hearts were pure, would have no thought for their own pleasures, but would have extreme solicitude that the labor of the people be not wasted, that unreasonable taxes be not exacted, that the land be kept in peace and prosperity, with winter and summer following each

³ Guardian powers who protect the Three Treasures.

other, with all in good order, and with post-horses and river-ferries going regularly without war or disturbance—in short, with peace reigning supreme throughout the land. Your Highness should endeavor to live up to each and every one of these requirements.

Your Highness should refrain from destroying men who are not traitors, or who do not treat Your Highness as an enemy, or who do not wickedly harass others and seek means to ruin them. A good shogun, also, is one who does not devote himself to hunting and fishing; who does not destroy life for pleasure but preserves life.

If Your Highness does not conduct yourself well, all men throughout the land will come to believe that you are not a good man. Then mountain bandits, sea marauders, highwaymen, and thieves will abound and in the end will bring ruin to your regime. You may issue prohibitory edicts one after the other but your orders will more and more be treated lightly. Put one man to death and ten other criminals will come back at you. The situation will go from bad to worse. Then Your Highness, not realizing that all this is your own fault, but believing it to be the work of criminals, will merely go on arresting men, punishing them, imprisoning them and cutting off their heads or their limbs to the detriment of the country. It is necessary to think of the retribution waiting in the life to come.

When Your Highness once realizes that these crimes are not always the offenses of others but are due to your own recklessness, and when you are sincerely convinced of it, if you ask any learned man how best to govern, the answer will be simple—as simple as shooting at a target, as the saying goes. As long as Your Highness knows how to rule yourself, there is no need for regulations about this or that, no need for prohibitions, orders or proclamations, because the people will be submissive and obedient. Then the land will naturally be at peace and well ordered.

Even under such a good administration, however, evil-minded men will not disappear, as history shows. But if Your Highness would first exercise self-control and safeguard the people, proceeding then to get rid of evil men, your acts would be like the special acts of a bodhisattva. The people would remain tranquil, your proclamations would carry weight, and Your Highness would not have to fear retribution. I am here repeating [what I wrote you before].

The late shogun always thought Mongaku to be a man of tough fiber

and straightforward speech. I have never been in the personal service of Your Highness; it must have been offensive to Your Highness for me to write to you in the way I did. For this I beg your forgiveness. However, it has seemed to me that Your Highness is too much addicted to pleasures and has no regard for the complaints or the sufferings of the people. I thought this so deplorable that I told the late shogun confidentially that you should be sent away somewhere into exile—that such a course would be a real act of love toward you.

It is whispered in the capital that Your Highness is addicted to hunting and that you pay no attention to grievances. As you only go from bad to worse, people do not speak out but say only that you are a great shogun. Your Highness is unaware of what they are whispering in denunciation of you.

Under these circumstances, how can you be a worthy successor to your father—watching over the Sovereign on the one hand, and on the other safeguarding the country? Until Your Highness changes your ways, pray as one may, there will be no answer at all. As for myself, I cannot offer prayers for you.

Because I am frank and outspoken, I am certain that Your Highness hates me. That I do not mind. I have written you thus only because I desire you to be good, and more than that, to grow in virtue.

A learned scholar quotes a text to the effect that a good word spoken for the sake of the ruler and the people is more valuable than hundreds and thousands of gold offerings. To this the ancient Sage Kings bore testimony. To one like Your Highness, gold is of no account. The important thing is to keep the land at peace and to have food produced in abundance and the people prosperous. That is the greatest act of loyalty. Therefore do not fail to listen to those who tell you your shortcomings. If Your Highness tries to keep the nation in order without being mindful of your own faults, you will be like a man who expects to get rid of illness without taking medicine.

There are men of loyalty and faithfulness from whom you can learn your shortcomings, who do not change their colors in the service of Her Highness your mother. Let them speak to you in secret, not in public. Listen to them directly; do not heed the lip-service of monks. If they speak ill of you, you will be apt to become angry; but you must practice

patience. Cure by fire is painful but it is only through endurance that illness can be cured.

There are none more despicable than those who change their colors. There are none more loyal than those who tell you your faults. I pray Your Highness to remember this. Even if a man is agreeable and likable, beware of him if he is a cheat. But if there be one whom you dislike and do not wish to see, give him his due if he be of sterling character. The art of government, it seems to me, lies in nothing more nor less than in this awareness of true character.

I cannot thank Your Highness enough for the two letters with which you have honored me. This is my answer, written with all reverence and respect.

Tenth day of the first month of the second year of Shōji.



CHAPTER IX

THE VOCABULARY OF JAPANESE AESTHETICS I

It is surprising how often we find the same few terms used to express the preferences or ideals of Japanese creative artists throughout the ages, so often indeed that we can identify them as a special "vocabulary of Japanese aesthetics." Such terms varied in meaning with the times and with the individual critics, as was only to be expected of words employed for well over a thousand years in some cases. Nevertheless, some knowledge of this vocabulary may serve as a key to Japanese canons of taste in literature and the other arts.

The most famous of these words, and one which has had whole volumes of serious research devoted to it, is *aware*. In old texts we find it first used as an exclamation of surprise or delight, man's natural reaction to what an early Western critic of Japanese literature called the "ahness" of things, but gradually it came to be used adjectivally, usually to mean "pleasant" or "interesting." One scholar who analyzed the uses of *aware* in the *Manyōshū*, the great eighth-century collection of poetry, discovered that an *aware* emotion was most often evoked in the poets by hearing the melancholy calls of birds and beasts. An inscription from the year 763 contains the word *aware* used to describe the writer's emotions on seeing the spring rain. Gradually, therefore, *aware* came to be tinged with sadness. By the time of *The Tale of Genji* only the lower classes (or the upper classes in moments of great stress) used the word *aware* as a simple exclamation: elsewhere it expressed a gentle sorrow, adding not so much a meaning as a color or a perfume to a sentence. It bespoke the sensitive poet's awareness of a sight or a sound, of its beauty and its perishability. It was probably inevitable that with the steady heightening of the sensitivity of poets to the world around them the tone of sadness deepened.

The famous eighteenth-century critic of Japanese literature Motoori

Norinaga (1730-1801) once characterized the whole of *The Tale of Genji* as a novel of *mono no aware*, a phrase which has sometimes been translated as "the sadness of things." Motoori, however, seems to have meant by it something closer to a "sensitivity to things"—sensitivity to the fall of a flower or to an unwept tear.

Some of the early works of criticism use the word *aware* so often as to make it almost the exclusive criterion of merit. In a work written about the year 1200, for example, there occurs this discussion of *The Tale of Genji*.

"Someone asked, 'Which chapter is the best and creates the most profound impression?'

"'No chapter is superior to *Kiritsubo*. From the opening words, "At the Court of an Emperor (he lived it matters not when)" to the final description of Genji's initiation to manhood, the whole chapter is filled with a moving (*aware*) pathos which colors the language, the circumstances portrayed, and everything else. In *The Broom-Tree* the discussion on a rainy night of the categories of women contains many praiseworthy things. The chapter *Yugao* is permeated with a moving (*aware*) sadness. *The Festival of Red Leaves* and *The Flower-Fest* are unforgettable chapters, each possessed of its own charm (*en*) and interest. *Aoi* is an extremely moving (*aware*) and absorbing chapter. The chapter *Kashiwagi* contains the scene of the departure for Ise, which is at once charming (*en*) and magnificent. The scene when, after the death of the Emperor, Fujitsubo takes vows as a nun is moving (*aware*). *Exile at Suma* is a moving (*aware*) and powerful chapter. The descriptions of Genji leaving the capital for Suma and of his life in distant exile are extremely moving (*aware*).'"¹

As this excerpt shows, the word *aware* was used to describe almost every chapter considered to be of unusual beauty, and in each case the meaning, though vague, was associated with deep emotions, and not a mere exclamation as in early times. But *aware* had not yet darkened to its modern meaning of "wretched," which represents perhaps the final evolution in its long history.

In the same excerpt one other word appears several times—*en*, which may be translated as "charming." Its use as a term of praise indicates that not only the melancholy but the colorful surface of the *Genji* was

¹ *Mumyō sōshi*, pp. 17-18.

appreciated. Indeed, if we look at the superb horizontal scroll illustrating the *Genji*, which is roughly contemporary with this piece of criticism, we are struck far more by its exquisite charm than by the sadness of the scenes (although, of course, the two conceptions are not mutually exclusive). *En* evokes the visual beauty in which much of the literature of the time was clothed.

Another term of aesthetic criticism of a cheerful nature was *okashi*, a word we find in many Heian works, in particular the celebrated *Pillow Book*. It seems originally to have meant something which brought a smile to the face, either of delight or amusement. It was not applied to the serious or sad things of life except ironically and thus, as one Japanese critic has pointed out, in its making light of the tragic was just the opposite of the attitude of *aware* which sought to impart to the otherwise meaningless cries of a bird or the fall of a flower a profound and moving meaning.

Both *aware* and *okashi*—the former best represented by Murasaki Shikibu, who saw the *aware* nature of a leaf caught in the wind, the latter by Sei Shōnagon, whose witty essays are dotted with the word *okashi*—are standards which are typical of an aristocratic society of great refinement. That aristocrats of the Heian Period were aware of the special nature of their society is attested by one other word of their aesthetic vocabulary—*miyabi*, literally “courtliness” but in general “refinement.” The court was a small island of refinement and sophistication in a country otherwise marked by ignorance and uncourtliness; it is therefore not surprising that people at court tended to think with horror of the world outside the capital. By “courtliness” was meant not only the appropriate decorum for lords and ladies at the palace, but also the Japanese reflection of the culture which had originally come from China. One can imagine in our own day a somewhat similar situation existing somewhere in Africa, where the Oxford-educated prince of a still largely uncivilized tribe listens to records of the music of Debussy or tries his hand at composing avant-garde verse.

Miyabi was perhaps the most inclusive term for describing the aesthetics of the Heian Period. It was applied in particular to the quiet pleasures which, supposedly at least, could only be savored by the aristocrat whose tastes had been educated to them—a spray of plum blossoms, the elusive perfume of a rare wood, the delicate blending of colors in a robe. In

lovmaking too, the "refined" tastes of the court revealed themselves. A man might first be attracted to a woman by catching a glimpse of her sleeve, carelessly but elegantly draped from a carriage window, or by seeing a note in her calligraphy, or by hearing her play a lute one night in the dark. Later, the lovers would exchange letters and poems, often attached to a spray of the flower suitable for the season. Such love affairs are most perfectly portrayed in *The Tale of Genji*, and even if somewhat idealized in that novel, suggest to what lengths a feeling for "refinement" could govern the lives of those at court. Perhaps nowhere is this insistence upon the refinement of taste more clearly revealed than in the passage known as the Gradations of Beauty,² in which Prince Genji and his sophisticated companions discuss the relative virtues of the women they have known. In love, no less than in art, the same aristocratic hierarchy of values, the same subtlety of discrimination prevailed as in social relations. Indeed, it was in just such a society as this that so much importance was attached, even in religious matters and contrary to the equalitarian trend of Mahāyāna Buddhism, to the ascending hierarchy or gradations of religious consciousness.

The influence of *miyabi* was not wholly beneficial, it must be admitted. In refining and polishing down the cruder emotions such as may be found in the *Manyōshū*, it severely limited the range of Japanese poetry and art. *Miyabi* led poets to shun the crude, the rustic, and the unseemly, but in so doing it tended to remove or dilute real feeling. In reading today much of the later Japanese poetry we cannot help wishing at times that the poet would venture forth from the oft-sung themes of the moon, the cries of birds, and the fall of cherry blossoms, and treat instead harsher and more compelling subjects.

Miyabi was in a sense a negation of the simple virtues, the plain sincerity (*makoto*) which *Manyōshū* poets had possessed and which poets many centuries later were to rediscover. "Refinement" gave to the courtiers a justification for their own way of living and at the same time a contempt for the non-courtly similar to the attitude which has given the English words "peasant-like," "boorish," and "countrified" their uncomplimentary meanings. But in a curious way this specifically aristocratic standard was transmitted to the military classes when the latter rose to power, and later to the common people and even the peasantry, so that

² *Shina no sadame*—literally, "the determination of rank or value."

today much of what it represented is part of the common heritage of all Japanese. The hackneyed imagery of Heian poetry—the falling of the cherry blossoms, the reddening of the autumn leaves, and the rest—has become very much a part of even the least aesthetic of Japanese. Steel mills dismiss their employees for the day to enable them to admire the cherry-blossoms (and to drink *sake* under them), and the hardest-headed businessman will not begrudge an afternoon off that is spent at Takao when the maples are their most brilliantly colored. Even the shoeshine boy in front of the railway station may in summer talk of the flickering beauty of the fireflies. Nothing in the West can compare with the role which aesthetics has played in Japanese life and history since the Heian Period. If *aware* and *okashi* are no longer used in the present-day vocabulary of aesthetic criticism, the *miyabi* spirit of refined sensibility is still very much in evidence.

MURASAKI SHIKIBU

On the Art of the Novel (From *The Tale of Genji*)

The Tale of Genji has been read and commented on ever since it was first written, almost a thousand years ago, and many theories have been advanced as to what the author Murasaki Shikibu was attempting to express in her novel. In this excerpt from *The Tale of Genji* we find what is perhaps the best answer to this question. It seems likely that Murasaki was here, in one of the earliest and most famous examples of Japanese criticism, stating her own views on the function of the novel.

[From Waley (tr.), *A Wreath of Cloud*, pp. 253-57]

One day Genji, going around with a number of romances which he had promised to lend, came to Tamakatsura's room and found her, as usual, hardly able to lift her eyes from the book in front of her. "Really, you are incurable," he said, laughing. "I sometimes think that young ladies exist for no other purpose than to provide purveyors of the absurd and improbable with a market for their wares. I am sure that the book you are now so intent upon is full of the wildest nonsense. Yet knowing this all the time, you are completely captivated by its extravagances and follow them with the utmost excitement: why, here you are on this hot day, so hard at work that, though I am sure you have not the least idea

of it, your hair is in the most extraordinary tangle. . . . But there; I know quite well that these old tales are indispensable during such weather as this. How else would you all manage to get through the day? Now for a confession. I too have lately been studying these books and have, I must tell you, been amazed by the delight which they have given me. There is, it seems, an art of so fitting each part of the narrative into the next that, though all is mere invention, the reader is persuaded that such things might easily have happened and is as deeply moved as though they were actually going on around him. We may know with one part of our minds that every incident has been invented for the express purpose of impressing us; but (if the plot is constructed with the requisite skill) we may all the while in another part of our minds be burning with indignation at the wrongs endured by some wholly imaginary princess. Or again we may be persuaded by a writer's eloquence into accepting the crudest absurdities, our judgment being as it were dazzled by sheer splendor of language.

"I have lately sometimes stopped and listened to one of our young people reading out loud to her companions and have been amazed at the advances which this art of fiction is now making. How do you suppose that our new writers come by this talent? It used to be thought that the authors of successful romances were merely particularly untruthful people whose imaginations had been stimulated by constantly inventing plausible lies. But that is clearly unfair." . . . "Perhaps," she said, "only people who are themselves much occupied in practicing deception have the habit of thus dipping below the surface. I can assure you that for my part, when I read a story, I always accept it as an account of something that has really and actually happened."

So saying she pushed away from her book which she had been copying. Genji continued: "So you see as a matter of fact I think far better of this art than I have led you to suppose. Even its practical value is immense. Without it what should we know of how people lived in the past, from the Age of the Gods down to the present day? For history-books such as the *Chronicles of Japan* show us only one small corner of life; whereas these diaries and romances which I see piled around you contain, I am sure, the most minute information about all sorts of people's private affairs." . . . He smiled, and went on: "But I have a theory of my own about what this art of the novel is, and how it came into being. To begin

with, it does not simply consist in the author's telling a story about the adventures of some other person. On the contrary, it happens because the storyteller's own experience of men and things, whether for good or ill—not only what he has passed through himself, but even events which he has only witnessed or been told of—has moved him to an emotion so passionate that he can no longer keep it shut up in his heart. Again and again something in his own life or in that around him will seem to the writer so important that he cannot bear to let it pass into oblivion. There must never come a time, he feels, when men do not know about it. That is my view of how this art arose.

"Clearly then, it is no part of the storyteller's craft to describe only what is good or beautiful. Sometimes, of course, virtue will be his theme, and he may then make such play with it as he will. But he is just as likely to have been struck by numerous examples of vice and folly in the world around him, and about them he has exactly the same feelings as about the pre-eminently good deeds which he encounters: they are more important and must all be garnered in. Thus anything whatsoever may become the subject of a novel, provided only that it happens in this mundane life and not in some fairyland beyond our human ken.

"The outward forms of this art will not of course be everywhere the same. At the court of China and in other foreign lands both the genius of the writers and their actual methods of composition are necessarily very different from ours; and even here in Japan the art of storytelling has in course of time undergone great changes. There will, too, always be a distinction between the lighter and the more serious forms of fiction. . . . Well, I have said enough to show that when at the beginning of our conversation I spoke of romances as though they were mere frivolous fabrications, I was only teasing you. Some people have taken exception on moral grounds to an art in which the perfect and imperfect are set side by side. But even in the discourses which Buddha in his bounty allowed to be recorded, certain passages contain what the learned call *Upāya* or 'Adapted Truth'¹—a fact that has led some superficial persons to doubt whether a doctrine so inconsistent with itself could possibly command our credence. Even in the scriptures of the Greater Vehicle there are, I confess, many such instances. We may indeed go so far as to say that there is an actual mixture of Truth and Error. But

¹ Sutras presenting divergent doctrines were said to represent different formulations of the same teaching, adjusted by the Buddha to his hearers' level of comprehension. [Ed.]

the purpose of these holy writings, namely the compassing of our Salvation, remains always the same. So too, I think, may it be said that the art of fiction must not lose our allegiance because, in the pursuit of the main purpose to which I have alluded above, it sets virtue by the side of vice, or mingles wisdom with folly. Viewed in this light the novel is seen to be not, as is usually supposed, a mixture of useful truth with idle invention, but something which at every stage and in every part has a definite and serious purpose."

FUJIWARA NO TEIKA

Introduction to the Guide to the Composition of Poetry

Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241), more than any other individual, was responsible for the formation of Japanese literary taste. Attempting in the early medieval period to preserve the best of the classical tradition, he defined for all time the classic canons of Japanese verse. His judgments influenced not only writers who consulted his books of poetry and criticism, but, indirectly, the entire nation: the *Hundred Poets, a Poem Each* (*Hyakunin Isshū*), which Teika is generally believed to have compiled, is the most popular anthology of Japanese verse, and almost every Japanese knows its contents by heart, largely through a game based on them. Teika also helped give direction to later trends in Japanese poetry by his selection of the works to be included in the *New Collection* (1205), the last of the great anthologies and the most influential. Finally, it may be noted that the principal works of Heian literature which are extant today were all edited by Teika, and our picture of that glorious period of Japanese literature has thus been conditioned by his taste.

In the field of literary criticism, Teika's *Guide to the Composition of Poetry* has long been considered an authoritative statement of the ideals of Japanese poetry. It is brief to the point of being cryptic at times; later men have expanded it to seventy times its original length in the attempt to elucidate Teika's meanings. Perhaps the most striking feature of this little essay is its insistence on the use of the language of former poets. To the degree that this counsel was followed—the *Guide* became in fact a set of golden rules for later court poets—the result tended to be sterility in poetry. Any new conceit or turn of phrase was considered to be a sufficiently original contribution, even though a poem differed very little from earlier ones, and the use of outmoded clichés robbed the poetry of even the vitality that fresh language can impart.

[From *Eika taigai* in Hisamatsu, *Chūsei karon shū*, pp. 188-89]

In the expression of the emotions originality merits the first consideration. (That is, one should look for sentiments unsung by others and sing them.) The words used, however, should be old ones. (The vocabulary should be

restricted to words used by the masters of the Three Anthologies:¹ the same words are proper for all poets, whether ancient or modern.)

The style should imitate the great poems of the masters of former times. One must discard every last phrase of the sentiments and expressions written by men of recent times. (Expressions which appear in the poetry of the last seventy or eighty years must be avoided at all cost.)

It has become a popular practice to borrow many of the same expressions that appear in the poetry of former masters for use in making new poems. It is, however, rather excessive to borrow as many as three of the five lines,² and betrays a lack of originality. Three or four words over two lines are permissible, but it is simply too exasperating if in the remaining lines the same imagery as in the original poem is used. . . .³

One should impregnate one's mind with a constant study of the forms of expression of ancient poetry. The *Kokinshū*, the *Tales of Ise*,⁴ the *Gosen*, and the *Shūi* are truly deserving of study. One should especially concentrate on the outstanding poems in the collections of the Thirty-Six Poets (e.g., those of Hitomaro, Tsurayuki, Tadamine, Ise, and Komachi). The first and second books of Po Chū-i's *Collected Works*⁵ should be gone over constantly; although he was not a master of Japanese poetry, his works are remarkable for their descriptions of the time, and for their portrayal of the splendors and decline of his age.

There are no teachers of Japanese poetry. But they who take the old poems as their teachers, steep their minds in the old style, and learn their words from the masters of former time—who of them will fail to write poetry?

¹ The *Kokinshū* (905), the *Gosenshū* (951), and the *Shūi Wakashū* (c. 1005-8)—three anthologies of poetry compiled by imperial order.

² The *waka* is written in five lines of 5, 7, 5, 7, and 7 syllables respectively. This is the standard Japanese verse-form.

³ Some examples of phrases which often occur in poetry have been omitted in this translation.

⁴ A tenth-century work consisting of 125 episodes, most of them relating to the great lover Ariwara no Narihira. Each of these episodes contains one or more poems. For the other works mentioned in this sentence see footnote 1 above.

⁵ Po Chū-i (772-846) was the most widely read Chinese poet in Japan, partially at least because the simplest to understand. During the Heian Period his writings were so popular that the word *Works* itself, with no other qualification, meant Po's collected poetry and prose.

PART THREE

MEDIEVAL JAPAN

- 1191 Eisai (1141-1215) returns from China, bringing tea. Founds Rinzaï branch of the Zen sect.

Kamakura Shogunate

- 1192 Yoritomo becomes first shogun.
 1205 Beginning of hereditary regency to the shoguns of the Hōjō family.
 1206 Hōnen (1133-1212) exiled because of his success in gaining converts to the Pure Land doctrine.
 1222 Dōgen (1200-1253), founder of Sōtō branch of the Zen sect, goes to China.
 1232 *Jōei shikimoku* (basic law code of the Kamakura Shogunate).
 1260 Nichiren (1222-1282) first predicts a foreign invasion.
 1262 Shinran (1173-1262), founder of the True Pure Land sect.
 1268 Nichiren warns of the impending Mongol invasion.
 1271 Nichiren sentenced to death, escapes, and is banished.
 1274 First Mongol invasion.
 1281 Second Mongol invasion.
 1289 Ippen (1238-1289), popularizer of the Amida cult.
 1325 Go-Daigo Tennō sends first official embassy to China since the T'ang, at suggestion of Zen master Musō Soseki (1275-1351).
 c. 1331 *Essays in Idleness* (*Tsurezure gusa*).
 1333 End of the Hōjō regency. Inauguration of direct imperial rule under Go-Daigo.
 1336 Go-Daigo flees to Yoshino. Rival emperor reigns in Kyoto under the protection of Ashikaga Takauji.

Ashikaga Shogunate

WARRING STATES PERIOD

- 1338 Ashikaga Takauji becomes shogun.
 1339 *Records of the Legitimate Succession of the Divine Sovereigns* (*Jinnō shōtō-ki*), by Kitabatake Chikafusa.
 Ashikaga Yoshimitsu succeeds to the shogunate. Fosters diplomatic and trade relations with China.
 1384 Kan'ami (1333-1384), early master of Nō drama.
 1392 Reunion of the Northern (Kyoto) and Southern (Yoshino) courts.

- 1443 Seami (1363-1443), master of Nō drama.
- 1467 Ōnin War. Commencement of endemic civil wars throughout Japan.
- 1488 Nisshin (1407-1488), evangelizer of Nichiren sect.
- 1499 Rennyo (1415-1499), priest of True Pure Land sect.
- 1511 Yoshida Kanetomo (1435-1511), of the "Primal Shinto" movement.
- 1542 First Europeans to visit Japan, Portuguese merchants, land on Kyushu.
- 1549 St. Francis Xavier reaches Japan.
- 1568 Nobunaga controls the capital.

INTRODUCTION

DESPAIR, DELIVERANCE, AND DESTINY

The term "medieval Japan" represents only a general phase in a continuing process of historical evolution. For convenience' sake, we may consider it to embrace the twelfth through sixteenth centuries, including those periods identified politically with the Kamakura and Ashikaga shogunates. Actually, the characteristic feudal institutions of medieval Japan had their roots far back in the Heian Period, but it was only in the twelfth century that the power of these feudal forces became fully manifest in the bloody struggles for military ascendancy between the Taira and Minamoto clans, climaxed by the establishment of a military government in Kamakura which effectively terminated rule by the old Kyoto court. Thereafter, in one form or another, under one family or another, military government endured into the nineteenth century. What marks off the medieval period, especially, is the prevailing disorder and instability as compared to the "peace and tranquillity" with which the earlier Heian Period had been identified, and the stable rule of the Tokugawa, who brought unity and lasting peace to Japan at the end of the sixteenth century. Medieval Japan began and ended in protracted feudal warfare and enjoyed only the loosest, most precarious kind of political organization. Thus, despite our natural tendency to think of historical periods in terms of political unities or continuities like the Kamakura and Ashikaga regimes, it is rather disunity and violent change that give this period its distinctive character.

Medieval literature sharply reflects the sudden transition Japan underwent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In contrast to the still atmosphere, the gentle sophistication and refinement of life expressed in earlier writing, there is a turbulence, a wild, ebullient tenor of life, and a background of danger and stark brutality which inspires in some a new sense of realism and bold adventure, while in others, especially those

identified with the old regime or imbued with the old culture, it produces a sense of shock and impending doom, often coupled with nostalgic yearning for the past. Whether in the first romantic tales of the epic wars that loosed this fury over the land, or in the more contemplative and still highly refined art of the Nō which flourished during the fourteenth century, there is an intense awareness of the tragedy of life. In religion, too, there is a deepening of that pessimism toward the world that had always pervaded Buddhism. "The end of the Law," an expression for the final stage in the devolution of Buddha's teaching, when it would become almost totally obscured in an age of ignorance and corruption, was more and more frequently heard.

Yet in religion, as in Japanese society as a whole, on the threshold of death appeared new life. If the collapse of the old order brought new blood and more vigorous leaders on the scene, and if the eclipse of the aristocratic Kyoto court signified a greater participation by the provinces in the national life, so too in these circumstances the older forms of religion gave way to new ones, responding to the needs of the country as a whole. Thus, for example, the sense of despair, of inability to rise above the evils of the times, was met by a powerful movement offering salvation through faith alone, which brought the hope of new life and light to thousands of Japanese untouched by the older forms of Buddhism. The cult of Amida, who shared the bliss of his Pure Land with those who put their trust in him, is the most striking example of this tendency. In the teaching of Nichiren, also, there is great emphasis upon faith in the *Lotus Sūtra* as the key to salvation, and it was a notable trait of both these movements that their leaders sought converts among the humblest folk in the farthest reaches of Japan, especially in the near-wilderness of the north. Even in Zen Buddhism, which insisted upon individual effort rather than a reliance upon faith in something external, we find evidences of the same tendency. Aristocratic though it was in spirit, and intimately associated with the most sophisticated arts of the Ashikaga period, Zen not only embodied the vigorous simplicity of this age, but, in the most concrete and practical manner, raised to a new artistic dignity the humblest activities of the Japanese household: the preparing of tea, the arranging of flowers, the designing of house and garden, and many other everyday pursuits of the medieval Japanese. In this way religion, while making a place for itself in the new society, contributed to the develop-

ment of a new and more broadly based culture. To call this trend "democratic" would be going too far, since it was unattended by any significant increase in political freedom or activity on the part of the people as a whole. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the spread of popular religions contributed to the general uplift of the people and to a sense of unity transcending class distinctions. At the same time, we have already in the medieval period, from such men as Nichiren and Kitabatake Chikafusa, the exponent of a nationalism linked to Shinto traditions, intimations of a special destiny reserved for the Japanese people, an idea which gained potency in the age that followed.



CHAPTER X

AMIDA AND THE PURE LAND

"There is only one Way," the *Lotus Sūtra* says again and again, "not two or three." All human beings are to achieve Buddhahood through the same Great Vehicle, Mahāyāna. No class or group is to be disqualified; there are to be no separate categories, such as the Hinayāna and pseudo-Mahāyāna sects distinguish, for those of different social status or individual capability. No matter what means men avail themselves of, all find their ultimate fulfillment in the single, universal Way of Mahāyāna.

This was the central truth of the Buddhist faith which reigned supreme in the Heian Period. The two leading sects, Tendai and Shingon, both acknowledged such an idealistic and egalitarian view of man's potentialities for enlightenment. But, as we have seen, in the practice of this Mahāyāna faith compromises were made which reflected the more aristocratic character of Japanese society in this period, especially the strong consciousness of rank and status which pervaded the life of the Heian court. There was an established hierarchy in almost every sphere of activity: there were three grades of royal princes, called *hon*, and there were eight ranks for government officials, each subdivided into Senior and Junior. Even court gossip gave voice to the passion for making distinctions of grade and quality, as evidenced by the sharp judgments of a Lady Shōnagon, in her *Pillow Book*, or by the second chapter of *The Tale of Genji*, in which young men of the court assess the beauty and talents of women they have known in terms of *shina*, "grade."

In a sense, too, Kūkai's *Ten Stages of Religious Consciousness* exemplifies the same tendency, for in assigning each type of belief its proper place in the total scheme of salvation, Kūkai also assigned it a certain relative value and made clear its peculiar limitations. This quality perhaps in Kūkai's Esoteric Buddhism, as well as its emphasis on art and ritual, accounts for the high favor which his new faith won in the citadels of

Heian culture. For the Esoteric doctrine, which entrenched itself not only at court but at Nara, the old center of Buddhism, and at Mt. Hiei, the Tendai center, put far less stress in practice on the universal hope of attaining Buddhahood than it did on the special means to be employed by each individual. The Buddha and all creatures were made of the same stuff, the same six elements. But in the diverse manifestations of the Mandala might be seen the different aspects and functions of the Three Mysteries: Body, Speech, and Mind. Through their proper functioning alone could Buddhahood be attained, and the secret knowledge of these functions was possessed by the Shingon priesthood alone. Inasmuch as Shingon Buddhism was esoteric, it also tended to be exclusive.

In the twelfth century, with the sudden collapse of the Kyoto court and the onset of the feudal era, among the swift and bewildering changes that ensued was a sweeping redirection of the religious life of Japan. It is not surprising that the established sects of Buddhism should have declined with the waning fortunes of their aristocratic patrons, but in an age often seen as dominated by hardened warriors and held in the tight grip of military government, it may seem paradoxical that Japanese Buddhism should for the first time have become a mass movement, a democracy of faith, offering to everyone tangible hope for salvation in this life. Yet this is the most evident and significant feature of medieval Buddhism: that it was not preserved as a mere heirloom of the *ancien régime*, but elbowed its way out among the people and made itself at home in the households of humble folk.

In this popularization of Buddhism no doctrine or sect was more influential than that associated with the Buddha Amida, whose Western Paradise or "Pure Land" offered a haven to weary souls in that strife-torn age. It was Amida,¹ the Buddha of Boundless Light, who eons ago vowed that all should be saved who called on his name, a pledge which became known as the "Original Vow." It was to the Pure Land, a special place prepared by Amida, that the Buddha welcomed those who had won eternal bliss by calling on his name, *Namu Amida Butsu*, with single-minded and wholehearted devotion. This was the invocation which became known as the *Nembutsu*, a term which originally signified meditation on the name of Amida, but later meant simply the fervent repetition of his name. The scriptural authority for this teaching came from a sūtra

¹ Skt: Amitābha.

in which Shākyamuni describes his former existence as a Buddha-to-be (bodhisattva), who accepts Buddhahood only on condition that he can establish a land of bliss for all who invoke his name (as Amida) in perfect trust. In another sūtra Shākyamuni offers a devout queen her choice of many Buddha-lands and, after she has chosen that of Amida, he instructs her in the meditation which will lead to her admission there.

This faith was not by any means the creation of medieval Japan. It derived from the Mahāyāna Buddhism of Northern India and Central Asia, and for centuries the worship of Amida had been tremendously popular in China. Nevertheless the spread of Pure Land doctrines in medieval times represented a striking change in outlook for the Japanese, and in the process of establishing itself, the doctrine too underwent profound changes. For one thing, the earlier forms of Japanese Buddhism had all stressed the attainment of Buddhahood, the achieving of enlightenment, whereas this faith aimed at rebirth in a land of bliss. At the same time there was a shift in emphasis away from the individual's efforts to achieve enlightenment toward an exclusive reliance on the saving power of the Buddha. This meant a strong monotheistic tendency—all honor and devotion to Amida alone—in contrast to the strong polytheistic tendency of Esoteric Buddhism, with its multitude of icons directing worship to a vast pantheon of Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

From the social as well as the religious standpoint two far-reaching changes wrought by the spread of Amidism were the transformation of the Buddhist clergy and the recognizing of women's right to equal opportunities for salvation along with men. The champions of Amida-worship started a trend away from the traditional concept of the Buddhist clergy, who had left the world as celibate followers of a monastic discipline, toward a new role as religious leaders living in society a life which differed little from the layman's. One of the reasons which led them out of the isolation of the monasteries was a desire to bring religion directly to those outside, including women. When the great monastic centers of Hiei and Kōya were established, their founders ordained that these sacred precincts should never be visited by women. An incidental advantage of this ban was no doubt to insure against violations of the vows of celibacy, but what primarily dictated it was the view that women were a source of defilement (probably because they were subject to menstruation, long regarded as a form of pollution). Women were thus

effectively excluded from participation in some of the more important religious observances. But the new religious leaders were determined that women should enjoy every opportunity for salvation open to men.

PIONEERS OF PURE LAND BUDDHISM

The rise of Pure Land Buddhism was not merely an outgrowth of the new feudal society, translating into religious terms the profound social changes which then took place. Already in the late Heian period we find individual monks who sensed the need for bringing Buddhist faith within the reach of the ordinary man, and thus anticipated the mass religious movements of medieval times. Kūya (903-972), a monk on Mt. Hiei, was one of these. The meditation on the Buddha Amida, which had long been accepted as an aid to the religious life, he promoted as a pedestrian devotion. Dancing through the city streets with a tinkling bell hanging from around his neck, Kūya called out the name of Amida and sang simple ditties of his own composition, such as:

Hito tabi mo	He never fails
Namu Amida bu to	To reach the Lotus Land of Bliss
Yū hito no	Who calls,
Hasu utena ni	If only once,
Noboranu wa nashi.	The name of Amida.

And—

Gokuraku wa	A far, far distant land
Harukeki hodo to	Is Paradise,
Kikishi kado	I've heard them say;
Tsutomete itaru	But those who want to go
Tokoro narikeri.	Can reach there in a day.

In the market places all kinds of people joined him in his dance and sang out the invocation to Amida, "Namu Amida Butsu." When a great epidemic struck the capital, he proposed that these same people join him in building an image of Amida in a public square, saying that common folk could equal the achievement of their rulers, who had built the Great Buddha of Nara, if they cared to try. In country districts he built bridges and dug wells for the people where these were needed, and to show that no one was to be excluded from the blessings of Paradise, he

traveled into regions inhabited by the Ainu and for the first time brought to many of them the evangel of Buddhism.

As Kūya became known as "the saint of the streets" for his dancing, so another Tendai monk, Ryōnin (1072-1132), later became known especially for his propagation of the *Nembutsu* through popular songs. Ryōnin's great success in this medium reflected his own vocal talents and his mastery of traditional liturgical music. At the same time his advocacy of the *Nembutsu* chant reflected the influence upon him of Tendai and Kegon doctrine. From the former philosophy he drew the idea that "one act is all acts, and all acts are one act." From the *Flower Wreath (Kegon) Sūtra* he took the doctrine of the interrelation and interdependence of all things: "one man is all men and all men are one man." Joining these to faith in Amida, he produced the "circulating *Nembutsu*" or "Nembutsu in communion" (*Yūzū nembutsu*). If one man calls the name of Amida, it will benefit all men; one man may share in the invocations of all others. Spreading this simple but all-embracing idea in a musical form, Ryōnin became an evangelist on a vast scale. Among his early converts were court ladies, and the Emperor Toba was so deeply impressed that he gave Ryōnin a bell made from one of his own mirrors. With this he traveled the length and breadth of the land, inviting everyone to join him in the "circulating *Nembutsu*" and asking them to sign their names in a roster of participants. According to tradition the entries accumulated during a lifetime of evangelizing added up to the modest figure of 3,282.

In the thirteenth century these same methods were employed by the evangelist Ippen (1239-1289), who believed that the grace of Amida was present everywhere, in Shinto shrines as well as Buddhist temples of all denominations. For him the important thing was not to build new places of worship, but for the faithful to dance and sing together in praise of Amida, anywhere, any time. In the roster he kept of persons joining in his movement the names were said to have reached the incredible total of 2,300,001,724.

A man who did as much as Kūya and Ryōnin to popularize faith in Amida, without ever leaving the monastic life, was Genshin (942-1017). He too was from Mt. Hiei, to which the great Ennin had first brought the practice of meditation on the name of Amida. From his early study of the *Lotus Sūtra* and his great devotion to his aged mother, Genshin

became convinced that there must be some means of obtaining salvation which was open to all, laymen as well as monks, women as well as men. And the method he espoused after years of pious study—loving trust in the saving power of Amida—he wished to bring to all in a vivid and forceful manner. This he did in his *Essentials of Salvation*, which brought together in one book passages from the great body of Buddhist scriptures describing various aspects of the religious life. For Genshin, as for all Tendai schoolmen, there are ten realms of existence with the world of the Buddha at one end and Hell at the other, human existence standing in between. Man's religious life starts with an aversion for Hell, the perpetual battleground of human greed, lust, and desire for power. As he shrinks from those actions which result in the miseries of Hell, man is drawn to the land made blissful by the light, life, and love of Amida. This is the essence of religion: disgust for Hell and desire for the Pure Land. Genshin's work was to inspire all men with these sentiments by depicting in lucid and graphic terms the horrors of Hell and attractions of the Western Paradise. So effectively did he convey in popular form the fruits of his scriptural studies that his book, *The Essentials of Salvation*, not only won the acclaim of Chinese authorities to whom he sent a copy, but it became a sort of "best-seller" in medieval times, going through several printed editions. With so learned a monk as its champion, the popularization of Amidism gained added impetus.

But Genshin was not content to express himself in literary form alone and turned to painting and sculpture as well. The written word could only be appreciated by those able to read, and since Genshin wrote in a modified form of Chinese, his work was not accessible to many. Painting and sculpture, on the other hand, had the advantage of direct and instantaneous appeal to all. Unfortunately we do not possess much reliable evidence of Genshin's work in these media, but there can be no doubt that he was the originator of a new religious art. Liberating Buddhist painting from the stiff and stereotyped forms of Shingon iconography, he introduced new subjects such as the torments of Hell, the glories of Paradise, and the compassionate Amida with his attendant bodhisattvas welcoming the blessed to the Pure Land. These scenes he represented with a freshness of imagination and devotional atmosphere reflecting his own deep piety. The diary of a court lady of that time testifies to the effectiveness of his painting, for when one of his screens was brought

into the palace the ladies-in-waiting had nightmares over the realistic treatment of hell-fire and its screaming victims. There is an enormous painting attributed to him, now in the Mt. Kōya Museum, which shows Amida and his retinue coming out to receive the souls of the redeemed. It is recognized as probably the greatest of Japanese religious paintings. Another famous painting believed to be his is called "Amida Beyond the Hill." It shows Buddha rising like the moon over Genshin's mountain-home and bathing Lake Biwa in the resplendent light of his benign countenance.

Thus the pioneers of Pure Land Buddhism developed new means of communication—dancing, music, painting, sculpture, and popular religious tracts—in order to bring the Buddhaland within sight of all. With these available Buddhism was ready to take a wider and deeper hold on the life of the people than ever before.

IPPEN

Precepts for Followers of the Timely Teaching (Jishū Seikai)

The evangelist Ippen, who popularized devotion to Amida by means of song and dance, did not organize his followers into a separate sect, since he believed that any temple or shrine, any place or time, was suitable for the invocation of Amida's name. When he identified his disciples as "Followers of the Timely Teaching (Jishū)," he meant that the practice of the Nembutsu was the most appropriate to that degenerate age. Therefore the precepts given below are simple rules which anyone could practice without special training or discipline. Later his followers organized a sect of their own and called it the Ji (Time) School. The "time" referred to here, however, was not the "present degenerate age," but the "six-hour invocation of the Nembutsu" each day. Moreover, the "six hours" indicated the time divisions of one day according to the usual Japanese reckoning, and consequently does not mean "at six appointed hours" but rather the equivalent of our "twenty-four hours a day." The real sense of this name is therefore "School of the Perpetual Invocation of the Name of Amida," and in actual practice this invocation might be chanted any number of times a day depending on the circumstances at each temple.¹

[From *Ippen Shōnin Goroku*, pp. 28-29]

Devoutly adore the glory of God;
Do not ignore the original one's virtue.

¹ Not six specific times of the day as indicated by Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 174.

Devoutly revere the Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood;
Do not forget the power of communion.

Devoutly practice the invocation;
Do not engage in superfluous disciplines.

Devoutly trust the law of love;
Do not denounce the creeds of others.

Devoutly promote the sense of equality;
Do not arouse discriminatory feelings.

Devoutly awaken the sense of compassion;
Do not forget the sufferings of others.

Devoutly cultivate an amicable disposition;
Do not display an angry countenance.

Devoutly preserve a humble manner;
Do not arouse the spirit of arrogance.

Devoutly visualize the sources of defilement;
Do not develop a sense of attachment.

Devoutly study the law of evanescence;
Do not arouse the sense of greed.

Devoutly examine your own faults;
Do not make comment on the faults of others.

Devoutly go on trying to influence others;
Do not forget your own proper business.

Devoutly beware of the three evil ways: [lust, greed, and anger];
Do not indulge in wanton acts.

Devoutly yearn for the bliss of the happy land;
Do not forget the tortures of Hell.

Devoutly persevere in the aim of rebirth;
Do not neglect the practice of the invocation.

Devoutly concentrate on the vision of the West;
Do not let your attention stray to the nine regions.

Devoutly follow the path of enlightenment;
Do not mix with pleasure seekers.

Devoutly follow the teacher's guidance;
Do not indulge your own desires.

To all my followers:

Abide by these precepts to the end of the world. Exert yourself and do not be negligent. The activities of body, speech and mind have as their ultimate end a single devotion to Amida. [Signed:] Ippen

Psalm of the Six Hundred Thousand People

The following is an example of the type of hymn used by Ippen to popularize his teaching. The original is extremely simple and suggestive, consisting merely of four lines of seven syllables each. Each of the first three lines contains his religious name, Ippen, meaning "one and all" or "all in one."

[From *Ippen Shōnin Goroku*, p. 42]

The six-letter invocation is the Law, one and all.
The beings of the ten realms of existence are the Buddha, one and all.
Freedom from self-interest and partiality brings Realization for one and all. He who achieves this is supreme among men, an exquisite Lotus.

GENSHIN

The Essentials of Salvation

This famous work, describing the torments of Hell, the Pure Land, and the advantages of the Nembutsu, is in ten divisions as listed below by the author. The following excerpts are the initial chapters in the first two divisions, dealing with Hell and the Pure Land. Scriptural authorities cited by Genshin are deleted from the text.

The teaching and practice which leads to birth in Paradise is the most important thing in this impure world during these degenerate times.¹ Monks and laymen, men of high or low station, who will not turn to it? But the literature of the exoteric and the esoteric teachings of Buddha are not one in text, and the practices of one's work in this life in its ritualistic and philosophical aspects are many. These are not difficult for men of keen wisdom and great diligence, but how can a stupid person such as I

¹ Reference is to *mappō*, the last of the three periods of Buddhist law, that of degeneration and destruction of the law which extends for countless years. The first period, *shōbō*, the period of the true law, lasted 500 years. The second period, *zōbō*, the period of the simulated doctrine, endured 1,000 years.

achieve this knowledge? Because of this I have chosen the one gate to salvation of *nembutsu*.² I have made selections from the important sūtras and shāstras and have set them forth so that they may be readily understood and their disciplines easily practiced. In all there are ten divisions, divided into three volumes. The first is the corrupt life which one must shun, the second is the pure land for which one should seek, the third is the proof of the existence of the pure land, the fourth is the correct practice of *nembutsu*, the fifth is the helpful means of practicing the *nembutsu*, the sixth is the practice of *nembutsu* on special occasions, the seventh is the benefit resulting from *nembutsu*, the eighth is the proof of the benefit accruing from *nembutsu* alone, the ninth is the conduct leading to birth in Paradise, and the tenth comprises questions and answers to selected problems. These I place to the right of where I sit lest I forget them.

The first division, the corrupt land which one must shun, comprises the three realms³ in which there is no peace. Now, in order to make clear the external appearances of this land, it is divided into seven parts: 1) hell; 2) hungry demons; 3) beasts; 4) fighting demons; 5) man; 6) Deva; and 7) a conclusion.

The first of these, hell, is furthermore divided into eight parts: 1) The hell of repeated misery; 2) The hell of the black chains; 3) The hell of mass suffering; 4) The hell of wailing; 5) The hell of great wailing; 6) The hell of searing heat; 7) The hell of great searing heat, and 8) The hell of incessant suffering.

The hell of repeated misery is one thousand yojanas⁴ beneath the Southern Continent⁵ and is ten thousand yojanas in length and breadth. Sinners here are always possessed of the desire to do each other harm. Should they by chance see each other, they behave as does the hunter when he encounters a deer. With iron claws they slash each other's bodies until blood and flesh are dissipated and the bones alone remain. Or else the hell-wardens, taking in their hands iron sticks and poles, beat the sinners' bodies from head to foot until they are pulverized like grains of sand. Or else, with a sword of awful sharpness, they cut their victims' bodies in regular pieces as the kitchen worker slices the flesh of fish. And then a cool wind arises, and blowing, returns the sinners to the

² Meditation on or repetition of the name of Amida Buddha.

³ Past, present, and future.

⁴ The distance an army can march in one day.

⁵ India and adjoining regions.

same state in which they were at the outset. Thereupon they immediately arise and undergo torment identical to that which they had previously suffered. Elsewhere it is said that a voice from the sky above calls to the sentient beings to revive and return to their original state. And again, it is said that the hell-wardens beat upon the ground with iron pitchforks calling upon the sinners to revive. I cannot tell in detail of the other sufferings similar to those already told. . . .

Fifty years of human life is equivalent to one day and night in the realm of the Four Deva Kings,⁶ and there life lasts five hundred years. The life in the realm of the Four Deva Kings is the equivalent of one day and night in this hell, and here life lasts five hundred years. People who have taken the life of a living creature fall into this hell. . . .

Outside the four gates of this hell are sixteen separate places which are associated with this hell. The first is called the place of excrement. Here, it is said, there is intensely hot dung of the bitterest of taste, filled with maggots with snouts of indestructible hardness. The sinner here eats of the dung and all the assembled maggots swarm at once for food. They destroy the sinner's skin, devour his flesh and suck the marrow from his bones. People who at one time in the past killed birds or deer fall into this hell. Second is the place of the turning sword. It is said that iron walls ten yojanas in height surround it and that a terrible and intense fire constantly burns within. The fire possessed by man is like snow when compared to this. With the least of physical contact, the body is broken into pieces the size of mustard-seeds. Hot iron pours from above like a heavy rainfall, and in addition, there is a forest of swords, with blades of exceptional keenness, and these swords, too, fall like rain. The multitude of agonies is in such variety that it cannot be borne. Into this place fall those who have killed a living being with concupiscence. Third is the place of the burning vat. It is said that the sinner is seized and placed in an iron vat, and boiled as one would cook beans. Those who in the past have taken the life of a living creature, cooked it, and eaten of it, fall into this hell. Fourth is the place of many agonies. In this hell there are a trillion different numberless tortures which cannot be explained in detail. Those who at some time in the past bound men with rope, beat men with sticks, drove men and forced them to make long journeys, threw men down steep places, tortured men with smoke,

⁶ The lowest of the six heavens in the world of desire.

frightened small children, and in many other ways brought suffering to their fellow man, fall into this hell. Fifth is the place of darkness. It is said that here is pitch blackness that burns constantly with a dark flame. A powerful and intense wind blows against the adamantine mountains causing them to grind against each other and to destroy each other, so that the bodies of the sinners in between are broken into fragments like grains of sand. Then a hot wind arises which cuts like a sharply honed sword. To this place fall those who have covered the mouths and noses of sheep or who have placed turtles between two tiles and crushed them to death. Sixth is the place of joylessness. Here, it is said, is a great fire which burns intensely night and day. Birds, dogs, and foxes with flaming beaks whose intensely evil cries cause the sinner to feel the greatest of fear, come constantly to eat of the sinner, whose bones and flesh lie in great confusion. Hard-snouted maggots course about inside the bone and eat of the marrow. Those who once blew on shells, beat drums, made frightening sounds, or killed birds and animals fall to this hell. Seventh is the place of extreme agony. It is located beneath a precipitous cliff where a fire of iron burns continuously. People who once killed living creatures in a fit of debauchery descend to this hell. . . .

The second division is the Pure Land towards which one must aspire. The rewards of Paradise are of endless merit. Should one speak of them for a hundred kalpas or even for a thousand kalpas, one would not finish describing them; should one count them or give examples of them, there would still be no way to know of them. At present, ten pleasures in praise of the Pure Land will be explained, and they are as but a single hair floating upon the great sea.

First is the pleasure of being welcomed by many saints. Second is the pleasure of the first opening of the lotus.⁷ Third is the pleasure of obtaining in one's own body the ubiquitous supernatural powers of a Buddha. Fourth is the pleasure of the realm of the five wonders. Fifth is the pleasure of everlasting enjoyment. Sixth is the pleasure of influencing others and introducing them to Buddhism. Seventh is the pleasure of assembling with the holy family. Eighth is the pleasure of beholding the Buddha and hearing the Law. Ninth is the pleasure of serving the Buddha according to the dictates of one's own heart. Tenth is the pleasure of progressing in the way of Buddhahood. . . .

⁷ The pleasure of being first born into this land.

First is the pleasure of being welcomed by many saints. Generally when an evil man's life comes to an end, the elements of wind and fire leave first, and as they control movement and heat, great suffering is felt. When a good man dies, earth and water depart first, and as they leave gently, they cause no pain. How much less painful then must be the death of a man who has accumulated merit through *nembutsu*! The man who carries this teaching firmly in his mind for a long time feels a great rejoicing arise within him at the approach of death. Because of his great vow, Amida Nyorai,⁸ accompanied by many bodhisattvas and hundreds of thousands of monks, appears before the dying man's eyes, exuding a great light of radiant brilliance. And at this time the great compassionate Kanzeon⁹ extending hands adorned with the hundred blessings and offering a jeweled lotus throne, appears before the faithful. The Bodhisattva Seishi¹⁰ and his retinue of numberless saints chant hymns and at the same time extend their hands and accept him among them. At this time the faithful one, seeing these wonders before his eyes, feels rejoicing within his heart and feels at peace as though he were entering upon meditation. Let us know then, that at the moment that death comes, though it be in a hut of grass, the faithful one finds himself seated upon a lotus throne. Following behind Amida Buddha amid the throng of bodhisattvas, in a moment's time he achieves birth in the Western Paradise. . . .

The pleasures in the Thirty-three-fold heaven¹¹ which last a billion years, the pleasures of deep meditation in the palace of the Great Brahmā heaven,¹² are not pleasures at all, for the cycle of transmigration is not at an end, and one cannot escape the evils of the three worlds. But once one is in the embrace of Kannon and is seated upon the treasure lotus throne, one has crossed the sea of suffering and is born for the first time in the Pure Land. The pleasure felt in the heart at this time cannot be put into words.

A *gāthā* by Nāgārjuna says, "If upon death a man attains birth in this land, the virtue he attains is endless. That is why I devote my life to Amida." . . .

Second is the pleasure of the first opening of the Lotus. After the believer is born into this land and when he experiences the pleasures

⁸ Amitābha Tathāgata.

¹⁰ Mahāsthāmaprāpta.

⁹ More commonly Kannon.

¹¹ Tōri-ten.

¹² Daibon.

of the first opening of the lotus, his joy becomes a hundred times greater than before. It is comparable to a blind man gaining sight for the first time, or to entering a royal palace directly after leaving some rural region. Looking at his own body, it becomes purplish gold in color. He is gowned naturally in jeweled garments. Rings, bracelets, a crown of jewels, and other ornaments in countless profusion adorn his body. And when he looks upon the light radiating from the Buddha, he obtains pure vision, and because of his experiences in former lives, he hears the sounds of all things. And no matter what color he may see or what sound he may hear, it is a thing of marvel. Such is the ornamentation of space above that the eye becomes lost in the traces of clouds. The melody of the wheel of the wonderful Law as it turns, flows throughout this land of jeweled sound. Palaces, halls, forests, and ponds shine and glitter everywhere. Flocks of wild ducks, geese, and mandarin ducks fly about in the distance and near at hand. One may see multitudes from all the worlds being born into this land like sudden showers of rain. And one may see a throng of saints, numerous as the grains of sand in the Ganges, arriving from the many Buddhlands. There are some who climb within the palaces and look about in all directions. There are those who, mounted upon temples, dwell in space. Then again there are some who, living in the sky, recite the sūtra and explain the Law. And again there are some who, dwelling in space, sit in meditation. Upon the ground and amid the forests there are others engaged in the same activities. And all about there are those who cross and bathe in the streams and those who walk among the palaces singing and scattering flowers and chanting the praises of the Tathāgata. In this way the numberless celestial beings and saints pursue their own pleasures as they themselves desire. How indeed can one tell in detail of the throng of incarnate Buddhas and bodhisattvas which fills this land like clouds of incense and flowers!

HŌNEN

What we have so far referred to as Pure Land Buddhism or Amidism was not a separate sect or school. Images of Amida and his two attendant bodhisattvas, Seishi and Kannon (known to the West as the Goddess of Mercy), were to be found in the temples of every sect, and recitation of

the Nembutsu was a common adjunct to meditative practices that aimed at a state of enlightenment or ecstasy. The popularization of this formula did not, therefore, break down the walls of sectarian allegiance or seriously undercut existing religious observances. It was only with the appearance of Hōnen (1133-1212) that such a sharp break with other forms of Buddhism occurred.

In his epoch-making work *Senchakushū*, which translated in full means "Collection of Passages on the Original Vow of Amida, in which the Nembutsu is Chosen Above All Other Ways of Achieving Rebirth," Hōnen made it unmistakably clear that the Invocation to Amida was superior to all other religious practices. Traditional methods he characterized as the Path of Personal Sanctity, which involved the practice of severe disciplines leading to enlightenment, and which relied for their efficacy upon the personal merits and effort of the aspirant. The other Path was that of the Pure Land, involving only the recitation of the Nembutsu and complete reliance on the grace of Amida, not upon oneself. Since it was widely accepted that the world was passing through a stage of utter religious degeneration, as foretold by the Buddha, Hōnen believed that the Path of Personal Sanctity was beyond the capability of most men to pursue successfully. Their only sure hope of salvation in such times was to follow the second Path, since its success was dependent only on the unfailing mercy and power of Amida. In Hōnen's terms the former way was the "difficult path," relying on "one's own power," whereas the Nembutsu offered an "easy path," relying on the "power of another." The Nembutsu was therefore the greatest and most excellent of all disciplines, and enjoyed the protection of all other Buddhas as well as of Amida.

When this book, originally written for the edification of the premier, Fujiwara Kanezane, was eventually published, monks from Mt. Hiei seized all available copies, together with the blocks from which they were printed, and consigned them to the flames. Hōnen had already exposed himself to attack on personal grounds. Being a man of deep charity and believing that all men were equally immersed in sin, on one occasion he gave shelter in his mountain hermitage to a young court lady, about to deliver a child by a secret union. Some people insinuated that Hōnen was the real father of the expected baby, but in spite of such calumny Hōnen continued to treat the lady with the deepest solicitude

and tender care. Later the father was proven to be a young Taira warrior who had died in battle.

At the age of seventy-four Hōnen's success in winning converts to the new Pure Land Sect, which he had founded, resulted in his condemnation and exile. His biography tells us that in "the first year of Ken-ei (1206), . . . on the ninth day of the twelfth month, the retired Emperor Go-Toba happened to make a trip to the shrine on Mt. Kumano. It so happened that at this time Jūren and Anraku and some other disciples of Hōnen were holding a special service for the practice of the *Nembutsu* at Shishigatani in Kyoto, in which they were chanting the hymns appointed for each of the six hours of the day and night. The chanting was so impressive and awe-inspiring, with its peculiar irregular intonation, that those who heard it were strangely swayed by mingled feelings of sorrow and joy, so that many were led into the life of faith. Among them there were two maids of honor to the ex-emperor, who in his absence had gone to the service. On the emperor's return from Kumano, it would appear as if someone told him about these ladies having become nuns, suggesting that there was something wrong about their relations with these priests, so that the emperor was very angry with them, and on the ninth of the second month in the second year of Ken-ei (1207), he summoned them to the court and imposed on them quite a severe penalty."¹

On his way into exile in a remote region of Shikoku, from which he returned by Imperial pardon only a year before his death, Hōnen fashioned a papier-mâché image of himself while passing away the hours aboard ship. It shows him with an enormous head having two unusual protuberances. One of these is said by his followers to represent his great scriptural erudition, which gained him the soubriquet *Chie Daiichi* (Foremost in Wisdom). The other, even more prominent, is considered a sign of his compassionate nature.

HONEN

Letter to Tsukinowa's Wife

Written in answer to questions raised by the wife of the ex-Regent, Kanezane Tsukinowa, who had already been converted to Hōnen's faith, this letter de-

¹ Coates and Ishizuka, *Honen*, p. 598.

fends the exclusive practice of the *Nembutsu*, which the lady was thereby persuaded to take up.

[From Coates and Ishizuka, *Honen*, pp. 371-73]

I have the honor of addressing you regarding your inquiry about the *Nembutsu*. I am delighted to know that you are invoking the sacred name. Indeed the practice of the *Nembutsu* is the best of all for bringing us to *Ōjō*,¹ because it is the discipline prescribed in Amida's Original Vow. The discipline required in the Shingon, and the meditation of the Tendai, are indeed excellent, but they are not in the Vow. This *Nembutsu* is the very thing that Shākyā himself entrusted to his disciple Ānanda. As to all other forms of religious practice belonging to either the meditative or non-meditative classes, however excellent they may be in themselves, the great Master did not specially entrust them to Ānanda to be handed down to posterity. Moreover the *Nembutsu* has the endorsation of all the Buddhas of the six quarters; and, while the discipline of the exoteric and esoteric schools, whether in relation to the phenomenal or noumenal worlds, are indeed most excellent, the Buddhas do not give them their final approval. And so, although there are many kinds of religious exercise, the *Nembutsu* far excels them all in its way of attaining *Ōjō*. Now there are some people who are unacquainted with the way of birth into the Pure Land, who say, that because the *Nembutsu* is so easy, it is all right for those who are incapable of keeping up the practices required in the Shingon, and the meditation of the Tendai sects, but such a cavil is absurd. What I mean is, that I throw aside those practices not included in Amida's Vow, nor prescribed by Shākyamuni, nor having the endorsation of the Buddhas of all quarters of the universe, and now only throw myself upon the Original Vow of Amida, according to the authoritative teaching of Shākyamuni, and in harmony with what the many Buddhas of the six quarters have definitely approved. I give up my own foolish plans of salvation, and devote myself exclusively to the practice of that mightily effective discipline of the *Nembutsu*, with earnest prayer for birth into the Pure Land. This is the reason why the abbot of the Eshin-in Temple in his work *Essentials of Salvation* makes the *Nembutsu* the most fundamental of all. And so you should now cease from all other religious practices, apply yourself to the *Nembutsu* alone, and in this it is all-important to do it with undivided attention. *Zendō*,²

¹ Rebirth in the Pure Land.

² Chinese patriarch of Pure Land Sect.

who himself attained to that perfect insight (*samādhi*) which apprehends the truth, clearly expounds the full meaning of this in his Commentary on the *Meditation Sūtra*, and in the *Two-volumed Sūtra* the Buddha (Shākyā) says, "Give yourself with undivided mind to the repetition of the name of the Buddha who is in Himself endless life." And by "undivided mind" he means to present a contrast to a mind which is broken up into two or three sections, each pursuing its own separate object, and to exhort to the laying aside of everything but this one thing only. In the prayers which you offer for your loved ones, you will find that the *Nembutsu* is the one most conducive to happiness. In the *Essentials of Salvation*, it says that the *Nembutsu* is superior to all other works. Also Dengyō Daishi,³ when telling how to put an end to the misfortunes which result from the seven evils, exhorts to the practice of the *Nembutsu*. Is there indeed anything anywhere that is superior to it for bringing happiness in the present or the future life? You ought by all means to give yourself up to it alone.

Declaration on Going into Exile

After Hōnen was sentenced to exile in Tosa, many of his disciples tried to persuade the aged and decrepit monk that he should give up open propagation of the *Nembutsu* and thereby seek to stay execution of the sentence. But Hōnen in comforting them welcomed banishment as an opportunity to spread his faith in remote regions.

[From Coates and Ishizuka, *Honen*, pp. 601-2]

We must not resent this penalty of exile that has come upon me at all, for I am now an old man in my eighth decade. Mountains and seas may divide us, but we are sure of meeting again in that Pure Land. Man is a being who goes on living when he grows weary of life, and is most likely to die when life is most dear. What difference does it make as to where we happen to be? But not only this, the fact is, I have labored here in the capital these many years for the spread of the *Nembutsu*, and so I have long wished to get away into the country to preach to those on field and plain, but the time never came for the fulfillment of my wish. Now, however, by the august favor of His Majesty, circumstances have combined to enable me to do so. Man may try to put a stop to the spread of this Law of the Buddhas, but it cannot be done. The

³ Saichō.

vows which the many Buddhas have made to save men have come forth from their hearts' depths, and the unseen divine powers have conspired together to protect the Law against all opposition. Why, then, should we have any anxiety over incurring the world's displeasure, and make that a ground for concealing from the public the real import of the sūtras and the commentaries which explain them? The only thing I am concerned about, is lest the gods who extend their constant protection over that Law of the Jōdo of which I, Genkū (Hōnen), am an exponent, should mete out punishment to those who of evil purpose thrust obstacles in the way of its propagation. For of all other ways of salvation known, this of the Jōdo is the most important, because it makes salvation certain, in these latter degenerate times, for all sentient beings. Let all those who outlive me take note that a fitting penalty will surely not fail to come upon all such offenders. If that law of affinity (karma) which operates in our mutual fellowship has not run its course, we may yet meet once more here in this present world.

The One-Page Testament

Written by Hōnen two days before he died for a disciple who asked that he "write me something with your own hand that you think will be good for me, so that I may keep it as a memento." After Hōnen's death this note was honored as his final testament and as a complete credo for the faithful.

[From Coates and Ishizuka, *Honen*, pp. 728-29]

The method of final salvation that I have propounded is neither a sort of meditation, such as has been practiced by many scholars in China and Japan, nor is it a repetition of the Buddha's name by those who have studied and understood the deep meaning of it. It is nothing but the mere repetition of the "*Namu Amida Butsu*," without a doubt of His mercy, whereby one may be born into the Land of Perfect Bliss. The mere repetition with firm faith includes all the practical details, such as the three-fold preparation of mind and the four practical rules. If I as an individual had any doctrine more profound than this, I should miss the mercy of the two Honorable Ones, Amida and Shāka, and be left out of the Vow of the Amida Buddha. Those who believe this, though they clearly understand all the teachings Shāka taught throughout his whole life, should behave themselves like simple-minded folk,

who know not a single letter, or like ignorant nuns or monks whose faith is implicitly simple. Thus without pedantic airs, they should fervently practice the repetition of the name of Amida, and that alone. [pp. 728-29]

SHINRAN AND THE TRUE PURE LAND SECT

Among those banished from Kyoto at the same time as Hōnen was Shinran (1173-1262), who later claimed to be Hōnen's true disciple and is regarded as the founder of the most important of all Pure Land sects. Shinran's crime, for which he was exiled to the northern province of Echigo, was that he had taken a wife in violation of the clerical vow of celibacy. His followers later alleged that Shinran had married this woman, identified by them as a daughter of the Fujiwara regent, Kanezane, at the express request of Hōnen in order to demonstrate that monastic discipline was not essential to salvation and that the family rather than the monastery should be the center of the religious life.

Letters (recently found in Echigo) written by Shinran's wife cast doubt on her Fujiwara origin, but there can be no doubt that these traditions accurately reflect Shinran's own view of his relationship to Hōnen. He saw himself as merely following out in practice the full implications of his master's teaching. The more conservative of Hōnen's followers, who made their headquarters at the former site of his hermitage, held to the traditional monastic discipline of Buddhism, including the vows of celibacy and sobriety. But Shinran believed that if salvation truly depended on nothing but the grace of Amida, it was needless and perhaps dangerous to act as if one's conduct, or one's state in life, could have any bearing on ultimate redemption.

Shinran's experience in exile convinced him that propagation of the faith among all classes of people required its apostles to identify themselves as closely as possible with the ordinary man. During the remaining years of his life he was in fact compelled to live among the people, not as an outspoken preacher boldly proclaiming his mission, but as one condemned, a social outcast, whose faith had been proscribed and was allowed, like him, only a fugitive existence. Yet Shinran never sought to justify himself before the world, to make virtues of the vices for which others condemned him. He was, he admitted, a lost soul, unsure of

himself and of all else in this life except the abiding grace of Amida. His only aim was to bring this faith in Amida to those like himself who needed it most, to those ignorant and illiterate souls who could not distinguish good from bad, to "bad people" rather than "good people." Shinran even went so far as to say that wicked men might be more acceptable to Amida than good men, since the former threw themselves entirely on the mercy of the Buddha, while the latter might be tempted to think that their chances of salvation were improved by their own meritorious conduct. "If even good people can be reborn in the Pure Land, how much more the wicked man!"

Shinran's utter reliance on the power of Amida is also emphasized by his attitude toward the recitation of the Nembutsu. The conservative followers of Hōnen believed that one's devotion to Amida was deepened by continual invocation of his name, a practice Hōnen is said to have encouraged and exemplified throughout his life. But to Shinran this too seemed to imply that there was something the individual could do to win salvation; it was another manifestation of the tendency to rely on "one's own power." A single, sincere invocation is enough, said Shinran, and any additional recitation of the Name should merely be an expression of thanksgiving to Amida. Indeed on certain occasions Shinran indicated that even one audible invocation was unnecessary, providing one had inward faith in Amida's saving grace.

Another way in which Shinran stressed exclusive reliance on Amida was by discouraging the worship of any other Buddhas. The historical Buddha himself, Shākyamuni, was merely an agent for the transmission of the true faith, a teacher and messenger but not someone to be worshiped. As might be expected, Shinran was also ready to dispense with all the sūtras except that which revealed Amida's Original Vow, even setting aside two other texts relating to Amida and the Pure Land which Hōnen had prized. Finally, of three vows attributed to Amida in this sūtra and recognized by Hōnen, Shinran discarded two. These promised a welcome to the Pure Land for all who performed meritorious deeds or repeated Amida's name. Shinran did not actually revoke them, but asserted that anyone who relied on the performance of meritorious deeds or the recitation of Buddha's name would have to endure a sort of purgatory before achieving rebirth in the Pure Land. The eighteenth or

Original Vow of Amida, which placed sole trust in the Buddha, alone assured direct rebirth in the Land of Bliss.

Though Shinran reduced Buddhism to the simplest of faiths, it must not be thought that this resulted from any ignorance on his part of the depth or complexity of Buddhist doctrine. On the contrary he, like Hōnen and Genshin, had made a thorough study of traditional teachings, as his writings on doctrinal questions testify. Nevertheless it is plain that Shinran grounded himself in tradition only to overturn it. The Buddhism he so unobtrusively but persistently propagated bore little resemblance to the original creed. The Three Treasures had been transformed into one: Amida's Original (or Fundamental) Vow. Virtually nothing remained of the Buddha as manifested by Shākyamuni, of the Law as embodied in scripture, or of the Priesthood as represented by a celibate clergy following monastic discipline. Gone too was the traditional emphasis on ethical and intellectual excellence, on the search for enlightenment through strenuous personal effort. All of these were now but particles of dust dancing in the radiant light of Amida.

In his own lifetime Shinran made no attempt to organize a new sect around his own creed, but he did leave numerous religious communities, consisting mostly of townspeople, bound together by loyalty to him and his teachings. Eventually they were organized into the True Pure Land Sect by Shinran's lineal descendants. The most famous of these was Rennyo (1415-1499), an able organizer as well as religious leader. In an age torn by conflicting feudal loyalties, Rennyo welded his adherents together into a disciplined band, ready to fight for their faith and their independence of other feudal powers. The bond of devotion between teacher and disciple became a personal bond of militant loyalty. Shinran had urged his followers to make every act an act of thanksgiving to Amida. Now this sense of obligation was redirected to Shinran's heir, identified as the official representative of Amida in this life. "The mercy of Buddha should be recompensed even by pounding flesh to pieces. One's obligation to the Teacher should be recompensed even by smashing bones to bits!" This was the battle cry of those who defended the Temple of the Original Vow in Osaka, withstanding for ten years the attacks of Nobunaga in the late sixteenth century. By such fanatic devotion they had won for themselves the name "Single-Minded" (*Ikkyō*), and had

maintained their independence in defensive strongholds throughout the country, taking a leading part in the century of warfare which ended with Nobunaga's rise to power.

Though the True Pure Land Sect ceased to be a feudal power after the unification of Japan, it has retained one important vestige of feudalism. This is the hereditary succession of its leadership, to which Shinran's abandonment of celibacy had opened the way. Generation after generation the abbots of both the Western and Eastern branches of the Temple of the Original Vow in Kyoto, primates of what is now one of the most numerous and affluent sects in Japan, have been descendants of Shinran. For those who recognize only the supreme value of Amida's love and never the claims of individual merit, such an arrangement no doubt involves the least danger of self-assertion. Moreover the discarding of the vow of celibacy has had its effect on other sects as well, which have belatedly followed Shinran's lead. Today, although a few monasteries and individuals elect to follow this rule, in none of the important sects is its observance a strict requirement.

SHINRAN

Hymn to the True Faith in the Nembutsu (*Shōshin Nembutsu Ge*)

In this hymn, part of the daily devotions of Shinran's followers, he sums up the basic tenets of the Pure Land faith and its transmission from India through China to Japan.

[Adapted from Lloyd, *Shinran and His Works*, pp. 46-56]

I put my trust in the great Tathāgata of Infinite Life and Boundless Light!

Hōzō¹ the Bodhisattva, in the days of his humiliation, being in the presence of the Tathāgata Lord of the World, examining the degree of excellence of the Paradises of all the Buddhas, the causes of their formation, and the angels and men in them, made his great Vow and proclaimed his mighty Oath, which he meditated and selected for the space of five long kalpas; and he repeated the Vow of announcing his Holy Name "Amida" in all the Ten Quarters.

¹ Japanese form of the name given to Amida during his earthly existence. [Ed.]

Universally doth he send forth his endless, boundless, all-pervading unrivaled, supreme Light, his Light of Purity, of Joy, of Wisdom, His changeless, unconceivable, unexplainable Light, brighter than the brightness of Sun or Moon. His Light illuminates worlds more numerous than dust, and all sentient creatures enjoy it and are illuminated thereby.

His Holy Name which was revealed by his Vow of Salvation, is the fundamental Power that justly determines us to enter into his Pure Land. His Vow to make us put our sincere trust in it is the effective cause which produces perfect Enlightenment. His Vow to lead us without fail into Nirvāna has been fulfilled; in consequence of it, we can acquire the same rank as the bodhisattva in this life, and Nirvāna² in the next.

The reason why the Tathāgata Shākyamuni was revealed to the world was solely that he might proclaim the Boundless Ocean of Amida's Fundamental Vow. Men, numerous as the Ocean Waves, who are subject to the Five Obstacles and entangled in Evil, should certainly listen to the Tathāgata's true words.

If once there be aroused in us but one thought of joy and love [in consequence of the Vow], we turn just as we are with our sins and lusts upon us, towards Nirvāna. Laymen and saints alike, even those who have committed the five deadly sins, and slandered the Holy Laws of Buddha, will yet, by faith in the power of the Tathāgata, enter into the enjoyment and taste of his mercy, as surely as the water in the mountain stream ultimately reaches the Ocean and becomes salt.

The Light of the Buddha's Heart which has taken hold of us, illuminates and protects us continually, and dispels the darkness of Ignorance. It is true that the dark mist of covetousness and passion constantly overhangs the sky that is above the believing heart. Yet, though the sky above may be constantly overcast, beneath the cloud it is light, there is no darkness.

When we have made Faith our own, and have received a sight of the great mercy and a thought of pious joy, we pass away sideways³ from the five evil spheres of life. If any layman, whether good or bad, hears and believes the all-embracing Vow of Amida-Buddha, him will the Tathāgata Shākyamuni praise for his wisdom, and will call him a lotus-flower among men.

² Which is to be obtained in the Pure Land. [Ed.]

³ Not by a steep ascent, but passing directly over to the Pure Land. [Ed.]

For sentient creatures, who are heretical, evil, and proud, to believe and accept the practice of Amida's Fundamental Vow, is indeed a hard matter, there is nothing harder than this.

Abhidharma Doctors of Western India, noble priests of China and Japan, have declared to us that the true meaning of the Great Saint's (Shākyamuni's) appearance was to point to the true Vow of Amida, and the Vow is just the way for us.

Shākyamuni the Tathāgata, on the mountain peak in Lankā [Ceylon], prophesied for the people assembled to hear him that there should appear in South India, a great teacher, Nāgārjuna by name, who should destroy the conflicting views of Entity and Non-Entity, who should clearly teach the excellent law of the Mahāyāna, who should reach the Class of Joy and be born in Paradise.

He (Nāgārjuna) taught that the way of Salvation by one's own efforts is like a toilsome journey by land, that the Way of Faith in the Merits of Another is as an easy voyage in a fair ship over smooth waters, that if a man put his trust in the Fundamental Vow of Amida, he will enter at once, by Buddha's power, into the class of those destined to be born in the Pure Land. Only let him ever call upon the Name of the Tathāgata, and gratefully commemorate the great all-embracing Vow.

Vasubandhu, also, the Bodhisattva, composed his praise of the Pure Land, put his whole trust and confidence in the Tathāgata of Boundless Light, established the truth by the sūtras, and made clear the way of 'crosswise going-out' through the merits of the great Fundamental Vow.

[Vasubandhu taught], with a view to the Salvation of Men through the Faith in Another's merits which Amida bestows upon us, the mystery of the One Heart. If a man enter into this Faith, he will acquire the merit of the Great Ocean of Divine Treasures, and will certainly be admitted to the Great Company of the Saints, in the present life. In the future life, he will go to the Pure Land which shines with the Light of Wisdom like the lotus, and having acquired the Holy Existence with divine power he will return to the forest of human passions, and there, in the garden of life and death, [for the salvation of his fellow creatures], will manifest himself in various transformations.

Take Donran⁴ our teacher, whom the king [Wu-ti] of the Liang Dynasty revered as a Bodhisattva. From Bodhiruchi, the Master of the

⁴ Tan-luan, regarded in Japan as first Chinese patriarch of the Pure Land Sect. [Ed.]

Tripitaka, he received the teaching of the Pure Land, and burning the ascetic books [in which he had hitherto put his trust], put his faith in the Paradise of Bliss. He followed the teachings of Vasubandhu [which he learned from Bodhiruchi] and clearly taught that Amida's Great Vow was the effective cause of Birth in Paradise.

[Donran taught] that the Grace of new birth into Paradise, as well as that whereby we can return to Earth to aid our fellow-beings, is a gift which we receive through the Buddha's power, and that the effective cause whereby we are justly determined to be born in the Pure Land, is only the believing heart. Wherefore, if we, blind and sinful persons, arouse this believing heart, we can perceive Nirvāna in this life. Afterwards, without fail, we reach the Pure Land of Boundless Light, and teaching all sentient creatures that are involved in misery of Earth, lead them to salvation.

Dōshaku⁵ taught that the innumerable practices for perfecting righteousness by one's own efforts are of no value, and the invocation of the Name which comprises all virtues, he praised as beneficial. He spoke much of the three marks of Non-Faith and Faith, and showed that in all three Ages it is the principle of Mercy that alone rules and draws men. Though a man had done evil all his life, yet, if he were once brought near to the Great Vow, he would reach the Land of Bliss and enjoy the fruits of Salvation.

Zendō⁶ was the first that understood the true will of Buddha Shākyamuni in his age, and that had pity, alike for those who practiced meditation or moral good, as for those who lived in wickedness.

Zendō taught that the Effect of Salvation is given by the Holy Light and the Sacred Name of Amida, and expounded the Great Ocean of Wisdom contained in the Fundamental Vow. The believer, having rightly received the adamant heart of firm faith, and having answered to the calling of the Tathāgata with a joyful heart, like Vaidehī⁷ receives the threefold assurance and immediately enters into the happiness of the Eternal Life.

Genshin studied all the teachings of Shākyamuni, and earnestly aspired to go to the Buddha's Land. He exhorted all men to go there too.

⁵ Tao-ch'ō, Chinese patriarch of the seventh century. [Ed.]

⁶ Shan-tao, d. 681. [Ed.]

⁷ Queen to whom Shākyamuni was said to have taught the meditation on Amida and the Pure Land. [Ed.]

Genshin established a difference between a pure and an impure Faith, the one deep and the other shallow. Also, he taught that there are two forms of Paradise, as places of rest for those of deep and shallow faith respectively. O deadly sinner! Invoke but once Amida-Buddha! He is taking hold of us. Though our eyes of flesh can not clearly see him owing to our sins, yet is his mercy constantly present to illuminate our minds.

My teacher Genkū [Hōnen] threw light on Buddhism, and had deep compassion for the laity, good or bad. It was he who originated the True Sect's teachings in this country, and propagated in this wicked world the doctrine of Amida's Selected Vow.

Genkū taught that the reason why men keep constantly returning to the Home of Error [bodily life], is entirely due to our being fast bound with doubt. In order that we may enter straight into the peaceful and eternal abode of Nirvāṇa, it is necessary for us to receive the believing heart.

Thus prophets and teachers, propagating the teachings of the sūtras, have saved countless men from countless evils. Monks and laymen in the present age! We must put our hearts together, and believe the words that these exalted monks have spoken.

Selections from the *Tannishō*

This collection of Shinran's sayings is said to have been made by his disciple Yuiembō, who was concerned over heresies and schisms developing among Shinran's followers and wished to compile a definitive statement of his master's beliefs. The title *Tannishō* means "Collection Inspired by Concern over Heresy." These words attributed to Shinran reveal above all his utter self-abasement and glorification of Amida.

[From *Shinshū Shōten*, pp. 1203-5, 1207, 1224-25]

Your aim in coming here, traveling at the risk of your lives through more than ten provinces, was simply to learn the way of rebirth in the Pure Land. Yet you would be mistaken if you thought I knew of some way to obtain rebirth other than by saying the Nembutsu, or if you thought I had some special knowledge of religious texts not open to others. Should this be your belief, it is better for you to go to Nara or Mt. Hiei, for there you will find many scholars learned in Buddhism and from them you can get detailed instruction in the essential means of obtaining rebirth in the Pure Land. As far as I, Shinran, am concerned, it is only because the

worthy Hōnen taught me so that I believe salvation comes from Amida by saying the Nembutsu. Whether the Nembutsu brings rebirth in the Pure Land or leads one to Hell, I myself have no way of knowing. But even if I had been misled by Hōnen and went to Hell for saying the Nembutsu, I would have no regrets. If I were capable of attaining Buddhahood on my own through the practice of some other discipline, and yet went down to Hell for saying the Nembutsu, then I might regret having been misled. But since I am incapable of practicing such disciplines, there can be no doubt that I would be doomed to Hell anyway.

If the Original Vow of Amida is true, the teaching of Shākyamuni cannot be false. If the teaching of the Buddha is true, Zendō's commentary on the *Meditation Sūtra* cannot be wrong. And if Zendō is right, what Hōnen says cannot be wrong. So if Hōnen is right, what I, Shinran, have to say may not be empty talk.

Such, in short, is my humble faith. Beyond this I can only say that, whether you are to accept this faith in the Nembutsu or reject it, the choice is for each of you to make. . . .

"If even a good man can be reborn in the Pure Land, how much more so a wicked man!"

People generally think, however, that if even a wicked man can be reborn in the Pure Land, how much more so a good man! This latter view may at first sight seem reasonable, but it is not in accord with the purpose of the Original Vow, with faith in the Power of Another. The reason for this is that he who, relying on his own power, undertakes to perform meritorious deeds, has no intention of relying on the Power of Another and is not the object of the Original Vow of Amida. Should he, however, abandon his reliance on his own power and put his trust in the Power of Another, he can be born in the True Land of Recompense. We who are caught in the net of our own passions cannot free ourselves from bondage to birth and death, no matter what kind of austerities or good deeds we try to perform. Seeing this and pitying our condition, Amida made his Vow with the intention of bringing wicked men to Buddhahood. Therefore the wicked man who depends on the Power of Another is the prime object of salvation. This is the reason why Shinran said, "If even a good man can be reborn in the Pure Land, how much more so a wicked man!" . . .

It is regrettable that among the followers of the Nembutsu there are

some who quarrel, saying "These are my disciples, those are not." There is no one whom I, Shinran, can call my own disciple. The reason is that, if a man by his own efforts persuaded others to say the Nembutsu, he might call them his disciples, but it is most presumptuous to call those "my disciples" who say the Nembutsu because they have been moved by the grace of Amida. If it is his karma to follow a teacher, a man will follow him; if it is his karma to forsake a teacher, a man will forsake him. It is quite wrong to say that the man who leaves one teacher to join another will not be saved by saying the Nembutsu. To claim as one's own and attempt to take back that faith which is truly the gift of Amida—such a view is wholly mistaken. In the normal course of things a person will spontaneously recognize both what he owes to the grace of Amida and what he owes to his teacher [without the latter having to assert any claims]. . . .

The Master was wont to say, "When I ponder over the Vow which Amida made after meditating for five kalpas, it seems as if the Vow were made for my salvation alone. How grateful I am to Amida, who thought to provide for the salvation of one so helplessly lost in sin!"

When I now reflect upon this saying of the Master, I find that it is fully in accordance with the golden words of Zendo. "We must realize that each of us is an ordinary mortal, immersed in sin and crime, subject to birth and death, ceaselessly migrating from all eternity and ever sinking deeper into Hell, without any means of delivering ourselves from it."

It was on this account that Shinran most graciously used himself as an example, in order to make us realize how lost every single one of us is and how we fail to appreciate our personal indebtedness to the grace of Amida. In truth, none of us mentions the great love of Amida, but we continually talk about what is good and what is bad. Shinran said, however, "Of good and evil I am totally ignorant. If I understood good as Buddha understands it, then I could say I knew what was good. If I understood evil as Buddha understands it, then I could say I knew what was bad. But I am an ordinary mortal, full of passion and desire, living in this transient world like the dweller in a house on fire. Every judgment of mine, whatever I say, is nonsense and gibberish. The Nembutsu alone is true."



CHAPTER XI

NICHIREN: THE SUN AND THE LOTUS

The story of Nichiren (1222-1282) is one, to use his own words, of "a son of the shūdras (lowest caste)" on the seacoast of Japan, who was destined to become "the pillar of Japan, the eye of the nation and the vessel of the country." Like most of the great religious leaders of that age, this son of a humble fisherman spent years in study and training at the great monastic center of Mt. Hiei. Unlike many others, however, he found new faith, not by turning away from the teachings of its Tendai founder, Saichō, but by turning back to them. In doing so he was forced to depart from Mt. Hiei itself, which had long since become a stronghold of Esoteric Buddhism, and to embark upon a preaching career of unceasing hardship, conflict, and persecution. But through it all he became ever more convinced of his mission to save his country and Buddhism.

For Nichiren the *Lotus Sūtra*, upon which the Tendai teaching had been based, is the key to everything. It is the final and supreme teaching of the Buddha Shākyamuni, revealing the one and only way of salvation. In this sūtra the three forms of the Buddha—his Universal or Law Body (Dharmakāya), Eternal Body or Body of Bliss (Sambhogakāya), and Transformation Body (Nirmānakāya)—are seen as one and inseparable. What the prevailing schools of Buddhism had done was to emphasize one form at the expense of the others. Esoteric Buddhism stressed the Universal Buddha, Vairocana or Dainichi; Amidism worshipped the Body of Bliss or Eternal Buddha, Amitābha. By thus dispensing with the historical Buddha, Shākyamuni (the Transformation Body), they committed the inexcusable crime of mutilating Buddha's perfect body. On the other hand Zen Buddhism and the Vinaya school, which was undergoing something of a revival at that time, ignored the universal and eternal aspect of the Buddha in favor of the historical or actual Buddha. The *Lotus*

Sūtra alone upholds the truth of the triune Buddha. And only in this trinity is the salvation of all assured.

So it is the name of the *Lotus Sūtra*, not the name of Amida Buddha, which should be on the lips of every Buddhist. "Namu myōhō renge-kyō" is the Buddha's pledge of salvation, which Nichiren often called out to the beat of a drum—"dondon dondoko dondon." Like Shinran, Nichiren was a man of no slight intelligence, and in his years of exile or enforced seclusion he devoted himself to an intensive study of scripture and doctrine; but this erudition only served to adorn a simple conviction, arrived at early in life and held to with single-minded devotion throughout his stormy career, that faith in the *Lotus of the Wonderful Law* was all one needed for salvation.

Unlike Shinran, Nichiren stressed the importance of one's own efforts and became ever more deeply convinced that he himself was destined to fulfill a unique mission in the world. A man of active temperament, who commanded attention because of his forceful and magnetic personality, Nichiren thought the *Lotus Sūtra* should be "read by the body" and not just with the eyes. To him among its most significant passages were those describing the saints destined to uphold and spread abroad the truths of the Lotus. One of these was the Bodhisattva of Superb Action,¹ who was to be a stalwart pioneer in propagating the Perfect Truth. Another was the Bodhisattva Ever-abused,² who suffered continual insults from others because he insisted on saluting everyone as a Buddha-to-be, convinced that every man was ultimately destined to be such. The Lotus' account of these two saints he regarded as prefiguring his own mission, and often he referred to himself as a reincarnation of them, especially of the Bodhisattva Superb Action. Nichiren also found special meaning in the vows taken by Buddha's disciples when His eternal aspect was revealed to them at the climax of the *Lotus Sūtra*. In these vows they took upon themselves to proclaim the Supreme Scripture in evil times, and promised to endure all the injury and abuse which was certain to descend on them. In this too Nichiren saw a prophecy of his own sufferings.

The immediate cause of his sufferings was Nichiren's unrelenting attack on the established sects and his outspoken criticism of Japan's rulers for patronizing these heretics. The repeated calamities suffered by the country at large and the threat of foreign invasion, which he hinted at ten years before the Mongol fleet appeared in Japanese waters, he regarded

¹ Vishishtachāritra (Viśiṣṭācāritra).

² Sadāparibhūta.

as the inevitable retribution for the false faith of the nation's leaders, ecclesiastical and political. Contrasted to this sad state of affairs was Nichiren's vision of Japan as the land in which the true teaching of the Buddha was to be revived and from which it was to spread throughout the world. The name Nichiren, which he adopted, symbolizes this exalted mission and his own key role in its fulfillment, for *nichi*, "the sun," represents both the Light of Truth and the Land of the Rising Sun, while *ren* stands for the Lotus.

To accomplish this aim Nichiren urged all his followers to imitate the bodhisattva ideal of perseverance and self-sacrifice. In an age of utter decadence, everyone must be a man of Superb Action, ready to give his life if necessary for the cause. Nichiren himself was sentenced to death for his bold censure of the Hōjō regency in Kamakura, and was saved only by miraculous intervention, according to his followers, when lightning struck the executioner's blade. Banished then to a lonely island in the Sea of Japan, Nichiren wrote, "Birds cry but shed no tears. Nichiren does not cry, but his tears are never dry." Ever after his narrow escape at the execution ground, Nichiren regarded himself as one who had risen from the dead, who had been reborn in the faith. "Tatsunokuchi is the place where Nichiren renounced his life. The place is therefore comparable to a paradise; because all has taken place for the sake of the Lotus of Truth. . . . Indeed every place where Nichiren encounters perils is Buddha's land."³ In this way Nichiren made of suffering a glorious thing, and set an example for his disciples which did more to confirm their faith in the Lotus than volumes of scripture.

At least three of Nichiren's adherents followed in his footsteps as Bodhisattvas of Superb Action. One was Nichiji (1250-?), who undertook foreign missionary work at the age of forty-six, going first to Ainuland in Hokkaido and thence it is said to Siberia, from which he never returned. A stone monument he erected in northern Japan testifies to his indefatigable zeal for spreading faith in the Lotus among the heathen of unknown lands. In his youth he had accompanied his master into exile off the Sea of Japan coast, opposite Siberia. Known as a master of prose and poetry, who wrote for Nichiren in the latter's old age, Nichiji might have settled down to a quiet life of study and writing, but chose instead a strenuous life exploring the unknown, with only his faith to sustain him.

³ M. Anesaki, *Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet*, pp. 58-59.

A later follower of Nichiren, named Nisshin (1407-1488), went to Kyushu at the other end of Japan and was made superintendent of the mission there. But he too was a Bodhisattva of Superb Action, and, dissatisfied with the easy life of a successful missionary, returned alone to Kyoto. In this stronghold of tradition and conservatism, Nisshin started out as a street-corner evangelist, calling out the name of the *Lotus Sūtra* to the beat of a drum, "dondon dondoko dondon." Openly he challenged the ruling shogun to suppress all other Buddhist sects and recognize the Lotus alone. When the shogun, who had quit the priesthood to become military dictator, was persuaded by his former clerical associates to command Nisshin to keep silent, the evangelist only beat his drum louder. Thrown into jail and tortured, he still would not yield to the shogun's order. Finally a brass pot was jammed down over his head so as to keep him from talking, and thus he became known as the "pot-wearer (*nabe-kaburi*)." Among the converts which he made through his almost superhuman endurance under such suffering were the Prime Minister Konoe, the master craftsman Hon-ami, and also the head of the eminent Kano school of painting.

Lastly there is Nichiō (1565-1630), who led a group of the Nichiren sect known as the *Fuju-fuse*—from their slogan: "Accept nothing [from nonbelievers] and give nothing." So uncompromising was he in regard to all other schools of Buddhism that when Hideyoshi, upon unifying the country, invited all sects to send delegates for a festival of celebration, Nichiō refused on the ground that the conqueror was not a follower of Nichiren. A repetition of this incident occurred when the next shogun, Ieyasu, had unified the country, but this time Nichiō's refusal of such an invitation led to his banishment for more than ten years. Thereafter the *Fuju-fuse* school was subjected to repeated persecutions by the Tokugawa Shogunate, and yet somehow it has managed to survive into the present, though limited in numbers.

NICHIREN

Dedication to the Lotus

[From Anesaki, *Nichiren*, pp. 46-47]

If you desire to attain Buddhahood immediately, lay down the banner of pride, cast away the club of resentment, and trust yourselves to the

unique Truth. Fame and profit are nothing more than vanity of this life; pride and obstinacy are simply fetters to the coming life. . . . When you fall into an abyss and some one has lowered a rope to pull you out, should you hesitate to grasp the rope because you doubt the power of the helper? Has not Buddha declared, "I alone am the protector and savior"? There is the power! Is it not taught that faith is the only entrance [to salvation]? There is the rope! One who hesitates to seize it, and will not utter the Sacred Truth, will never be able to climb the precipice of Bodhi (Enlightenment). . . . Our hearts ache and our sleeves are wet [with tears], until we see face to face the tender figure of the One, who says to us, "I am thy Father." At this thought our hearts beat, even as when we behold the brilliant clouds in the evening sky or the pale moonlight of the fast-falling night. . . . Should any season be passed without thinking of the compassionate promise, "Constantly I am thinking of you"? Should any month or day be spent without revering the teaching that there is none who cannot attain Buddhahood? . . . Devote yourself wholeheartedly to the "Adoration to the Lotus of the Perfect Truth," and utter it yourself as well as admonish others to do the same. Such is your task in this human life.

Condemnation of Hōnen

Nichiren's famous tract, "The Establishment of the Legitimate Teaching for the Security of the Country (*Rishō ankokū ron*)" brought his banishment from Kamakura after he had boldly presented it to the authorities. Writing in dialogue form, Nichiren denounced Japan's rulers for countenancing false teachings and prophesied grievous calamities for the nation, including foreign invasion, unless all other Buddhist sects were suppressed in favor of the Lotus. His sharpest attacks were directed at the worshippers of Amida, among whose number was a high official of the regime.

[From Lloyd, *The Creed of Half Japan*, pp. 315-18]

In the reign of Go-Toba (1183-1198) there was a monk of the name of Hōnen, who wrote a book called the *Senchakushū*, in which he abused the holy teachings of the age, and misled men by the thousands. Now this man, basing his arguments on a mistaken interpretation of Nāgārjuna's writings, in which he follows Dōshaku, Donran, and Zendō, his predecessors in heresy, divides Buddhism into two gates, the gate of Holy Practices, and the gate of Faith in the Pure Land, and advises all

men, in this age of decay, to embrace the latter. As to the other forms of Buddhism, and as to the other sūtras, including even the *Lotus* and the sūtras of the Shingon tradition, he uses four words to describe what should be our attitude towards them. "Give them up," he says, "close the books, lay them aside, fling them away." By means of this doctrine he has misled thousands of his followers, both lay and clerical.

Now, this teaching is in direct contradiction to one of Amida's Vows, as contained in the three *Pure Land Sūtras* in which alone he puts his trust. I mean the Vow that Amida takes to "clear away the five obstacles to the truth, and to remove the abuses of true Buddhism." It is in contradiction, likewise, to the teachings of the "whole life according to the five periods."¹ It can lead its author nowhere but to the lowest hell. We live in an age when saints are few; there are not many that can discern the dangerous nature of these teachings. Woe unto them! They do not smite the offender. Woe, woe! they acquiesce in the propagation of a false faith. From the princes and barons down to the common people, every one is now saying, that there are no Scriptures but the Three of the Pure Land, and no Buddha but the Triune Amida. . . .

As a consequence of his preaching, men refused to make contributions to temples that were not dedicated to Amida, and forgot to pay their tithes to priests who were not of the Nembutsu. Thus temples and halls have fallen into ruin, so that for a long time they have been uninhabitable, and many cloisters have fallen into disrepair, and are covered with rank vegetation on which the dew lies thick and undisturbed. But none heeded the ruin of the temples, none would repair or give support; and therefore the priests who lived there, and the deities who protected the people, have left the temples and refuse to return. For all this who is to blame but Hōnen and his *Senchaku*?

Woe, woe! During the last thirty or forty years, thousands of people have been enchanted and led astray, so that they wander in Buddhism as men without a guide. Is it not to be expected that the good deities should be angry when men depart from the truth? Is it not natural that evil spirits should make the most of their opportunities, when they see men forsake justice and love unrighteous deeds? It is better far to exert ourselves to stay an impending calamity than to repeat the vain Nembutsu.

¹ According to the Tendai school Shākyamuni's teaching career was divided into five periods, in terms of which the whole body of Buddhist scripture might be classified. [Ed.]

Warning of Foreign Invasion

Nichiren first predicted a foreign invasion in 1260. In 1268, upon the arrival of an envoy from the Mongols demanding tribute, Nichiren reiterated his warning to the authorities and wrote his followers:

[From Anesaki, *Nichiren*, p. 53]

In consequence of the arrival of the Mongol envoy, I have sent eleven letters to various officials and prelates. Prosecution will surely overtake Nichiren and his followers, and either exile or death will be the sentence. You must not be at all surprised. Strong remonstrances have intentionally been made, simply for the purpose of awakening the people. All is awaited by Nichiren with composure. Do not think of your wives and children and households; do not be fearful before the authorities! Make this your opportunity to sever the fetters of births and deaths, and to attain the fruit of Buddhahood!

Nichiren as a Prophet

[From Anesaki, *Nichiren*, p. 115]

The Lord Shākyā proclaimed to all celestial beings that when, in the fifth five hundred years after his death, all the truths of Buddhism should be shrouded in darkness, the Bodhisattva of Superb Action (*Vishisṭa-chāritra*) should be commissioned to save the most wicked of men who were degrading the truth, curing the hopeless lepers by the mysterious medicine of the Adoration of the Lotus of the Perfect Truth. Can this proclamation be a falsehood? If this promise be not vain, how can the rulers of the people of Japan remain in safety, who, being plunged in the whirlpool of strife and malice, have rebuked, reviled, struck, and banished the messenger of the Tathāgata and his followers commissioned by Buddha to propagate the Lotus of Truth?

When they hear me say this, people will say that it is a curse; yet, those who propagate the Lotus of Truth are indeed the parents of all men living in Japan. . . . I, Nichiren, am the master and lord of the sovereign, as well as of all the Buddhists of other schools. Notwithstanding this, the rulers and the people treat us thus maliciously. How should the sun and the moon bless them by giving them light? Why should the earth not refuse to let them abide upon it? . . . Therefore, also, the Mongols are

coming to chastise them. Even if all the soldiers from the five parts of India were called together, and the mountain of the Iron Wheel (Chakra-vāla) were fortified, how could they succeed in repelling the invasion? It is decreed that all the inhabitants of Japan shall suffer from the invaders. Whether this comes to pass or not will prove whether or not Nichiren is the real propagator of the Lotus of Truth.

A Challenge to Hachiman

After he was condemned at Kamakura a second time, Nichiren was forced to ride through the streets bareback to his appointed place of execution. When the procession passed the shrine of Hachiman, Shinto deity regarded as the protector of the nation and also as a Bodhisattva, Nichiren stopped and called upon the god to save him.

[Adapted from Satomi, *Japanese Civilization*, pp. 150-51]

Oh, Hachiman! Art Thou in truth a Divine Being? . . . When the Great Master Dengyō preached on the *Lotus Sūtra*, didst Thou not do homage to him by laying at his feet a gown of purple color? I now say unto Thee that I am the Only One whose life is the *Lotus Sūtra*. There is no fault in me whatsoever; I am proclaiming the Truth, for the sole purpose of saving the people who dwell in the land from sinking into the deepest of Hells on account of degrading the Lotus. If it came to pass that this land were subjugated by the Mongols, wouldst Thou, O Hachiman, alone with the Sun Goddess be in safety? Let me now say unto Thee that when our Lord Shākyamuni preached the Lotus, all the Buddhas gathered together from ten quarters, like unto a sun and a sun, a moon and a moon, stars and stars, mirrors and mirrors, and were ranged face to face with one another; and with hosts of heaven within their midst, deities and saints of India, China, Japan, etc., present in the congregation, all of them vowed to watch over those who should labor to perpetuate the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Now shouldst Thou come hither and fulfill what Thou hast sworn. Why then comest Thou not to fulfill Thy Promise! When, I, Nichiren, this night shall have been beheaded and shall have passed away to the Paradise of Vulture Peak, I shall declare unto Our Lord Shākyamuni that Thou, Hachiman, and the Sun Goddess have not fulfilled the vows. Therefore, if Thou fearest, tarry not, but do Thy duty!

The Value of Suffering[From Anesaki, *Nichiren*, p. 74]

That Nichiren suffers so much is not without remote causes. As is explained in the chapter on the Bodhisattva Ever-abused (*Sadāparibhūta*), all abuses and persecutions heaped upon the bodhisattva were the results of his previous karma. How much more, then, should this be the case with Nichiren, a man born in the family of an outcast fisherman, so lowly and degraded and poor! Although in his soul he cherishes something of the faith in the Lotus of Truth, the body is nothing but a common human body, sharing beastlike life, nothing but a combination of the two fluids, pink and white, the products of flesh and fish. Therein the soul finds its abode, something like the moon reflected in a muddy pool, like gold wrapped up in a dirty bag. Since the soul cherishes faith in the Lotus of Truth, there is no fear even before [the highest deities, such as] *Brahmā* and *Indra*; yet the body is an animal body. Not without reason others show contempt for this man, because there is a great contrast between the soul and the body. And even this soul is full of stains, being the pure moonlight only in contrast to the muddy water; gold, in contrast to the dirty bag.

Who, indeed, fully knows the sins accumulated in his previous lives? . . . The accumulated karma is unfathomable. Is it not by forging and refining that the rough iron bar is tempered into a sharp sword? Are not rebukes and persecutions really the process of refining and tempering? I am now in exile, without any assignable fault; yet this may mean the process of refining, in this life, the accumulated sins [of former lives], and being thus delivered from the three woeful resorts. . . .

The world is full of men who degrade the Lotus of Truth, and such rule this country now. But have I, Nichiren, not also been one of them? Is that not due to the sins accumulated by deserting the Truth? Now, when the intoxication is over, I stand here something like a drunken man who having, while intoxicated, struck his parents, after coming to himself, repents of the offense. The sin is hardly to be expiated at once. . . . Had not the rulers and the people persecuted men, how could I have expiated the sins accumulated by degrading the Truth?

Nichiren as the Bodhisattva of Superb Action[From Anesaki, *Nichiren*, pp. 83-85]

I, Nichiren, a man born in the ages of the Latter Law, have nearly achieved the task of pioneership in propagating the Perfect Truth, the task assigned to the Bodhisattva of Superb Action (*Vishishtachāritra*). The eternal Buddhahood of Shākyamuni, as he revealed himself in the chapter on Life-duration, in accordance with his primeval entity; the Buddha Prabhūtaratna, who appeared in the Heavenly Shrine, in the chapter on its appearance, and who represents Buddhahood in the manifestation of its efficacy; the Saints [bodhisattvas] who sprang out of the earth, as made known in the chapter on the Issuing out of Earth—in revealing all these three, I have done the work of the pioneer [among those who perpetuate the Truth]; too high an honor, indeed, for me, a common mortal! . . .

I, Nichiren, am the one who takes the lead of the Saints-out-of-Earth. Then may I not be one of them? If I, Nichiren, am one of them, why may not all my disciples and followers be their kinsmen? The Scripture says, "If one preaches to anybody the Lotus of Truth, even just one clause of it, he is, know ye, the messenger of the Tathāgata, the one commissioned by the Tathāgata, and the one who does the work of the Tathāgata." How, then, can I be anybody else than this one? . . .

By all means, awaken faith by seizing this opportunity! Live your life through as the one who embodies the Truth, and go on without hesitation as a kinsman of Nichiren! If you are one in faith with Nichiren, you are one of the Saints-out-of-Earth; if you are destined to be such, how can you doubt that you are the disciple of the Lord Shākyamuni from all eternity? There is assurance of this in a word of Buddha, which says: "I have always, from eternity, been instructing and quickening all these beings." No attention should be paid to the difference between men and women among those who would propagate the Lotus of the Perfect Truth in the days of the Latter Law. To utter the Sacred Title is, indeed, the privilege of the Saints-out-of-Earth. . . .

When the Buddha Prabhūtaratna sat in the Heavenly Shrine side by side with the Tathāgata Shākyamuni, the two Buddhas lifted up the banner of the Lotus of the Perfect Truth, and declared themselves to be the Commanders [in the coming fight against vice and illusion]. How

can this be a deception? Indeed, they have thereby agreed to raise us mortal beings, to the rank of Buddha. I, Nichiren, was not present there in the congregation, and yet there is no reason to doubt the statements of the Scripture. Or, is it possible that I was there? Common mortal that I am, I am not well aware of the past, yet in the present I am unmistakably the one who is realizing the Lotus of Truth. Then in the future I am surely destined to participate in the communion of the Holy Place. Inferring the past from the present and the future, I should think that I must have been present at the Communion in the Sky. [The present assures the future destiny, and the future destiny is inconceivable without its cause in the past.] The present, future, and past cannot be isolated from one another. . . .

In this document, the truths most precious to me are written down. Read, and read again; read into the letters and fix them into your mind! Thus put faith in the Supreme Being, represented in a way unique in the whole world! Ever more strongly I advise you to be firm in faith, and to be under the protection of the threefold Buddhahood. March strenuously on in the ways of practice and learning! Without practice and learning the Buddhist religion is nullified. Train yourself, and also instruct others! Be convinced that practice and learning are fruits of faith! So long as, and so far as, there is power in you, preach, if it be only a phrase or a word [of the Scripture]! *Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō! Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō!* [Adoration to the Lotus of Perfect Truth].

His Destiny to Convert Japan

[From Anesaki, *Nichiren*, p. 119-20]

So far as, and so much as, my—Nichiren's—compassion is vast and comprehensive, the Adoration of the Lotus of the Perfect Truth shall prevail beyond the coming ages of ten thousand years, nay, eternally in the future. This is the merit I have achieved, which is destined to open the blind eyes of all beings in Japan [the world], and to shut off the ways to the nethermost avichi hell. These merits surpass those of Dengyō and Tendai, and are far beyond those of Nāgārjuna and Kāshyapa. Is it not true that one hundred years' training in a heavenly paradise does not compare with one day's work in the earthly world, and that all service done to the Truth during the two thousand years of the ages of the Perfect Law and

the Copied Law is inferior to that done in one span of time in the age of the Latter Law? ¹ All these differences are due, not to Nichiren's own wisdom, but to the virtues inherent in the times. Flowers bloom in spring, and fruits are ripe in autumn; it is hot in summer, and cold in winter. Is it not time that makes these differences? Buddha announced, "This Truth shall be proclaimed and perpetuated in the whole Jambudvīpa [world], in the fifth five hundred years after my death; and it will avail to save all kinds of devils and demons, celestial beings, and serpent tribes," etc. If this prediction should not be fulfilled, all other prophecies and assurances will prove false, the Lord Shākyamuni will fall to the avīchi hell, the Buddha Prabhūtaratna will be burned in the infernal fires, while all other Buddhas in the ten quarters will transfer their abodes to the eight great hells, and all bodhisattvas will suffer from pains, one hundred and thirty-six in kind. How should all this be possible? If it is not, the whole of Japan [the world] will surely be converted to the Adoration of the Lotus of the Perfect Truth.

Japan as the Center of Buddhism's Regeneration

[From Anesaki, *Nichiren*, p. 110]

When, at a certain future time, the union of the state law and the Buddhist Truth shall be established, and the harmony between the two completed, both sovereign and subjects will faithfully adhere to the Great Mysteries. Then the golden age, such as were the ages under the reign of the sage kings of old, will be realized in these days of degeneration and corruption, in the time of the Latter Law. Then the establishment of the Holy See will be completed, by imperial grant and the edict of the Dictator, at a spot comparable in its excellence with the Paradise of Vulture Peak. We have only to wait for the coming of the time. Then the moral law (*kaihō*) will be achieved in the actual life of mankind. The Holy See will then be the seat where all men of the three countries [India, China, and Japan] and the whole Jambudvīpa [world] will be initiated into the mysteries of confession and expiation; and even the great deities, Brahmā and Indra, will come down into the sanctuary and participate in the initiation.

¹ That is, the present degenerate times, in which Buddha's teaching has almost been lost.

Nichiren's Transfiguration (While Living in Retirement)

[From Anesaki, *Nichiren*, p. 129]

This spot among the mountains is secluded from the worldly life, and there is no human habitation in the neighborhood—east, west, north, or south. I am now living in such a lonely hermitage; but in my bosom, in Nichiren's fleshly body, is secretly deposited the great mystery which the Lord Shākyamuni revealed on Vulture Peak, and has entrusted to me. Therefore I know that my breast is the place where all Buddhas are immersed in contemplation; that they turn the Wheel of Truth upon my tongue; that my throat is giving birth to them; and that they are attaining the Supreme Enlightenment in my mouth. This place is the abode of such a man, who is mysteriously realizing the Lotus of Truth in his life; surely such a place is no less dignified than the Paradise of Vulture Peak. As the Truth is noble, so is the man who embodies it; as the man is noble, so is the place where he resides. We read in the chapter on the "Mysterious Power of the Tathāgata" as follows:

"Be it a forest, or at the foot of a tree, or in a monastery . . . on that spot erect a stūpa dedicated to the Tathāgata. For such a spot is to be regarded as the place where all Tathāgatas have arrived at the Supreme Perfect Enlightenment; on that spot all Tathāgatas have turned the Wheel of Truth, on that spot all Tathāgatas have entered the Great Decease." Lo, whoever comes to this place will be purged of all sins and depravities which he has accumulated from eternity, and all his evil deeds will at once be transformed into merits and virtues.



CHAPTER XII

ZEN BUDDHISM

To bring salvation within the reach of ordinary men—this was the common aim of the Buddhist sects which spread abroad in medieval Japan. Yet to achieve this same end, and to guide men through the uncertainties, turmoil and suffering of that difficult age, these new movements sometimes employed quite different means. The Pure Land and Nichiren sects, as we know, stressed the need for complete faith in something beyond oneself: the saving power of Amida or of the *Lotus Sūtra*. To find rest and security, they said, man had to turn from himself and this world to the Other World. By contrast Zen Buddhism, which first rose to prominence in these same times, firmly opposed the idea that Buddhahood is something to be sought outside oneself or in another world. Every man has a Buddha-nature, and to realize it he need only look within. Self-understanding and self-reliance are the keynote of Zen.

The means by which this inner realization may be achieved is indicated by the term Zen, meaning "meditation" or "concentration." To speak of it as a "means," however, is appropriate only with reference to the specific procedure involved in the practice of meditation: sitting erect, cross-legged and motionless, with the mind concentrated so as to achieve, first, tranquility, and then active insight. But in the light of this insight the method and realization are seen to be one; no "means" is employed, no "end" is attained.

Meditative practices of this sort were an essential feature of Buddhism from the earliest times and are related to the yogic practices of ancient India. The founder of Buddhism himself retired into the solitude of nature where, sitting silently in restful but intent contemplation, he realized the Truth which was later to be taught throughout East Asia. In both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna the specific type of meditation known as dhyāna was an integral part of Buddhist discipline, and, while more fully developed in some schools such as the idealistic Yogāchāra, remained the common property of all. It was in China that the practice of dhyāna

became the basis of a separate school of Buddhism for the first time. There, as a protest against the prevailing scholasticism of North China, with its attention to scripture and philosophical discussion, a movement developed which became especially strong in the South, stressing intuitive enlightenment and the rejection of all scriptural or ecclesiastical authority. At its inception this movement was associated, significantly enough, with the monastic centers of the Vinaya school devoted to the precise performance of religious disciplines, of which the dhyāna meditation was one. While the emphasis upon strict discipline remained characteristic of those who attached the highest value to this particular form of meditation, their independence of mind and rejection of all external authority led eventually to the establishment of a separate school of Buddhism known as Ch'an, the Chinese equivalent of dhyāna. That such a distinctive school should have sprung up on Chinese soil, characterized by the same quietistic, individualistic and iconoclastic tendencies as early Taoism, is suggestive of the manner in which this alien religion underwent a striking transformation in the Chinese environment. But how much this is to be understood as an adaptation to Chinese tastes of something already implicit in Indian Buddhism, or how much it represents a dressing up of essentially Taoist attitudes in Buddhist guise, is a question which it is difficult to settle on the basis of historical evidence.

While we have spoken of Ch'an Buddhism as a separate school or teaching, organizationally it was not one school but many, each assembled around the person of an individual master and claiming an authoritative patriarchal transmission of vital truth from the first teacher, Buddha. According to a widespread tradition this transmission was inaugurated by the Buddha at Vulture Peak when Brahmā offered him a flower and requested him to preach the Law. Buddha took the flower and turned it in his fingers, but said nothing. Everyone in the assemblage was mystified except the wise Kāshyapa who smiled in acknowledgment of the Buddha's sign-teaching and was thereupon entrusted with the handing down of this truth to posterity. Thus the transmission went on from generation to generation without verbal preaching or written scripture, but with cryptic signs as the only overt form of communication from one patriarch to another. According to tradition, the thirty-eighth patriarch in this succession, Bodhidharma, carried this teaching to China.

The supposed meeting between Bodhidharma and Emperor Wu of the

Liang dynasty in A.D. 520 is one of the most celebrated stories in Zen tradition. The Emperor said to the monk, "Since my enthronement I have built many monasteries, had many scriptures copied and had many monks and nuns invested. How great is the merit thus achieved?" "No merit at all," was Bodhidharma's answer. The Emperor then asked, "What is the Noble Truth in its highest sense?" "It is empty, no nobility whatever." "Who is it then that is facing me?" "I do not know, Sire."¹ The Emperor, as might be expected, could make nothing of this. Bodhidharma went away and later spent nine years sitting in meditation, facing a cliff in silence. In this pose, Daruma, as he is known to the Japanese, has been a favorite subject of Buddhist painting and sculpture. The patriarchal succession eventually passed to a resolute man in search of truth named Hui-k'o, who got no reply when he first asked Bodhidharma for instruction. To show his determination to win the Truth at any cost, Hui-k'o, standing in the snow, cut off his left arm. Thereupon Bodhidharma accepted him as a disciple and later gave him a robe and bowl as a sign of the patriarchal transmission.

The historicity of such accounts is a question of little importance; their value lies in the striking way these episodes suggest the character of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism: its rejection of all temporal or scriptural authority, its refusal to commit itself to words, its independence of the world, and its emphasis upon moral character rather than intellectual attainments. Perhaps most significant of all is the focusing of attention upon the individual Ch'an master as the living embodiment of Truth. This characteristic of Ch'an Buddhism proved to be a great source of strength through the years. Since it depended less on the maintenance of any physical establishment or ecclesiastical organization, such as monasteries and temples, than it did on the commanding personality of its masters, Ch'an was in a better position to withstand the great religious persecutions of A.D. 841-846 than most other sects in China. Its propagation required only teachers and students, and these were not lacking even after the closing up of monasteries and dissolution of religious communities. Thus, by the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Ch'an was virtually all that remained of Buddhism in China and it had a very deep influence on many aspects of the brilliant Sung culture, especially in art, poetry, and philosophy.

¹ Adapted from Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 159.

The Sung is also known as a period of remarkable activity in overseas trade, which at least for a time was conducted largely under private auspices, rather than as a government monopoly. Here too Ch'an played an important role, for its resourceful and adventurous adherents took part in commercial enterprises, and their temples along the southeast coast of China served as hostels for merchants and distribution centers for foreign goods. Ch'an missionaries often accompanied trading missions to Japan. It is understandable, then, why Ch'an Buddhism should have deeply implanted itself on Japanese soil at this time, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Actually Ch'an, or Zen, had been introduced to Japan several times in earlier centuries with court sponsorship, both as a special meditative discipline adopted by men of other sects (Saichō was one of these) and as a separate, exclusive teaching. None of these earlier attempts was lasting, however, and it remained for two great Japanese pioneers of Zen to establish this teaching firmly on native ground. These pioneers were Eisai (1141-1215) and Dōgen (1200-1253). We have already seen that the history of Zen centers upon the personality of its great masters, and that anecdotes from the lives of these masters were a favorite means of conveying the essential teachings of Zen. In the case of Chinese Zen the anecdotes preserved to us deal mostly with the experience of achieving enlightenment and the act of transmission from one patriarch to another. But Zen is much more than a single "enlightenment-experience"; it is a whole way of life. And we are fortunate that in the biographies of these two Zen pioneers we have a much fuller account of their activities, providing us with the important links between Zen as they saw it, Zen as they lived it, and Zen as it had an impact on many aspects of Japanese life and culture.

ZEN PIONEERS IN JAPAN

The first pioneer, Eisai, started his religious life in the center of Esoteric Buddhism, Mt. Hiei, but became determined that he should pursue his studies further in China and if possible make the long journey to India, homeland of Buddhism. He never achieved the latter ambition, but did visit China twice at a time when regular communication with the main-

land had long since ceased and when only the most enterprising embarked on such a venture. In twelfth-century China Eisai found Zen to be the only form of Buddhism still flourishing, and after studying at the Zen center of T'ien-t'ung shan, returned to Japan in 1191 as a full-fledged Zen master of the Rinzai (in Chinese, *Lin-ch'i*) School. On his return Eisai brought with him something else which had newly won favor among the Chinese: tea. Back in Kyoto he set about urging the adoption of both Zen and tea by the Japanese, but soon encountered opposition to his new teaching from the traditional strongholds of Esoteric Buddhism in and around the capital. Resourceful and adaptable, in keeping with the spirit of Zen itself, Eisai escaped from the hostile atmosphere of Kyoto and moved on to the new center of political power in the northeast, Kamakura. Here in the seat of military government Eisai's teachings won great favor among the hardy and adventurous warriors who found Zen particularly congenial to their way of life. With support from the Hōjō regents, and with the patronage of the third ruling shogun as well as of the widow of the first, Eisai established a new center for the study of Zen and inaugurated what was to become a historic *rapprochement* between this sect and the military warlords of Japan. Nevertheless when Eisai returned to preach in Kyoto during his last years, he was forced to compromise with the established order. He was free to propagate Zen only on condition that other Buddhist disciplines, as represented by Tendai and Shingon practices, be accorded a place in his teaching. Thus it is characteristic of Eisai's pioneer work that, by allying himself with the new political order and compromising with the established religions, he did much to legitimize Zen in Japan.

If Eisai was in this way a personification of the virtue of adaptability, which is a notable feature of Zen, his successor Dōgen equally personified the opposite virtue in Zen: rugged determination and uncompromising independence. High born, with an emperor as an ancestor on his father's side and a Fujiwara prime minister on his mother's, Dōgen had the advantage of an excellent education in Chinese studies and showed such promise as a youth that the Fujiwara regents wished to adopt him into their own family and groom him for the prime ministership. Dōgen, however, rejected this opportunity for worldly advancement in order to take up a religious life, which was to prove for him far more difficult. At the historic centers of Buddhist monasticism, Mt. Hiei and Miidera near

Lake Biwa, Dōgen was disappointed to find no true refuge from worldly life and only an academic or ritualistic interest in the Buddhist ideal. "It is taught that 'we are all born Buddhas,' but I have been unable to find among the inmates [of Mt. Hiei] a single person who looks like a Buddha," he complained. "It seems that a collection of Scriptures is worth nothing unless someone puts it to real use."

From Mt. Hiei Dōgen went to see Eisai, who died soon thereafter. Even when he undertook to follow in Eisai's footsteps to China, his quest seemed doomed to failure. At T'ien-t'ung monastery, where Eisai had studied, Dōgen's hunger for the truth was still unsatisfied after a stay of two years. He went on from one monastery to another, not drifting aimlessly but pursuing a relentless search for a true Master, a living Buddha. His disappointment was only heightened by the ease with which he himself won acceptance from some so-called "masters" who indicated their readiness to confer master's papers upon him in return for a gift of money. Worldliness and commercialism had infiltrated even the sanctuaries of the Buddha.

At last, when Dōgen was about to return home in despair, a new master, Ju-ching, came to preside over the T'ien-t'ung monastery. One night Ju-ching was explaining to the monks that the practice of Zen meant "dropping off both body and mind [transcending the dualism of matter and spirit]," and Dōgen was suddenly enlightened. Afterward he went to the master's room and started to burn incense, a sign that one has achieved enlightenment and acknowledges the Buddhahood of his master. "What has happened," Ju-ching asked, "that you should be burning incense?" Dōgen replied, "Both body and mind are dropped." "Both body and mind are dropped," Ju-ching repeated. "You have really dropped both body and mind!" Dōgen was not exactly pleased that his own claim should be accepted so readily, however. "That is rather a little thing to achieve," he countered. "Please don't set your seal on me so easily." "No, I am not setting my seal on you so easily," his teacher assured him. But Dōgen pressed on, almost as if he were the examiner and Ju-ching the disciple. "What do you mean by not setting your seal so easily?" "I mean that you really have dropped both body and mind," reaffirmed Ju-ching. At this Dōgen finally bowed in homage, acknowledging Ju-ching's acceptance of him. "That's dropping off the dropping," said Ju-ching.

Dōgen continued to show his independence after returning to Japan. In Kyoto and nearby Uji he refused to teach anything but Zen, and when put under pressure to change his ways, preferred to move on to the remote province of Echizen rather than give in to the established order. There is a legend, without historical basis but suggestive of Dōgen's reputation for independence, which tells of his visiting Kamakura to urge the Hōjō regent, Tokiyori, to restore ruling power to the emperor in Kyoto. Obtaining no satisfaction from Tokiyori, Dōgen quit Kamakura in disgust rather than serve in Eisai's role as adviser to an illegitimate ruler. Nevertheless, Tokiyori was much impressed by Dōgen's strength of character, and sent one of the latter's pupils to him bearing a grant of land for his temple. At this Dōgen was so incensed that he not only sent his pupil away, but, in a manner reminiscent of Taoist sages in China who refused the throne, ordered that the chair the monk had sat in be destroyed, the ground under the chair dug three feet deep and the earth thrown away.

Still, for all of his independence and intransigence, Dōgen's attitude toward traditional Buddhism was notably softer than most of his Zen predecessors in China. The danger of intellectualism and of reliance upon the written word had stirred up controversy among Zen schools on the continent, with some taking the extreme view that the patriarchal man-to-man transmission alone was authentic and that the scriptural transmission was not true Buddhism. Dōgen sided with those who upheld the essential unity of the two forms of teaching. The study of scripture was not to be condemned, except where it led to the sūtras gaining mastery over the student rather than the student gaining mastery over the sūtras. "Stay on top of the Lotus; don't let it get on top of you." Far from being a passive receptacle for the written word, Dōgen himself devoted much of his life to writing and achieved a remarkable literary output. Believing in the fundamental unity of the various schools, in his writings he sought less to establish the correctness of Zen than to assert the fundamental truths of Buddhism. The "Zen" label he had little use for; it was the teaching of the Buddha, "Buddhism," with which he identified himself. Accordingly he was drawn more and more to the Indian, especially the Hīnayāna sources, of this teaching than to the Chinese. In the personal example of the Founder he found the simplest and best method of achieving enlightenment. Shākyamuni's way of sitting in meditation

under the Tree of Enlightenment was the "proven" or "tested" method of realizing the Truth. Yet sitting in meditation with the object of achieving enlightenment is too selfish an approach; Buddhahood cannot be sought after or obtained for oneself, but only for its own sake. Dōgen quoted an earlier master of his school who said, "If you want to obtain a certain thing, you must first be a certain man. Once you have become a certain man, obtaining that certain thing won't be a concern of yours any more."

In this respect Dōgen took issue with the Rinzai school of Zen, which Eisai had introduced to Japan. Rinzai had developed a special technique and discipline, the *kōan*, leading to the sudden attainment of enlightenment. The *kōan* was a theme upon which the student might focus his mind, consisting of a problem or dilemma together with the resolution of it worked out by some earlier master. Since the solution was beyond the reach of ordinary logical processes, few students could comprehend it without spending days and weeks in intent absorption with the *kōan*. Then all at once realization took place, induced perhaps by some accidental occurrence—a sound or sight—impinging upon the consciousness of the individual, or else by some deliberate act of the master—a shout or blow on the head—intended to startle and awaken the mind of the disciple. This sudden intuition or realization is what D. T. Suzuki, the best-known interpreter of Zen to the West in recent times, has called "Enlightenment-experience."

From the point of view of Dōgen, and of the Sōtō (Chinese *Ts'ao-tung*) school of Zen which he introduced to Japan,² this preoccupation with the momentary experience of enlightenment and the deliberate use of the *kōan* formula to achieve it, was directed too much toward "obtaining a certain thing" and might be too self-assertive. It also placed too great stress on mental perception, realization through the mind alone rather than through all of the faculties and activities of the "whole man." Therefore Dōgen minimized the value of the *kōan* and stressed instead the importance of "sitting in meditation" (*zazen*) without any thought of acquisition or attainment, without any specific problem in mind. Through such a discipline, bodily as well as mental, moral as well as intellectual,

² Dōgen himself emphatically repudiated any sectarian allegiance, but his later followers identified him with this school because he was most sympathetic to and influenced by the teachings of Sōtō masters. As a school Sōtō became far more influential in Japan than it ever was in China.

a gradual and life-long realization took place rather than a sudden awakening.

From the Rinzai point of view the defect of this method was its emphasis upon stillness in meditation, which led to empty passivity on the part of the individual rather than to the active, dynamic self-introspection stimulated by the *kōan*. Yet on Dōgen's part, at least, there was no lack of dynamism, the difference being that for him it was applied to the conduct of life rather than to the achievement of a particular experience. In this again he reflected the strongly ethical character of the Sōtō school in China. Just as the practice of sitting is not just a means to an end, but the realization of Buddhahood itself, so Buddhahood is realized constantly in life by selfless action and strenuous effort, with no thought of achieving an end apart from the means. Man's only possession is time, and this is his only insofar as he uses it creatively, because Buddhahood is not a static thing to be achieved once but something that grows with each effort. Thus life is a work of art and Zen is the flowering of life—the discipline of creative labor.

In another section we shall discuss the ways in which the creative powers of Zen were brought to bear upon some of the humblest activities of men and the lowliest objects of nature to raise them to the level of great art, and thereby to permeate the Japanese way of life to its core. Among the Zen masters responsible for this, however, was one who also had such outstanding success in the political sphere as to be worthy of mention here. He is Musō Soseki (1275-1351), who came to be known as Musō Kokushi, or "Musō the National Master." In his time there were already several full-fledged Zen masters in Japan, both native and Chinese domiciled in Japan. Yet, like Dōgen, Musō found his way to Zen with difficulty. Leaving his teachers, he wandered all over Japan to seek a revelation of Truth in its mountain fastnesses and forests, by its lakesides and seashores. Finally, spending the night deep in a lonely wood, he found his answer in the sight of embers catching fire again. Thereafter Musō served as an adviser to several rulers in succession at a time when political power was changing hands with startling rapidity. First the Hōjō regents invited him to preside over a monastery in Kamakura. Then Go-Daigo, attempting to reassert imperial rule in Kyoto, enlisted Musō's services and at his suggestion in 1325 sent the first official mission to China in almost five centuries, opening a new era in foreign commerce and diplo-

macy. Finally the new shogun, Ashikaga Takauji, after disposing of Go-Daigo, asked Musō to serve as his spiritual mentor and seems to have experienced a deep religious conversion under Musō's influence. Takauji built for him the famous monastery of Tenryū-ji, and when in 1339 the shogun also sent a mission to China, almost certainly at Musō's urging, it sailed in a ship bearing the name of this temple. Musō also inspired Takauji to erect a temple and pagoda in each province, reviving the idea of a state-established Buddhist church first instituted by the Emperor Shōmu in the seventh century, as a means both of propagating Buddhist teaching and of creating good will among the people toward the Ashikaga regime.

Thus, as the recognized "National Master of Seven Reigns," a title awarded him three times during his life and four after death, Musō did much to gain for Zen a favored position at court and to solidify the alliance initiated by Eisai between it and Japan's military rulers. With such advantages, even though it failed to win converts in such great numbers as the Pure Land and Nichiren sects did among the more humble folk, Zen was nevertheless able to make its influence felt among the political, intellectual, and artistic leaders of medieval times and thus to shape to a remarkable extent the cultural traditions deriving from this period.

EISAI

PROPAGATION OF ZEN FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE COUNTRY

(Preface to *Kōzen gokoku ron*)

In this tract Eisai attempted to win for Zen a legitimate place in the religious life of the nation, arguing that this teaching was conducive to the general welfare and national security, and defending it against the charge of the established sects that it was negativistic and obscurantist. The title indicates that political and nationalistic considerations loomed large in Eisai's mind, just as they had with Saichō centuries before when winning for Tendai the patronage of the imperial house against opposition from the older Nara sects. Ironically Eisai's chief adversaries at the Kyoto court were the monks of Mt. Hiei monastery, which Saichō had founded. For this reason Eisai stresses Saichō's reputed part in the introduction of Zen meditative practices earlier, as well as the legitimate succession of Zen patriarchs from Shākyamuni Buddha,

scriptural authorities for the teaching, the endorsement of it by leading Buddhists of the past—in short, all the necessary points for rendering it socially acceptable in the orthodox world. Eisai's preface gives a brief summary of his position.

[From *Taishō daizōkyō*, Vol. 80, Zoku shoshūbu, p. 2]

Great is Mind. Heaven's height is immeasurable, but Mind goes beyond heaven; the earth's depth is also unfathomable, but Mind reaches below the earth. The light of the sun and moon cannot be outdistanced, yet Mind passes beyond the light of sun and moon. The macrocosm is limitless, yet Mind travels outside the macrocosm. How great is Space! How great the Primal Energy! Still Mind encompasses Space and generates the Primal Energy. Because of it heaven covers and earth upbears. Because of it the sun and moon move on, the four seasons pass in succession, and all things are generated. Great indeed is Mind! Of necessity we give such a name to it, yet there are many others: the Highest Vehicle, the First Principle, the Truth of Inner Wisdom, the One Reality, the Peerless Bodhi, the Way to Enlightenment as taught in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, the Treasury of the Vision of Truth, and Insight of Nirvāṇa. All texts in the Three Vehicles of Buddhism¹ and in the eight treasures of Scripture, as well as all the doctrines of the four schools and five denominations of Zen are contained in it. Shākyā, the greatest of all teachers, transmitted this truth of the Mind to the golden-haired monk [Kāshyapa], calling it a special transmission not contained in the scriptures. From the Vulture Peak it moved to Cockleg Cave, where it was greeted with a smile.² Thus with the mere twist of a flower a thousand trees were made to bloom; from one fountainhead sprang ten thousand streams of Truth.

As in India, so in China this teaching has attracted followers and disciples in great numbers. It propagates the Truth as the ancient Buddha did, with the robe of authentic transmission passing from one man to the next. In the matter of religious discipline, it practices the genuine method of the sages of old. Thus the Truth it teaches, both in substance and appearance, perfects the relationship of master and disciple. In its rules of action and discipline, there is no confusion of right and wrong.

¹ Hinayāna, Quasi-Mahāyāna, and True Mahāyāna.

² When the Hindu god Brahmā came to Shākyamuni Buddha at the Vulture Peak offering him a flower and requesting him to teach the Law, Buddha took the flower and turned it in his fingers without saying a word. Everyone in the assemblage was mystified, but at the nearby Cockleg Cave the disciple Kāshyapa smiled in joyful recognition. Buddha thereupon entrusted to Kāshyapa the secret transmission of the Law, which was later passed on to others by similar "mind-signs."

After the Great Master [Bodhidharma] sailed by way of the South Seas and planted his staff of Truth on the banks of East River in China, the vision of the Law soon made its appearance in Korea and the Ox-head School of Zen from North China made its way to Japan. Studying it, one discovers the key to all forms of Buddhism; practicing it, one's life is brought to fulfillment in the attainment of enlightenment. Outwardly it favors discipline over doctrine, inwardly it brings the Highest Inner Wisdom. This is what the Zen sect stands for.

In our country the Divine Sovereign shines in splendor and the influence of his virtuous wisdom spreads far and wide. Emissaries from the distant lands of South and Central Asia pay their respects to his court. Lay ministers conduct the affairs of government; priests and monks spread abroad religious truth. Even the truths of the Four Hindu Vedas are not neglected. Why then reject the five schools of Zen Buddhism?

There are, however, some persons who malign this teaching, calling it "the Zen of dark enlightenment." There are also those who question it on the ground that it is "utter Nihilism." Still others consider it ill-suited to these degenerate times, or say that it is not what our country needs. Or else they may express contempt for our mendicant ways and our alleged lack of documentary support for our views. Finally there are some who have such a low opinion of their own capabilities that they look upon Zen as far beyond their power to promote. Out of their zeal for upholding the Law, these people are actually suppressing the treasures of the Law. They denounce us without knowing what we have in mind. Not only are they thus blocking the way to the gate of Zen, but they are also ruining the work of our great forebear at Mt. Hiei [Saichō]. Alas, alas, how sad, how distressing!

It is for this reason that I venture to make a general survey of the Three Vehicles for consideration of philosophers today, and to record the essential teachings of our sect for the benefit of posterity. The work is in three chapters consisting of ten sections, and is entitled *The Propagation of Zen for the Protection of the Country*.

DRINK TEA AND PROLONG LIFE

(From the *Kissa yōjō* 喫茶)

Though Zen is a meditative school of Buddhism, far from encouraging passivity it attaches the highest value to action. There is nothing incongruous,

therefore, in the fact that its leading exponents led a very active life and devoted themselves to practical enterprises such as commerce and diplomacy. One of the most enduring of Eisai's contributions to Japanese life was his advocacy of tea-drinking, which did much to make it the national beverage. Typically too, Zen monks in later years went on to make the preparation and imbibing of this common drink one of the most highly refined of household arts: the Tea Ceremony.

[From *Gunsho ruijū*, XV, 899-901]

Tea is the most wonderful medicine for nourishing one's health; it is the secret of long life. On the hillsides it grows up as the spirit of the soil. Those who pick and use it are certain to attain a great age. India and China both value it highly, and in the past our country too once showed a great liking for tea. Now as then it possesses the same rare qualities, and we should make wider use of it.

In the past, it is said, man was coeval with Heaven, but in recent times man has gradually declined and grown weaker, so that his four bodily components and five organs have degenerated. For this reason even when acupuncture and moxa cautery are resorted to the results are often fatal, and treatment at hot springs fails to have any effect. So those who are given to these methods of treatment will become steadily weaker until death overtakes them, a prospect which can only be dreaded. If these traditional methods of healing are employed without any modification on patients today, scarcely any relief can be expected.

Of all the things which Heaven has created, man is the most noble. To preserve one's life so as to make the most of one's allotted span is prudent and proper [considering the high value of human life]. The basis of preserving life is the cultivation of health, and the secret of health lies in the well-being of the five organs. Among these five the heart is sovereign, and to build up the heart the drinking of tea is the finest method. When the heart is weak, the other organs all suffer. It is more than two thousand years since the illustrious healer, Jiva, passed away in India, and in these latter degenerate days there is none who can accurately diagnose the circulation of the blood. It is more than three thousand years since the Chinese healer, Shen-nung, disappeared from the earth, and there is no one today who can prescribe medicines properly. With no one to consult in such matters, illness, disease, trouble, and danger follow one another in endless succession. If a mistake is made in the method of healing, such as moxa cautery, great harm may be done. Someone has

told me that as medicine is practiced today, damage is often done to the heart because the drugs used are not appropriate to the disease. Moxa cautery often brings untimely death because the pulse is in conflict with the moxa. I consider it advisable, therefore, to reveal the latest methods of healing as I have become acquainted with them in China. Accordingly I present two general approaches to the understanding of diseases prevalent in these degenerate times, hoping that they may be of benefit to others in the future.

I. Harmonious Functioning of the Five Organs

According to the esoteric scripture known as the Conquest of Hell the liver likes acid foods, the lungs pungent foods, the heart bitter ones, the spleen sweet, and the kidney salty. It also correlates them with the Five Elements and five directions as follows:

<i>Organ</i>	<i>Direction</i>	<i>Season</i>	<i>Element</i>	<i>Color</i>	<i>Spirits</i>	<i>Sensory Organs</i>
Liver	East	Spring	Wood	Blue	Soul	Eyes
Lungs	West	Autumn	Metal	White	Soul	Nose
Heart	South	Summer	Fire	Red	Spirit (<i>shin</i>)	Tongue
Spleen	Center	Between seasons	Earth	Yellow	Will	Mouth
Kidney	North	Winter	Water	Black	Imagination	Ears

Thus the five organs have their own taste preferences. If one of these preferences is favored too much, the corresponding organ will get too strong and oppress the others, resulting in illness. Now acid, pungent, sweet, and salty foods are eaten in great quantity, but not bitter foods. Yet when the heart becomes sick, all organs and tastes are affected. Then, eat as one may, one will have to vomit and stop eating. But if one drinks tea, the heart will be strengthened and freed from illness. It is well to know that when the heart is ailing, the skin has a poor color, a sign that life is ebbing away. I wonder why the Japanese do not care for bitter things. In the great country of China they drink tea, as a result of which there is no heart trouble and people live long lives. Our country is full of sickly-looking, skinny persons, and this is simply because we do not drink tea. Whenever one is in poor spirits, one should drink tea. This will put the heart in order and dispel all illness. When the heart is vigorous, then even if the other organs are ailing, no great pain will be felt.

[Then follows a section explaining the five organs in correlation with the various Buddhas, symbols, gestures, and regions of the esoteric Mandalas (See Chapters VII and VIII) together with the esoteric secrets of healing disorders in each.]

In regard to the Five Tastes: acid foods include oranges, lemons, and other citrus fruits; pungent foods include onions, garlic, and peppers; sweets include sugar, etc. (all foods are sweet by nature); bitter foods include tea, herb teas, etc.; salty foods include salt, etc.

The heart is the sovereign of the five organs, tea is the chief of the bitter foods, and bitter is the chief of the tastes. For this reason the heart loves bitter things, and when it is doing well all the other organs are properly regulated. If one has eye trouble, something is wrong with the liver and acid medicine will cure it. If one has ear trouble, something is wrong with the kidney and salty medicine will cure it. [And so forth through the table of correspondences above.] When, however, the whole body feels weak, devitalized, and depressed, it is a sign that the heart is ailing. Drink lots of tea, and one's energy and spirits will be restored to full strength.

DŌGEN

CONVERSATIONS

The following excerpts from the conversations of Dōgen as recorded by his disciple Ejō have an air of intimacy and a simple directness not usually found in the formal writings of the master. The first selections reveal the radical faith of this Zen pioneer, and incidentally provide a valuable commentary on the life and character of Dōgen's master, Eisai.

[From the *Shōbō genzō zuimonji*, pp. 35-36]

Spoken during an evening conversation:

The late Abbot [Eisai] once said: "The food and clothing which each of you monks uses should not be thought of as something I have given you. They are all gifts from Heaven, and I am nothing but an intermediary. Everyone receives what is needed to sustain his allotted life and there is no sense in making a fuss over it. Don't think you are under any obligation to me for these things," he always used to tell us. In my opinion no finer words could be spoken.

When the T'ien-t'ung monastery [in China] was presided over by the Zen Master Hung-chih, provision was made for one thousand students, seven hundred of them inmates and three hundred transients. With such a fine master presiding, however, monks flocked there from all over the country. The number of inmates mounted to one thousand, while the

transients increased to five hundred. So the steward appealed to Hung-chih: "We have provisions for only one thousand. With this great crowd there will never be enough to go round. Please send some away." Hung-chih replied, "Every man has a mouth to feed, but that is not your fault, so stop complaining!"

When I think about this now, it seems to me that everyone is born with his share of clothing and food. Seeking for food does not make it appear; abandoning the search does not make it disappear. Remember that even laymen leave such matters in the hands of Providence, while they strive for the virtues of loyalty and piety. How much less should monks who have left the world be concerned over such external matters! The Buddha prescribes their fortunes and the heavens provide their food and clothing. Moreover, everyone has his own share of life; without seeking for it or thinking about it, this allotted share comes from the natural course of things. Suppose you run after more and pile up great treasures—what will you do with them when Evanescence pays you a visit? Therefore the student should drive all thought of such external matters from his mind, and devote himself single-mindedly to the pursuit of Truth.

Yet some say that the propagation of Buddhism in these latter degenerate days, on this remote island, would be facilitated if a secure and peaceful abode were prepared where monks could practice the teachings of Buddha without any worries over food, clothing, and the like. To me this seems wrong. Such a place would only attract men who are selfish and worldly, and among them could be found no one at all with a sincere religious intention. If we give ourselves over to the comforts of life and the enjoyment of material pleasures, then even though hundreds of thousands were induced to come here, it would be worse than having no one here at all. We would acquire only a propensity for evil, not a disposition for the practice of Buddha's Law.

If on the contrary you live in spotless poverty and destitution, or go begging for your food, or live on the fruits of the field, pursuing your study of the Truth while suffering real deprivation, then if even one man hears of your example and comes to study with you out of genuine devotion to the Truth, it will be a real gain for Buddhism. If, however, you feel that spotless poverty and destitution will discourage people, and consequently provide an abundance of food and clothing, a great many may

come but they will have no real interest in Buddhism. In the former case you will obtain eight ounces of gold, and in the latter a half-pound of tinsel.

Sacrifice

[From the *Shōbō genzō zuimonki*, pp. 31-32]

When the late Abbot [Eisai] was still at Kenninji monastery, a poor man once came and said "My family is so destitute that they have had nothing to cook for several days. Myself, my wife, and our three children are on the verge of starvation. For pity's sake, please help us!" At the time there was in the Abbot's quarters nothing whatever—no food, no clothing, no money—for him to give away, and he was almost at the end of his wits. There was, however, some beaten copper which was to be used in making a halo for the statue of the Lord of Healing. He took it and broke it up in his hands. Then, tying it in a little package, he gave the copper to the poor man. "Exchange this for food and save your family from starvation." The man went away overjoyed.

But some of the Abbot's disciples criticised his action, saying, "This was no less than the halo of the Buddha statue. Giving it to a layman constitutes the crime of using what belongs to the Buddha for one's own private purposes. Isn't that wrong?"

"You are right," the Abbot replied, "but just consider the will of the Buddha. He sacrificed his very flesh and limbs for the sake of all mankind. If some men are about to die of starvation, would he not want us to give the whole Buddha figure to save them? Even if I should go to Hell for this crime, I would want to save people from starvation." Such loftiness of purpose is well worth reflecting upon. You students should keep this in mind.

There was another time when his disciples observed to the Abbot that the site of the Kenninji monastery buildings was too close to the river, so close, in fact, that in years to come the monastery would be likely to suffer flood damage. The Abbot told them, "Do not worry about the damage our monastery may suffer in years to come. The first temple of the Buddha, in the Jetavana Park of India, has now disappeared and only stone ruins remain. Nevertheless the merit of building a temple or monastery should not be lost sight of. To practice the way of the Buddha

in such a place, if only for six months or a year, is a work of enormous merit."

Thinking back on this, the building of a temple or monastery seems indeed to be the greatest undertaking of a man's life. It is only natural that one should want it to endure for all time. And yet this did not keep him from realizing in the depths of his soul a very profound truth, which is well worth remembering.

True Dedication

[From the *Shōbō genzō zuimonki*, pp. 110-11]

The concerns of the disciple of Buddhism are different from those of the ordinary man. During the lifetime of the Abbot of Kenninji, it once happened that there was no food for those in the monastery. At that time, however, a patron of the monastery invited the Abbot to visit him, and then presented him with a roll of silk as an offering. Overjoyed, the Abbot took it with him back to the monastery and turned it over to the steward, saying, "Use it to buy food for the morrow."

Just at that time, however, there was a layman who, seeing this, went up to the Abbot and begged, "I have a desperate need for two or three rolls of silk. If you have anything at all, I would deeply appreciate it." The Abbot thereupon took back from the steward what he had just turned over to him, and gave the silk to the layman while the steward and all the other monks watched in amazement. Later the Abbot said to them, "You all probably think that it was a rash thing for me to do. But it occurred to me that the inmates of this monastery have all dedicated themselves to the way of the Buddha, and even if they should have to go without food for a day, or perhaps even starve to death, they would still have no cause for complaint. So if by this means the distress of some layman should be relieved in a time of dire need, each of you should regard it as a work of personal gratification and merit." Truly this is the sort of thing that reflects an enlightened mind.

Exertion

[From *Zenshū shōten, zōkuhen, Shōbō genzō gyōji*, pp. 676-78]

The great Way of the Buddha and the Patriarchs involves the highest form of exertion, which goes on unceasingly in cycles from the first dawn-

ing of religious truth, through the test of discipline and practice, to enlightenment and Nirvāṇa. It is sustained exertion, proceeding without lapse from cycle to cycle. Accordingly it is exertion which is neither self-imposed nor imposed by others, but free and uncoerced. The merit of this exertion upholds me and upholds others. The truth is that the benefits of one's own sustained exertion are shared by all beings in the ten quarters of the world. Others may not be aware of this, and we may not realize it, but it is so. It is through the sustained exertions of the Buddhas and Patriarchs that our own exertions are made possible, that we are able to reach the high road of Truth. In exactly the same way it is through our own exertions that the exertions of the Buddhas are made possible, that the Buddhas attain the high road of Truth. Thus it is through our exertions that these benefits circulate in cycles to others, and it is due only to this that the Buddhas and Patriarchs come and go, affirming Buddha and negating Buddha, attaining the Buddha-mind and achieving Buddhahood, ceaselessly and without end. This exertion too sustains the sun, the moon, and the stars; it sustains the earth and sky, body and mind, object and subject, the four elements, and five compounds.

This sustained exertion is not something which men of the world naturally love or desire, yet it is the last refuge of all. Only through the exertions of all Buddhas in the past, present, and future do the Buddhas of past, present, and future become a reality. The merits of these exertions are sometimes disclosed, and thus arises the dawn of religious consciousness which is then tested in practice. Sometimes, however, these merits lie hidden and are neither seen, nor heard, nor realized. Yet hidden though they may be, they are still available because they suffer no diminution or restriction whether they are visible or invisible, tangible or intangible. . . .

The exertion that brings the exertion of others into realization is our exertion right at this moment. This exertion of the moment is not innate or inherent in us, nor does it come and go, visiting or departing. What we call the "moment" does not precede exertion. The "moment" is when exertion is actually being performed. That is to say, the exertion of a day is the seed of all Buddhas, it is the exertion of all Buddhas.¹ By this exertion

¹ The sense of this passage seems to be: "Exertion is not inherent in our nature in the sense that it operates automatically and can be taken for granted; nor on the other hand is it extraneous to our nature in the sense that it must be acquired. Our nature is only realized insofar as we exert our efforts. Similarly time does not exist apart from exertion, and all exertion is one in time, the reality of the moment. Thus our exertions today contribute to the

Buddhahood is realized, and those who do not make an exertion when exertion is possible are those who hate Buddha, hate serving the Buddha, and hate exertion; they do not want to live and die with Buddha, they do not want him as their teacher and companion.

At this moment a flower blossoms, a leaf falls—it is a manifestation of sustained exertion. A mirror is brightened, a mirror is broken—it is a manifestation of sustained exertion. Everything is exertion. To attempt to avoid exertion is an impossible evasion, for the attempt itself is exertion. And to belabor oneself, because it is impossible to be otherwise than one is, is to be like the rich man's son who left home to seek his fortune, only to endure poverty in a foreign land.² Though in his wanderings the son may be fortunate enough not to lose his life altogether, it would still have been better had he not abandoned his father's treasures in the first place. Nor should we risk losing the treasures of the Law, which never allows of any abandonment of exertion. Our benevolent father and great master, Shākyamuni Buddha, began his exertions deep in the mountains at the age of nineteen. At the age of thirty he labored to achieve the Enlightenment which embraced all sentient beings. Until the age of eighty he labored in the forests and in monasteries, without any thought of returning to his royal palace or of sharing in the wealth of his kingdom. Not once did he put on a new robe; not once did he exchange his bowl for another. Not for one day, not for an hour, did he seek to take care of himself, but lived on the offerings of others and endured the ridicule of heretics. His whole life was one long exertion of begging food and clothing, a life that knew nothing but sustained exertion.

Realizing the Solution (Genjō Kōan)

[From Hashida, *Shōbō genzō shakui*, I, 142-69]

[Against the notion that enlightenment is a single, momentary experience]

To study the way of the Buddha is to study your own self. To study your own self is to forget yourself. To forget yourself is to have the objective world prevail in you. To have the objective world prevail in you, is to let go of your "own" body and mind as well as the body and mind of "others." The enlightenment thus attained may seem to come to an

realization of Buddhahood in the past, and the Buddha's exertions contribute to our realization."

² The parable of a prodigal son in the *Lotus Sūtra*.

end, but though it appears to have stopped this momentary enlightenment should be prolonged and prolonged. [p. 142]

[Against the notion that the objective world is merely a projection of one's own mind]

When you go out on a boat and look around, you feel as if the shore were moving. But if you fix your eyes on the rim of the boat, you become aware that the boat is moving. It is exactly the same when you try to know the objective world while still in a state of confusion in regard to your own body and mind; you are under the misapprehension that your own mind, your own nature, is something real and enduring [while the external world is transitory]. Only when you sit straight and look into yourself, does it become clear that [you yourself are changing and] the objective world has a reality apart from you. [p. 149]

[The fullness of enlightenment]

Our attainment of enlightenment is something like the reflection of the moon in water. The moon does not get wet, nor is the water cleft apart. Though the light of the moon is vast and immense, it finds a home in water only a foot long and an inch wide. The whole moon and the whole sky find room enough in a single dewdrop, a single drop of water. And just as the moon does not cleave the water apart, so enlightenment does not tear man apart. Just as a dewdrop or drop of water offers no resistance to the moon in heaven, so man offers no obstacle to the full penetration of enlightenment. Height is always the measure of depth. [The higher the object, the deeper will seem its reflection in the water.] [p. 164]

When your body and mind are not yet filled with enlightenment, you may feel that you are enlightened enough. But when enlightenment fills your whole body and mind, then you may be aware that something is still lacking. It is like taking a boat out into a vast expanse of water. When you look in all directions, that expanse looks round all around and nothing more. But the ocean is not merely round or square; its virtues are truly inexhaustible, like the Dragon's palace with its innumerable reflecting jewels. Only as far as our eyesight can reach does the ocean appear to be round. It is the same with the real world; inside and out it has numerous features, but we can see only as far as our spiritual eyesight reaches. Once

we learn the true features of the real world, it is more than round, more than square. Its virtues are illimitable, as is the vastness of the ocean and the immensity of the mountain. There are worlds on all four sides of us, and not on all sides only, but underneath as well and even in the little dewdrop. [pp. 168-69]

Sitting and the Kōan

[From the *Shōbō genzō zuimonki*, pp. 98-99]

In the pursuit of the Way [Buddhism] the prime essential is sitting (*zazen*). . . . By reflecting upon various "public-cases" (*kōan*) and dialogues of the patriarchs, one may perhaps get the sense of them but it will only result in one's being led astray from the way of the Buddha, our founder. Just to pass the time in sitting straight, without any thought of acquisition, without any sense of achieving enlightenment—this is the way of the Founder. It is true that our predecessors recommended both the *kōan* and sitting, but it was the sitting that they particularly insisted upon. There have been some who attained enlightenment through the test of the *kōan*, but the true cause of their enlightenment was the merit and effectiveness of sitting. Truly the merit lies in the sitting.

The Importance of Sitting

[From the *Shōbō genzō zuimonki*, pp. 50-52]

When I stayed at the Zen lodge in T'ien-t'ung [China], the venerable Ching used to stay up sitting until the small hours of the morning and then after only a little rest would rise early to start sitting again. In the meditation hall he went on sitting with the other elders, without letting up for even a single night. Meanwhile many of the monks went off to sleep. The elder would go around among them and hit the sleepers with his fist or a slipper, yelling at them to wake up. If their sleepiness persisted, he would go out to the hallway and ring the bell to summon the monks to a room apart, where he would lecture to them by the light of a candle.

"What use is there in your assembling together in the hall only to go to sleep? Is this all that you left the world and joined holy orders for? Even among laymen, whether they be emperors, princes, or officials, are there any who live a life of ease? The ruler must fulfill the duties of the

sovereign, his ministers must serve with loyalty and devotion, and commoners must work to reclaim land and till the soil—no one lives a life of ease. To escape from such burdens and idly while away the time in a monastery—what does this accomplish? Great is the problem of life and death; fleeting indeed is our transitory existence. Upon these truths both the scriptural and meditation schools agree. What sort of illness awaits us tonight, what sort of death tomorrow? While we have life, not to practice Buddha's Law but to spend the time in sleep is the height of foolishness. Because of such foolishness Buddhism today is in a state of decline. When it was at its zenith monks devoted themselves to the practice of sitting in meditation (*zazen*), but nowadays sitting is not generally insisted upon and consequently Buddhism is losing ground." . . .

Upon another occasion his attendants said to him, "The monks are getting overtired or falling ill, and some are thinking of leaving the monastery, all because they are required to sit too long in meditation. Shouldn't the length of the sitting period be shortened?" The master became highly indignant. "That would be quite wrong. A monk who is not really devoted to the religious life may very well fall asleep in a half hour or an hour. But one truly devoted to it who has resolved to persevere in his religious discipline will eventually come to enjoy the practice of sitting, no matter how long it lasts. When I was young I used to visit the heads of various monasteries, and one of them explained to me, 'Formerly I used to hit sleeping monks so hard that my fist just about broke. Now I am old and weak, so I can't hit them hard enough. Therefore it is difficult to produce good monks. In many monasteries today the superiors do not emphasize sitting strongly enough, and so Buddhism is declining. The more you hit them the better,' he advised me."

Body and Mind

[From the *Shōbō genzō zuimonki*, p. 52]

Is the Way [of liberation] achieved through the mind or through the body? The doctrinal schools speak of the identity of mind and body, and so when they speak of attaining the Way through the body,¹ they explain

¹ A famous example is the doctrine of Kūkai, who asserted the identity of mind and body and the possibility of achieving liberation "in the body" (i.e., in this life). See Chapter VII.

it in terms of this identity. Nevertheless this leaves one uncertain as to what "attainment by the body" truly means. From the point of view of our school, attainment of the Way is indeed achieved through the body as well as the mind. So long as one hopes to grasp the Truth only through the mind, one will not attain it even in a thousand existences or in eons of time. Only when one lets go of the mind and ceases to seek an intellectual apprehension of the Truth is liberation attainable. Enlightenment of the mind through the sense of sight and comprehension of the Truth through the sense of hearing are truly bodily attainments. To do away with mental deliberation and cognition, and simply to go on sitting, is the method by which the Way is made an intimate part of our lives. Thus attainment of the Way becomes truly attainment through the body. That is why I put exclusive emphasis upon sitting.

Contempt for the Scriptures

[From Etō, *Shūso to shite no Dōgen Zenji*, p. 246]

There are Zen masters of a certain type who join in a chorus to deny that the sūtras contain the true teaching of the Buddha. "Only in the personal transmission from one patriarch to another is the essential truth conveyed; only in the transmission of the patriarchs can the exquisite and profound secrets of Buddha be found." Such statements represent the height of folly, they are the words of madmen. In the genuine tradition of the patriarchs there is nothing secret or special, not even a single word or phrase, at variance with the Buddhist sūtras. Both the sūtras and the transmission of the patriarchs alike represent the genuine tradition deriving from Shākyamuni Buddha. The only difference between them is that the patriarchs' transmission is a direct one from person to person. Who dares, then, to ignore the Buddha's sūtras? Who can refuse to study them, who can refuse to recite them? Wisely has it been said of old, "It is you who get lost in the sūtras, not the sūtras that lead you astray." Among our worthy predecessors there were many who studied the Scriptures. Therefore these loose-tongued individuals should be told, "To discard the sūtras of the Buddha, as you say, is to reject the mind of the Buddha, to reject the body of the Buddha. To reject the mind and body of the Buddha is to reject the children [followers] of the Buddha. To reject the children of the Buddha is to reject the teaching of the

Buddha. And if the teaching of the Buddha itself is to be rejected, why should not the teaching of the patriarchs be rejected? And when you have abandoned the teaching of the Buddha and the patriarchs, what will be left except a lot of bald-headed monks? Then you will certainly deserve to be chastized by the rod. Not only would you deserve to be enslaved by the rulers of this world, but to be cast into Hell for punishment."

MUSŌ KOKUSHI

*Reflections upon the Enmity between Emperor Go-Daigo
and the Shogun, Ashikaga Takauji*

(From *Musō Kokushi goroku*)

This extract is from a sermon delivered by Musō Kokushi upon resumption of his presidency over the Tenryū monastery in 1351, in which he reflects upon the reasons for dedicating this temple to the memory of Go-Daigo and analyzes the causes of the rupture between the latter and Ashikaga Takauji, his erstwhile supporter. In Buddhist terms he attributes the break to one of the Three Evil Impulses: anger arising from jealousy of another's power, which blinded Go-Daigo and estranged him from his obedient servant. The writer's frank censure of the deceased emperor shows both how low the imperial house had fallen and how little awed by it was this Zen master, who considered it a purely human institution and not divine.

[From the *Taishō daizōkyō*, Vol. 80, pp. 463-64]

In the realm of True Purity there is no such thing as "I" or "He," nor can "friend" and "foe" be found there. But the slightest confusion of mind brings innumerable differences and complications. Peace and disorder in the world, the distinction between friend and foe in human relationships, follow upon one another as illusion begets delusion. A man of spiritual insight will immediately recognize what is wrong and before long rid himself of such an illusion, but the shallow-minded man will be ensnared by his own blindness so that he cannot put an end to it. In such a case one's true friend may seem a foe and one's implacable foe may appear a friend. Enmity and friendship have no permanent character; both of them are illusions.

During the disorders of the Genkō era [1331-34] the shogun, acting promptly on the imperial command, swiftly subdued the foes of the state [the Hōjō regents], as a result of which he rose higher in the ranks of

government day by day and his growing prestige brought a change in the attitude of others toward him. Ere long slander and defamation sprang up with the violence of a tiger, and this unavoidably drew upon him the imperial displeasure. Consider now why this should have happened. It was because he performed a meritorious task with such despatch and to the entire satisfaction of his sovereign. There is an old saying that intimacy invites enmity. That is what it was. Thereupon amity and good will were scattered to the winds and the imperial authority was endangered. The emperor had to take refuge in the mountains to the South, where the music of the court was no longer heard and whence the imperial palanquin could never again return to the capital.

With a great sigh the Military Governor [Takauji] lamented, "Alas, due to slander and flattery by those close to the Throne, I am consigned to the fate of an ignominious rebel without any chance to explain my innocence." Indeed his grief was no perfunctory display, but without nurturing any bitterness in his heart he devoutly gave himself over to spiritual reflection and pious works, fervently praying for the enlightenment of the Emperor and eventually constructing [in the name of the Emperor] this great monastery for the practice of Buddhism. . . .

The virtuous rule of Emperor Go-Daigo was in accord with Heaven's will and His wisdom was equal to that of the ancient sage-kings. Therefore the imperial fortunes rose high and the whole country was brought under His sway. A new calendar was proclaimed and a new era of magnificence and splendor was inaugurated. The barbarian peoples showed themselves submissive and His subjects were well-disposed. This reign, men thought, would be like that of the Sage-Emperor Yao [in ancient China]; it would endure and never come to an end. Who would have thought that this Sage-like Sun would soon set and disappear into the shadows? And what are we to make of it—was it a mere trick of fate? No, I surmise that His late Majesty paid off all the debt of karma incurred in the world of defilement and straightway joined the happy assemblage of the Pure Land. It is not so much that His august reign was brought to an untimely end, but that the great mass of the people were caused so much suffering and distress. As a result from the time of His passing right up to the present there has been no peace, clergy and laity alike have become displaced, and there is no end to the complaints of the people.

What I have stated above is all a dream within a dream. Even if it were true, there is no use finding fault with what is past and done—how much less with what has happened in a dream! We must realize that the Throne, the highest position among men, is itself but something cherished in a dream. Even the kings of highest Heaven know nothing but the pleasure of a dream. That is why Shākyamuni, the Tathāgata, gave up his royal rank and took up a solitary life of religious discipline. Why did he do this? To teach all men that the Sovereign of Enlightenment is far superior to the highest position among men. The four castes¹ differ from one another, but they are all alike in being disciples of the Buddha and should behave accordingly.

I pray therefore that our late Emperor will turn away from his past confusions and free himself from bondage to illusion, bid farewell to karma-consciousness and prove himself the master of enlightened knowledge. Thus he may pass safely beyond the dark crossroad of differences between friend and foe, and attain that spiritual region wherein the identity of confusion and clear insight may be seen. Yet may he not forget the request of the Buddha at Vulture Peak, and extend an invisible hand to protect his teaching, so that with his spirit ever-present in this monastery of Kameyama his blessings may extend to all mankind.

This is indeed the wish of the Military Governor [Takauji], and so we have reason to believe that the imperial wrath will be appeased. Such a worthy intention [on the part of Takauji] is no trifling thing, and the Buddhas in their profound compassion are certain to bestow their unseen favor and protection upon us. Then may warfare come to an end, the whole country enjoy true peace, and all the people rest secure from disturbances and calamities. May the rule of the Military Governor pass on to his heirs, generation after generation. Our earnest desire is that all mankind should share in its blessings.

Sermon at the Opening of Tenryū Monastery

(From *Musō Kokushi goroku*)

The following sermon was delivered at the original opening of the Tenryū monastery, dedicated to the memory of Go-Daigo, when Musō Kokushi became its founding abbot. In it he reminds his audience that even among the

¹ Speaking the language of Indian Buddhism.

patriarchs of Zen the transmission of the Buddhist Law involved some form of preaching to proclaim its Truth to the world, and accordingly he proceeds to explain or suggest the fundamentals of Zen teaching.

[From the *Taishō daizōkyō*, Vol. 80, pp. 460c-61a]

In the tenth month of the second year of the Rekiō period [1339] an imperial decree ordered the conversion of the detached palace of the ex-Emperor Kameyama into a monastery dedicated to the memory of the ex-Emperor Go-daigo, and also nominated the Master to be its founding prior. In the fourth year of Kōei [1345], 4th month, 8th day, the Meditation Hall was opened for the first time (with their lordships General Takauji and Vice-general Tadayoshi in attendance). At the Hall the Master first performed the ceremony in commemoration of the Buddha's birth and then proceeded to say:

"The appearance in this world of all Buddhas, past, present, and future, is solely for the purpose of preaching the Law and helping all creatures to cross over to the shore of Liberation. The arts of oratory and types of intonation employed by Shākyā were all meant to serve as a guide to the preaching of the Law, while the Deer Park and Vulture Peak served as places of spiritual instruction. The school of the Patriarch Bodhidharma stressed the method of individual instruction directed toward the essential nature, thus setting themselves off from the schools which stressed the teaching of doctrine. But closer examination of their aims reveals that Bodhidharma's followers likewise sought to transmit the Law and rescue men from the confusions of this world. Thus all of the patriarchs, forty-seven in India and twenty-three in China, each signalized his succession to the patriarchate by making a statement on the transmission of the Law. The Great Master Bodhidharma said, 'I came here primarily to transmit the Law and save men from their blinding passions.' So it is clear that Hui-k'o's cutting off his arm in the snow² and the conferring of the robe at midnight upon Hui-neng³ were both meant to signify transmission of the true Law from one patriarch to another. In all circumstances, whether under a tree, upon

² Hui-k'o, the second Chinese patriarch, cut off his arm to show that he would stop at nothing in his determination to pursue Zen, and thereupon was confirmed by Bodhidharma as his successor.

³ The ceremony of transmission was performed secretly at night to shield Hui-neng, the sixth Chinese patriarch, from the recriminations of a disappointed contender for that honor.

a rock, in the darkness of a cave or deep in a glen, the Law has been set forth and transmitted by such signs to whoever possessed the right qualifications. . . .

"What is that which we call the 'Law'? It is the Truth inherent in all its perfection in every living creature. The sage possesses it in no greater measure than does the ordinary man. Enlarge it and it will fill the universe; restrict it and it can be contained in a fraction of an inch. Yesterday or today, it undergoes no change or variation. All that the Buddhas have taught, whether as the Mahāyāna, the Hinayāna, the pseudo or the authentic, the partial or the complete—all are embraced in it. This is the meaning of the 'Law.'

"Everything the world contains—grass and trees, bricks and tile, all creatures, all actions and activities—are nothing but manifestations of this Law. Therefore is it said that all phenomena in the universe bear the mark of this Law. If the significance of this were only grasped, then even without the appearance in this world of a Tathāgata [Buddha], the enlightenment of man would be complete, and even without the construction of this Hall the propagation of the Law would have achieved realization.

"As for myself, appearing before you today on this platform, I have nothing special to offer as my own interpretation of the Law. I merely join myself with all others—from the founder Shākyā Tathāgata, the other Buddhas, bodhisattvas, saints and arhats, to all those here present, including patrons and officials, the very eaves and columns of this hall, lanterns and posts, as well as all the men, animals, plants and seeds in the boundless ocean of existence—to keep the wheel of the Law in motion.

"On such an occasion as this, you may say, 'What can we do?'" Holding out his cane, he exclaimed, "Look here, Look here! Don't you see Shākyamuni here right now walking around on the top of my cane? He points to heaven and then to earth, announcing to the entire audience, 'Today I am born again here with the completion of this new hall. All saints and sages are assembling here to bring man and heaven together. Every single person here is precious in himself, and everything here—plaques, paintings, square eaves and round pillars—every single thing is preaching the Law. Wonderful, wonderful it is, that the true Law lives

on and never dies. At Vulture Peak, indeed, this Law was passed on to the right man!

"It is thus that Shākyā, the most venerable, instructs us here. It is the teaching which comes down to men in response to the needs of their situation. But perhaps, gentlemen, you wish to know the state of things before Shākyā ever appeared in his mother's womb?" [He tapped his cane on the floor.] "Listen, Listen!"

The Vigorous Treatment of Zen

[From *Muchū mondō* in *Kōsō meicho zenshū*, XVI, Musō Kokushi hen, p. 145]

Clear-sighted masters of the Zen sect do not have a fixed doctrine which is to be held to at any and all times. They offer whatever teaching occasion demands and preach as the spirit moves them, with no fixed course to guide them. If asked what Zen is, they may answer in the words of Confucius, Mencius, Lao Tzu or Chuang Tzu, or else in terms of the doctrines of the various sects and denominations, and also by using popular proverbs. Sometimes they draw attention to the immediate situation confronting us, or they swing their mace and shout out "*katsu*," or perhaps they just raise their fists or fingers. All of these are methods used by the Zen master and known as the "vigorous treatment of the Zen Buddhist." They are incomprehensible to those who have not yet ventured into this realm.

ZEN AND THE ARTS

At the time Eisai and Dōgen ventured forth to China, the Japanese government had long since abandoned official relations with that country and took little interest in the course of events on the mainland. But the Mongol conquest of China and Korea in the thirteenth century suddenly posed a threat for the Japanese themselves, and when the Hōjō regency had to make momentous decisions Zen monks were chosen as its advisers because they were considered to have a firsthand knowledge of China. This was the beginning of a long history of secular service by Zen monks, especially in the realm of foreign affairs, which lasted almost until the

seventeenth century. Later when the third Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimitsu (1358-1408) had successfully entered into foreign trade with the Chinese Ming dynasty in the hope of restoring the finances of the shogunate, he celebrated his new prosperity by building a great Zen monastery. Yoshimitsu in effect instituted a department of foreign affairs with a Zen monk as its head, and from his time onwards every delegation sent overseas by the government was led by a Zen monk. In the sixteenth century and later, local maritime potentates who engaged in foreign trade followed the example of the central government in appointing a Zen monk as commissioner or chief delegate. The influence of Zen in medieval Japan was thus not confined to religious activities but was also highly utilitarian.

Because of the strategic position the Zen monks occupied in the government, it was not difficult for them to extend the influence of Zen teachings to much of medieval culture. Virtually the only institutions of popular education during the period were the *tera-koya* (temple schools) run by Zen monks. All literature came under the spell of Zen, although the influence of Zen is perhaps most striking in the Nō theatre, which had got its start under the tutelage of Esoteric Buddhism. The bare simplicity of the Nō stage and scenery is a reflection of Zen aesthetic principles, and the movements of the actors themselves are based largely on those of swordsmanship, with which Zen had many intimate connections. Sometimes we find Zen teachings voiced by characters in a Nō play, but it is more in the underlying aesthetic concepts that we may detect Zen's great influence on the Nō.

In painting, no less than in literature, Zen aesthetics played a role of considerable magnitude. Shingon Buddhism had emphasized the artistic aspects of religion and had been responsible for many works of lasting beauty, most characteristic of which were the elaborate *maṇḍala* and the polychromed images of the different bodhisattvas. With Zen, however, simplicity and suggestion came to assume a dominant role in Japanese painting. In place of the brightly colored images of raging Fudō or of the thousand-armed Kannon, we find monochrome sketches of Zen masters, of sweeping landscapes, or of a single bird on a withered bough.

The great influence on literature and art of Zen Buddhism did not originate in Japan. Already in Sung China Zen had been considered to be one in essence with both poetry and painting, but although Zen reached the height of its influence at that time in China, its overall effect on secular

culture appears of strictly limited magnitude when compared with that of Taoism and Confucianism. In Japan, however, Zen had no serious rivals at court or in the intellectual and artistic circles of the Ashikaga Period. And Zen monks occupied a favorable position for asserting their leadership in cultural matters, particularly in poetry and painting, because their special contacts (as trade commissioners) with China enabled them to introduce into their poetry and paintings the latest continental developments, which greatly enhanced their prestige.

The influence of Zen on Japanese culture was not limited to literature and art. As has been mentioned, there was a close connection between Zen and the Japanese warrior. Many samurai found Zen's stern masculinity and emphasis on intuitive action particularly congenial. For the believer in Zen swordsmanship might even be considered "an art of protecting life" rather than a means of killing others, and during the Tokugawa Period under Zen influence swordsmanship tended to become a peaceful art rather than a brutal contest.

Perhaps, however, Zen's influence was nowhere more marked than in the evolution of the Japanese tea ceremony. The cult of tea was not exclusively affiliated with Zen Buddhism; during the Tokugawa shogunate when Neo-Confucianism was the state philosophy, the tea ceremony came to be considered an effective means of training young women in the concept of *li*, here interpreted as the etiquette of the hearth. The tea cult also had its commercial aspects from the outset. Zen priests not only introduced the new beverage to Japan but also the pottery in which it was served, and the tea ceremony thus came to be not only a social attraction but the source of mercantile enterprise. These features of the background of the tea ceremony should not be ignored; nevertheless it remains true that it was the expression of many of the ideals of Buddhism, in particular of Zen Buddhism.

Three Zen masters were largely responsible for the growth of the tea cult in Japan. First was the founder of Japanese Zen, Eisai, who brought tea seeds home with him on his return from a second visit to China in 1191, and had them planted on a hillside near Kyoto. In 1214, as we have seen, he wrote the *Kissa yōjō-ki*, "Drink Tea To Improve Health and Prolong Life" in the hope of saving the Shogun Sanetomo from alcoholism by extolling the virtues of "the cup that cheers but does not inebriate."

In order to popularize the use of tea it was considered desirable to improve the quality of the cups in which it was served. Accordingly, when Dōgen visited China in 1222 to study Zen, he was accompanied by an artisan who later established a thriving center of pottery production in Japan.

The next step was to create a setting for the demonstration of the methods of enjoying the new drink. It thus happened that when another Zen master, Musō Kokushi (1275-1351), had built a simple cottage in a secluded garden for the purpose of solitary meditation, it was found agreeable to have a nonintoxicating beverage as a mild stimulant. The three elements of the tea ceremony—the actual beverage, the pottery, and the setting—having thus been supplied, a cult before long developed with the active participation of Zen masters.

The tea hut was considered to consist of three elements—the exterior of the hut, the garden, and the interior. These were equated with three prime characteristics of Buddhist teaching: the evanescence of all things, the selflessness of all elements (dharmas), and the bliss of Nirvāna.

Outside the cottage three things call one's attention to the first lesson in Buddhism, that life is everlasting change. The first is a little roof by the fence which, protecting the visitor from the weather, reminds him that nature is always changeable. This part is known as the *machiai*, or waiting house (a name which later acquired quite another meaning as a rendezvous for lovers). The second thing lies to the right in a thicket or under the shade of trees—a simple privy. Some may think that a privy hardly fits in with the exquisite refinement of the tea ceremony, but in fact it symbolizes better than anything else the incessant changes through which the human body passes. The third thing is the gate of the cottage, through which visitors constantly pass in and out, bending their heads and drawing up their legs as they do so, for the gate does not permit one to enter while standing upright.

The first lesson, the incessant changes of nature, is succeeded by the second one, in which three stone objects in the garden teach us the selflessness of the elements. These are the stepping stones, the stone water-basin, and the stone lantern, each silently teaching its lesson in selflessness. The flag-stones are willing to remain below and to be stepped on. The water-basin, where every visitor washes himself before entering the hut, may awaken the thought that the cleansing of the hands is made possible

only by the willingness of the water to take away the dirt, the second example of selflessness. Lastly, there is a stone lantern which sheds a pale light. A little thought may lead to the realization of the selflessness of the wick, which is willing to be consumed in flame in order to illumine, however faintly, a dark corner of the garden.

The visitor is next led inside, into the room where the tea is to be served. After virtually doubling his body in order to pass through the low door, he suddenly finds himself in a realm of the most absolute peace. The room is small—only nine feet square and high—but everything in it is a marvel of purity and simplicity.

The first thing that greets the visitor is the scent of incense, which magically and indefinably transforms the atmosphere. Not only by its fragrance but by the faint wisp of its smoke does the incense catch the imagination. The ever-rising smoke symbolizes the constant aspiration of the terrestrial towards the celestial.

While the visitor sits motionlessly, watching in silence the course of the smoke, he is certain to hear the cries of a solitary bird flying by the hut, or the dripping of water in the fountain outside, or the rustle of the wind in the pines above the roof. Like the pealing of a distant temple bell, such sounds come from nowhere and lose themselves in timelessness, to awaken the enveloping silence from which all music comes and into which all music returns. Because these sounds are so fleeting, so transitory, the presence of silence is felt all the more profoundly. A moment has communion with eternity when sound meets silence to create music: this is the Buddhist philosophy of music expressed in the Avatamsaka doctrines.

At the far end of the room, in the center, is an alcove in which hangs a scroll painting. Before it flowers are arranged. These two finite examples of form and color help to make visible the infinite, just as a single note can make us more aware of the eternal silence. Without forms or color the immense space surrounding us would remain forever a stupendous blank, an unnamable vacuum. When lines or colors cut through infinite space, painting, which is the meeting of the finite with the infinite, comes into being. The *Lotus Sūtra* says, "Everything finite tells of infinity."

The appeal of the infinite having thus been made to the senses of smell, hearing, and sight, the visitor is now ready for the enjoyment of the tea. He will be mistaken, however, if he expects to witness anything extraor-

dinary in the preparation. The host is seated by a small open fire with the paraphernalia required, including bamboo implements, lacquerware, pots, kettles, and silk napkins. There is not a single thing which the average Japanese family does not possess, for, as the Zen masters were accustomed to say, "Religion is a most ordinary thing." The teacups are somewhat larger than the usual ones and may be works of art, but they are made of nothing more extraordinary than clay; to the Zen believer the transformation of clay into a lovely teacup is religion itself.

In the actual preparation of the tea, the host must pay special attention to four things—the fire, the water, the spoon, and the bamboo whisk. The first two are powerful elements which in other circumstances require all of man's efforts to control; the second two, the spoon to measure the powdered tea and the whisk to stir it, require delicacy and care in order to ensure a perfect balance. When the host has placed the proper measure of tea in the cup, he pours in boiled water and stirs the mixture with the whisk until it is exactly right. Then it is placed before the visitor, who must lift the cup in both hands, feeling its texture and warmth. He drinks the tea, not in one gulp but three sips, savoring the liquid as refreshing as some precious elixir though made of a most common, ordinary leaf. Thus also is sometimes transformed the common clay of humanity into an arhat, a bodhisattva, or a Buddha.



CHAPTER XIII

SHINTO IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

The introduction of Buddhism and its subsequent acceptance by the Japanese court resulted in the submergence of Shinto, the native religion, for many years. It was said of the Emperor Kōtoku (who reigned at the time of the Great Reform of 646) that he "honored the religion of Buddha and despised the Way of the Gods."¹ Other sovereigns generally had more respect for Shinto, although the brilliant Buddhist ceremonies that marked the Nara and Heian periods occupied the court far more than the simple observances of the native religion. The ethical teachings of Shinto, later the subject of so much attention by scholars of the native learning, had little importance in early Japan. Except for a few prayers (*norito*) Shinto did not produce religious writings; it was thus natural that the constitution attributed to Prince Shōtoku should have been formulated entirely in terms of Confucian and Buddhist teachings.

It should not be thought, however, that Shinto was entirely absent from the scene of early Japan. The gods had their functions, chiefly concerned with natural phenomena—rain, drought, earthquakes, etc. This meant that among the peasants (and, in general, most people living away from the capital in the provinces), the local cults of Shinto continued to be the prevailing religion even when Buddhism was triumphant at the court. But even the court recognized the importance of the gods. Over and over in the *Chronicles of Japan* we find such entries as the following (for A.D. 599): "There was an earthquake which destroyed all the houses. So orders were given to all quarters to sacrifice to the God of Earthquakes."² An entry for 689 contains the first mention of a state "department of Shinto," and in the eleventh month of 691 we are told that: "The festival of first-fruits was held. Ōshima, Nakatomi no Ason, Minister of the De-

¹ Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 195.

² *Ibid.*, II, 124.

partment of the Shinto religion, recited the prayers invoking the blessing of the Heavenly Deities."³

By the early tenth century, when the Institutes of the Engi Era were completed, more than 6,000 Shinto shrines were enumerated where annual offerings were to be made by the court or the provincial governments. This official recognition of Shinto represented a great landmark in the systematization of the native cults, which until then had tended to remain loosely connected aggregates of local shrines. We may detect the influence of Buddhist practices in this attempt to systematize Shinto. Already in the late Nara Period (in 765) Buddhist priests and nuns had participated in the Great Thanksgiving Festival, one of the most sacred Shinto celebrations, and the Empress Shōtoku declared on that occasion that she considered her duty (having returned to the throne as a nun), "first to serve the Three Treasures, then to worship the Gods, and next to cherish the people."⁴ The union of the two religions was further promoted in 768 when a Buddhist temple was erected by the Ise Shrine, the holiest Shinto sanctuary, and from this time on many Shinto shrines had their temples and Buddhist priests who served both religions.

The fusion of Buddhism with another religion did not originate in Japan. In India, Buddha himself had recognized the popular gods, the devas, as deities possessing powers far less considerable than his own, but superior to those of ordinary men. There are frequent references in early texts to the conversion of the Indian gods [devas] to Buddhism after they had heard Buddha preach. In later Buddhist writings Brahmā and the lesser deities were explained as avatārs of Buddha and the bodhisattvas who had appeared on earth to save mankind. This concept was later adopted by the Mahāyāna sects. It is found in such works as the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, the *Vimalakīrti*, and *Vairocana* sūtras, and in the Shingon mandalas.

In China, the Buddhists at times claimed that Confucius, Lao Tzu, and other famous philosophers were sent by Buddha to help mankind. By the middle of the T'ang dynasty we find the first mention of the phrase "original substance manifests traces" (*honji suijaku*) which was to figure so importantly in Japan; in an explanation of the *Vairocana* sūtra a com-

³ Aston, *Nihongi*, II, 404. The Nakatomi family was one of the chief supporters of Shinto. It was later renamed Fujiwara.

⁴ Sansom, *Japan*, p. 135.

mentator stated that the spirits and gods were avatārs of Vairochana—traces on earth of the original substance of divinity.

Although the fusion of Buddhism and native religions may thus be discovered in both India and China, it was in Japan that it assumed its most significant form. Kūkai is often mentioned as the originator of *honji suijaku*, but in spite of the numerous forged works on the subject which are attributed to him, there is nothing to indicate that the *honji suijaku* formula was known in his time. It was natural enough for later supporters to bring in Kūkai's name in order to lend greater authority to *honji suijaku*, and this fact may also explain the tales of how Kūkai taught the Emperor Saga about the mysteries of Shinto, or such supposed quotations as, "Unless one studies Shinto one will not understand the profundities of my school of Buddhism." Whether we believe such stories or not, it is certain that Kūkai did pay considerable attention to the gods. When he built his temple on Mt. Kōya, which had been known as the seat of various gods, he called out to them: "All evil spirits and gods, who may be to the east, south, north, west, above, or below this monastery: you hinderers and destroyers of the True Law, hie you seven leagues hence from my altar! If however there be any good spirits and gods who are beneficial to the Buddhist Law and protect it, you may dwell as you choose in this monastery and protect the Buddhist Law."⁵

The first clear evidence of *honji suijaku* thought in Japan seems to date from 937, when two gods were declared to be avatārs of bodhisattvas. In time every god was established as an avatār of one or another Buddha or Bodhisattva. Most of the "original substances" of the different gods proved to be the thirteen Buddhas of Shingon, a fact indicative of the special ties between this sect and Shinto. Shinto adopted the incantations, ritual fire ceremonies, charms, signs, and methods of instruction of Shingon, and these alien features soon became so much a part of Shinto that even purists later considered them to be part of the religion in its pristine form. The most important form of union between Buddhism and Shinto was called "Dual Shinto" (*Ryōbu Shintō*), a term derived from the equation made between the two mandalas of Shingon Buddhism and the Inner and Outer Shrines at Ise. The Tendai monasteries of Mt. Hiei and Miidera, which had become strongholds of Esoteric Buddhism, consummated their union with Shinto by adopting local tutelary deities as had the Shingon

⁵ *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū*, III, *Shōryōshū*, 530-31.

center of Mt. Kōya.⁶ But Shingon was considered by most Shinto scholars to be closest to the native religion. Kitabatake Chikafusa declared that the "traditions from the Age of the Gods tally most closely with the teachings of this sect [Shingon]. That is probably why, though it enjoyed only brief popularity in China, it has persisted in Japan."

In medieval Japan the fusion of Buddhist and Shinto ceremonies became almost invariable. Most of the shrines of the nation were controlled by Buddhists. Within the shrines themselves Buddhist images were worshiped as representations of the gods, and Buddhist implements (principally Shingon) were used alongside the traditional paper streamers and ropes. The pantheism of Tendai and the cosmotheism of Shingon led easily to an incorporation of Shinto beliefs and legends, and even in the remote regions of Japan, where the Way of the Gods remained strongest, a *rapprochement* of the two religions regularly took place. Although it is true that monks were not allowed to penetrate the Inner Shrine at Ise, and certain Buddhist sects failed to show much interest in Shinto, by and large the union of Buddhism and Shinto, usually stated in *honji suijaku* terms, became a general feature of Japanese religious life and remained such at least until the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

At first Shinto's part in the combined religion was relatively minor, but with the downfall of the court aristocracy at the end of the Heian Period, men from the outlying provinces were brought to power, and they still retained a strong attachment to Shinto. Thus, the Taira clan proclaimed its loyalty to the goddess Itsukushima, and the Minamoto clan worshiped Hachiman, the god of war. As early as the year 750 Hachiman is reported to have paid his respects to the Great Statue of the Buddha in Nara, and it was not many years afterwards that he acquired the title of "great Bodhisattva." Later the Minamoto shoguns adopted Hachiman as their clan deity and enshrined him in their capital at Kamakura, just as the imperial house had established his worship in Nara and Kyoto. He was considered as a manifestation of Amida Buddha, while Itsukushima was the "manifested trace" of Kannon (Avalokiteshvara), further examples of *honji suijaku*.

The Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281 created a strong sentiment of

⁶ At Mt. Kōya it was the female deity Tanjō who allegedly turned the mountain over to Kūkai; at Hiei, the mountain god Sannō; and at Miidera the Korean goddess, Shiragi Myōjin (Korean influence was well-established in this region).

national consciousness among the Japanese. The "divine winds" (*kami-kaze*) which had driven off the invaders were interpreted as signs of the protection afforded to Japan by the native gods (the Sun Goddess and Hachiman), and it was less than fifty years afterwards that Kitabatake wrote his *Records of the Legitimate Succession of the Divine Sovereigns*, in which he proclaimed the supremacy of Japan over China and India because of Japan's single line of emperors descended from the gods. Kitabatake's work was primarily political, but from about the same time (or somewhat earlier) date the Five Classics of Shinto, forgeries purporting to have been composed in remote antiquity. The Five Classics are concerned mainly with the history of the Ise Shrine, and attempt to set forth a Shinto philosophy and ethics. Whatever philosophical or ethical significance these books possess was borrowed from Buddhism, but the adherents of the "Primal Shinto" (*Yuiitsu Shintō*) school of the fifteenth century and later, referred to the Five Classics as a treasury of pure Shinto teachings.

The chief figure in the "Primal Shinto" school was Yoshida Kanetomo (1435-1511). Yoshida did not attempt, like certain later Shinto scholars, to discredit Buddhism; he sought instead to shift the emphasis in the combined religion from Buddhism to Shinto although maintaining the union. He interpreted *honji suijaku* as meaning that the Japanese gods were the original substance, and Buddha and the bodhisattvas the manifested traces. (This may be compared to a similar switch-about in India, where brāhmins came to consider Buddha as the ninth avatār of Vishnu, or in China, where Buddha was said by Taoists to be an avatār of Lao Tzu.) Yoshida relied heavily on the forged Five Classics, and where they were insufficient to meet his needs, he appears not to have been above forgery of his own. In one of Yoshida's works we find his most famous statement of the relations of Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism:

During the reign of the Empress Suiko, the thirty-fourth sovereign, Prince Shōtoku stated in a memorial that Japan was the roots and trunk [of civilization], China its branches and leaves, and India its flowers and fruit. Similarly, Buddhism is the flowers and fruit of all laws, Confucianism their branches and leaves, and Shinto their roots and trunk. Thus all foreign doctrines are offshoots of Shinto.⁷

⁷ Yoshida, *Yuiitsu Shintō Myōhō Yōshū*, quoted in Kiyowara, *Shintō-shi*, p. 237. The reversal of the order in the parallels between Japan and Shinto, China and Confucianism, and India and Buddhism was a common literary device in Chinese.

Needless to say, Prince Shōtoku did not make this statement, but it sounded good enough, and historicity was not a vital concern of medieval minds. Far more striking to them would have been Kanetomo's bold attempt to turn the tables on Buddhism and Confucianism, and assert the primacy of Shinto after centuries of subservience.

Yoshida revealed his indebtedness to Buddhism, particularly to Esoteric Buddhism, at every point in his exposition of Shinto principles; it often appears as if he has merely substituted a Shinto word in an otherwise Buddhist context:

Kami or Deity is spirit, without form, unknowable, transcending both cosmic principles, the yin and the yang . . . changeless, eternal, existing from the very beginning of Heaven and Earth up to the present, unfathomable, infinite, itself with neither beginning nor end, so that the so-called "Divine Age" is not only in the past but also in the present. It is, indeed, the eternal now.⁸

This is an enunciation of the Shingon doctrine of *aji hompushō* (the eternity of creation) decked in Shinto garments; in the following passage we find Shingon cosmotheism, expressed in the characteristic three aspects:

With reference to the universe we call it *kami*, with reference to the interactions of nature we call it spirit (*rei*), in man we call it soul (*kokoro*). Therefore, God is the source of the universe. He is the spiritual essence of created things. God is soul (*kokoro*) and soul is God. All the infinite variety of change in nature, all the objects and events of the universe are rooted in the activity of God. All the laws of nature are made one in the activity of God.⁹

The significant thing about Yoshida's teachings is that by his time the long period of Shinto apprenticeship to alien ideologies had ended, and Shinto spokesmen not only knew the intricacies of Buddhist and other foreign doctrines, but were adept in rewriting them in Shinto terms with ease and vigor. Yoshida was a member of the Urabe family, one of the oldest and most important Shinto families of diviners. For centuries this family had experienced all the tribulations which had befallen Shinto during its period of subservience to Buddhism; with Yoshida Kanetomo at last Shinto once more came into its own, and the persistent devotion of the Urabe family was justified.

⁸ Yoshida, *Shindaishō*, translated in D. C. Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan*, pp. 39-40.

⁹ Translated in Holtom, p. 40. The word "God" should not, of course, be interpreted in the Christian sense; it is the Japanese *kami*.

THE EMPRESS SHŌTOKU

Edict on the Great Thanksgiving Festival[From *Rikkōkushū*, *Shōku Nihongi*, II, 126]

Today is the day of plenteous feasting attendant on the Great Thanksgiving Festival.¹ This occasion differs from the usual celebrations in that we, as a disciple of Buddha, have received the ordination of a bodhisattva. Therefore, deeming that we should serve the Three Treasures with our highest devotion, should next reverence the gods of the shrines of heaven and earth, and should next cherish and love the princes, the ministers, the officials of the hundred departments, and all the people of this land who serve us, we have returned [to the throne] and again rule over the nation. . . .²

Some people believe that the gods shun and will not touch the Three Treasures. However, it may be seen in the sūtras that it is the gods who protect and exalt the Law of Buddha. For this reason we consider that there can be no objection to both Buddhist priests and ordinary laymen joining together in the service.

Hearken all ye people to the imperial command: we do direct that on the occasion of this Great Thanksgiving Festival that which has hitherto been avoided should not be avoided.³

KITABATAKE CHIKAFUSA

*The Records of the Legitimate Succession
of the Divine Sovereigns*

The most important document of medieval Shinto is *The Records of the Legitimate Succession of the Divine Sovereigns* by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293-1354). Like the *Records of Ancient Matters* (712), but far more conspicuously so, Kitabatake's work is a political tract as well as a theological one. It was written at a time when Japan was split between two contending courts, and

¹ Held on the twenty-third day of the eleventh moon of 765, or January 8, 766. This was a traditional celebration held after the accession to the throne of a new sovereign. Shōtoku had recently reascended the throne.

² A few lines dealing with the wines and viands of the ceremony have been omitted at this point.

³ That is, the participation of Buddhist priests in the ceremony. The word here translated as "avoid" has the implication of "to be tabooed."

Kitabatake, as a loyal supporter of the southern court, sought to prove its legitimacy by tracing the descent of the emperor he served from the Age of the Gods. Later Japanese historians for the most part have agreed with Kitabatake in considering the emperors of the southern court to have been in the true line of succession.

The extracts here given include the opening pages of the work and also one of its most famous sections, the interpretation of the meaning of the three sacred regalia of the imperial family. Most of the rest of the book consists of summaries of the reigns of successive monarchs.

The first extract may be divided into three sections—the names of Japan; Japan's position according to (primarily) Buddhist geographical concepts; and the relation between Buddhist, Chinese, and Japanese accounts of the creation of the world. Kitabatake's preoccupation with names and the etymologies is characteristic of Shinto from earliest times, as is shown for example in the explanation of the name "Yamato." Later Shinto scholars never wearied of tracing the origins of such words as Yamato and *kami*.

The second and third sections of the first extract show Kitabatake's familiarity with Buddhist and Chinese writings. He did not reject the foreign theories, but attempted instead to show that they were imperfect renderings of Shinto truths. Buddhist and Confucian books are useful in that they help to spread Shinto doctrines, but they do not give a full picture of Japan's glory, her uninterrupted line of sovereigns. The avowed purpose of *The Records of the Legitimate Succession of the Divine Sovereigns* was to supplement this deficiency and so reveal to Japanese the uniqueness of their country.

[From the *Jinnō Shōtō-ki*, pp. 1-22]

Japan is the divine country. The heavenly ancestor it was who first laid its foundations, and the Sun Goddess left her descendants to reign over it forever and ever. This is true only of our country, and nothing similar may be found in foreign lands. That is why it is called the divine country.

THE NAMES OF JAPAN

In the Age of the Gods, Japan was known as the "ever-fruitful land of reed-covered plains and luxuriant ricefields."¹ This name has existed since the creation of heaven and earth. It appeared in the command given by the heavenly ancestor Kunitokotachi to the Male Deity and the Female Deity.² Again, when the Great Goddess Amaterasu bequeathed the land to her grandchild, that name was used; it may thus be considered

¹ Toyoashihara no Chiihoaki no Mizuho no Kuni. Translations of ancient names of places and deities are only approximate.

² The Male Deity (Izanagi) and the Female Deity (Izanami) were ordered to descend to earth and produce the terrestrial world.

the primal name of Japan. It is also called the country of the great eight islands. This name was given because eight islands were produced when the Male Deity and the Female Deity begot Japan. It is also called Yamato, which is the name of the central part of the eight islands. The eighth offspring of the deities was the god Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Lord-Youth [and the land he incarnated] was called Ō-yamato, Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Island. It is now divided into forty-eight provinces. Besides being the central island, Yamato has been the site of the capital through all the ages since Jimmu's conquest of the east. That must be why the other seven islands are called Yamato. The same is true of China, where All-Under-Heaven was at one time called Chou because the dynasty had its origins in the state of Chou, and where All-Within-the-Seas was called Han when the dynasty arose in the territory of Han.

The word Yamato means "footprints on the mountain." Of old, when heaven and earth were divided, the soil was still muddy and not yet dry, and people passing back and forth over the mountains left many footprints; thus it was called Yama-to—"mountain footprint." Some say that in ancient Japanese *to* meant "dwelling" and that because people dwelt in the mountains, the country was known to Yama-to—"mountain dwelling."

In writing the name of the country, the Chinese characters Dai-Nippon and Dai-Wa have both been used. The reason is that, when Chinese writing was introduced to this country, the characters for Dai-Nippon were chosen to represent the name of the country, but they were pronounced as "Yamato." This choice may have been guided by the fact that Japan is the Land of the Sun Goddess, or it may have thus been called because it is near the place where the sun rises. . . .

JAPAN'S POSITION GEOGRAPHICALLY

According to the Buddhist classics, there is a mountain called Sumeru which is surrounded by seven gold mountains. In between them is the Sea of Fragrant Waters, and beyond the gold mountains stretch four oceans which contain the four continents. Each continent is in turn composed of two smaller sections. The southern continent is called Jambu (it is also known as Jambudvīpa, another form of the same name) from the name of the jambu-tree. In the center of the southern continent is a

mountain called Anavatapta, at the summit of which is a lake. A jambu-tree grows beside this lake, seven yojanas in circumference and one hundred yojanas in height. (One yojana equals forty *li*; one *li* equals 2,160 feet.) The tallest of these trees grows in the center of the continent, and gives it its name. To the south of Anavatapta are the Himālayas and to the north are the Pamirs. North of the Pamirs is Tartary; south of the Himālayas is India. To the northeast is China, and to the northwest, Persia. The continent of Jambu is seven thousand yojanas long and broad; that is, 280,000 *li*. From the eastern sea to the western sea is 90,000 *li*; from the southern sea to the northern sea is also 90,000 *li*. India is in the very center, and is thus the central land of Jambu; its circumference is likewise 90,000 *li*. However big China may seem, when compared with India it is only a remote, minor country. Japan is in the ocean, removed from China. Gomyō Sōjō of Nara and Saichō of Hiei designated it as the Middle Country, but should not that name refer to the island of Chāmara, which lies between the northern and southern continents? When, in the *Kegon Sūtra*, it states that there is a mountain called Kongō [Diamond], it refers to the Kongō Mountain in modern Japan, or so it is believed. Thus, since Japan is a separate continent, distinct from both India and China and lying in a great ocean, it is the country where the divine illustrious imperial line has been transmitted.

JAPAN'S POSITION CHRONOLOGICALLY

The creation of heaven and earth must everywhere have been the same, for it occurred within the same universe, but the Indian, Chinese, and Japanese traditions are each different. According to the Indian version, the beginning of the world is called the "inception of the kalpas." (A kalpa has four stages—growth, settlement, decline, and extinction—each with twenty rises and falls. One rise and fall is called a minor kalpa; twenty minor kalpas constitute a middle kalpa, and four middle kalpas constitute a major kalpa.) A heavenly host called "Light-Sound"³ spread golden clouds in the sky which filled the entire Brahmāloka. Then they caused great rains to fall, which accumulated on the circle of wind to form the circle of water. It expanded and rose to the sky, where a great wind blew from it foam which it cast into the void; this crystallized into the palace of Brahmā. The water gradually receding formed the palaces

³ These divine beings "spoke" with light instead of sound—hence the name.

of the realm of desire, Mount Sumeru, the four continents, and the Iron Enclosing Mountain. Thus the countless millions of worlds came into existence at the same time. This was the kalpa of creation. (These countless millions of worlds are called the three-thousand-great-thousand worlds.)

The heavenly host of Light-Sound came down, were born, and lived. This was the kalpa of settlement. During the kalpa of settlement there were twenty rises and falls. In the initial stage, people's bodies shone with a far-reaching effulgence, and they could fly about at will. Joy was their nourishment. No distinction existed between the sexes. Later, sweet water, tasting like cream and honey, sprang from the earth. (It was also called earth-savor.) One sip of it engendered a craving for its taste. Thus were lost the godlike ways, and thus also was the light extinguished, leaving the wide world to darkness. In retribution for the actions of living creatures, black winds blew over the oceans, bearing before them on the waves the sun and the moon, to come to rest half-way up Mount Sumeru, there to shine forth on the four continents under the heavens. From that time on there were the day and the night, the months, and the seasons. Indulgence in the sweet waters caused men's faces to grow pale and thin. Then the sweet waters vanished, and vegetable food (also called earth-rind) appeared, which all creatures ate. Then the vegetable food also vanished, and wild rice of multiple tastes was provided them. Cut in the morning, it ripened by evening. The eating of the rice left dregs in the body, and thus the two orifices were created. Male and female came to differ, and this led to sexual desire. They called each other husband and wife, built houses, and lived together. Beings from the Light-Sound Heaven who were later to be born entered women's wombs, and once born became living creatures.

Later, the wild rice ceased to grow, to the dismay of all creatures. They divided the land and planted cereals, which they made their food. Then there were those who stole other people's crops, and fighting ensued. As there was no one to decide such cases, men got together and established a Judge-King whom they called *kshatriya* (which means landowner). The first king bore the title of People's Lord [*Minshu*].⁴ He enjoyed the love and respect of the people because he ruled the country with laws which

⁴ Kitabatake's source for this statement, the *Busso-tōki*, indicates that the first king was chosen by the people to administer equal justice.

embodied the ten virtues. The realm of Jambu was prosperous and peaceful with no sickness or extremes of cold or heat. Men lived so long that their years were almost without number. Successive descendants of People's Lord ruled the land for many years, but as the good laws gradually fell into abeyance, the life-span decreased until it was only 84,000 years. People were eighty feet tall. During this period there was a king, the wheels of whose chariot rolled everywhere without hindrance. First the precious Golden Wheel came down from heaven and appeared before the king. Whenever the king went abroad, the wheel rolled ahead of him, and the lesser rulers evinced their welcome and homage. No one dared do otherwise. He reigned over the four continents and enjoyed all treasures—elephants, horses, pearls, women, lay-Buddhists, and military heroes. He who is possessed of these Seven Treasures is called a Sovereign of the Golden Wheel. There followed in succession [sovereigns of] Silver, Copper, and Iron Wheels. Because of the inequality of their merits, the rewards also gradually diminished. The life-span also decreased by one year each century, and human stature was similarly reduced by one foot a century. It was when the life-span had dropped to 120 years that Shākya Buddha appeared. (Some authorities say that it was when the life-span was 100 years. Before him three Buddhas had appeared.)

When the life-span has been reduced to a bare ten years, the so-called Three Disasters will ensue, and the human species will disappear almost entirely, leaving a mere 10,000 people. These people will practice good deeds, and the life-span will then increase and the rewards improve. By the time that a life-span of 20,000 years is reached, a King of the Iron Wheel will appear and rule over the southern continent. When the life-span reaches 40,000 years, a King of the Copper Wheel will appear and rule over the eastern and southern continents. When the life-span reaches 60,000 years, a King of the Silver Wheel will appear and rule over three continents, the eastern, western, and southern. When the life-span reaches 84,000 years, a King of the Golden Wheel will appear and rule over all four continents. The rewards in his reign will be those mentioned above. In his time a decline will again set in, followed by the appearance of Maitreya Buddha. There are then to follow eighteen other rises and falls. . . .

In China, nothing positive is stated concerning the creation of the world even though China is a country which accords special importance

to the keeping of records. In the Confucian books nothing antedates King Fu-hsi.⁵ In other works they speak of heaven, earth, and man as having begun in an unformed, undivided state, much as in the accounts of our Age of the Gods. There is also the legend of King P'an-ku,⁶ whose eyes were said to have turned into the sun and the moon, and whose hair turned into grasses and trees. There were afterwards sovereigns of Heaven, sovereigns of Earth, and sovereigns of Man, and the Five Dragons, followed by many kings over a period of 10,000 years.

The beginnings of Japan in some ways resemble the Indian descriptions, telling as it does of the world's creation from the seed of the heavenly gods. However, whereas in our country the succession to the throne has followed a single undeviating line since the first divine ancestor, nothing of the kind has existed in India. After their first ruler, King People's Lord, had been chosen and raised to power by the populace, his dynasty succeeded, but in later times most of his descendants perished, and men of inferior genealogy who had powerful forces became the rulers, some of them even controlling the whole of India. China is also a country of notorious disorders. Even in ancient times, when life was simple and conduct was proper, the throne was offered to wise men,⁷ and no single lineage was established. Later, in times of disorder, men fought for control of the country. Thus some of the rulers rose from the ranks of the plebeians, and there were even some of barbarian origin who usurped power. Or, some families after generations of service as ministers surpassed their princes and eventually supplanted them. There have already been thirty-six changes of dynasty since Fu-hsi, and unspeakable disorders have occurred.

Only in our country has the succession remained inviolate, from the beginning of heaven and earth to the present. It has been maintained within a single lineage, and even when, as inevitably has happened, the succession has been transmitted collaterally, it has returned to the true line. This is due to the ever-renewed Divine Oath, and makes Japan unlike all other countries.

⁵ Fu-hsi was the legendary founder of Chinese culture, being credited, among other things, with the establishment of the laws of marriage, the invention of writing, and the first instruction in hunting and fishing.

⁶ The legend of P'an-ku was apparently of Central Asiatic origin and not "naturalized" by the Chinese until post-Han times.

⁷ This refers to the decisions of the legendary emperors Yao and Shun to hand over the throne to wise men rather than to their own sons.

It is true that the Way of the Gods should not be revealed without circumsppection, but it may happen that ignorance of the origins of things may result in disorder. In order to prevent that disaster, I have recorded something of the facts, confining myself to a description of how the succession has legitimately been transmitted from the Age of the Gods. I have not included information known to everyone. I have given the book the title of *The Records of the Legitimate Succession of the Divine Sovereigns*. [pp. 1-9]

THE IMPERIAL REGALIA

Then the Great Sun Goddess conferred with Takami-musubi and sent her grandchild to the world below. Eighty million deities obeyed the divine decree to accompany and serve him. Among them were thirty-two principal deities, including the gods of the Five Guilds—Ameno Koyane (the first ancestor of the Nakatomi family), Ameno Futodama (the first ancestor of the Imbe family), Ameno Uzume (the first ancestor of the Sarume family), Ishikoridome (the first ancestor of the mirror-makers), and Tamaya (the first ancestor of the jewel-makers). Two of these deities, those of the Nakatomi and the Imbe, received a divine decree specially instructing them to aid and protect the divine grandchild. The Sun Goddess, on bestowing the three divine treasures on her grandchild, uttered these words of command, "The reed-plain-of-one-thousand-five-hundred-autumns-fair-rice-ear land is where my descendants shall reign. Thou, my illustrious grandchild, proceed thither and govern the land. Go, and may prosperity attend thy dynasty, and may it, like Heaven and Earth, endure forever."

Then the Great Goddess, taking in her own hand the precious mirror, gave it to her grandchild, saying, "When thou, my grandchild, lookst on this mirror, it will be as though thou lookst at myself. Keep it with thee, in the same bed, under the same roof, as thy holy mirror." She then added the curved jewel of increasing prosperity and the sword of gathered clouds, thus completing the three regalia. She again spoke, "Illumine all the world with brightness like this mirror. Reign over the world with the wonderful sway of this jewel. Subdue those who will not obey thee by brandishing this divine sword." It may indeed be understood from these commands why Japan is a divine country and has been ruled by a single imperial line following in legitimate succession. The Imperial Regalia

have been transmitted [within Japan] just as the sun, moon, and stars remain in the heavens. The mirror has the form of the sun; the jewel contains the essence of the moon; and the sword has the substance of the stars. There must be a profound significance attached to them.

The precious mirror is the mirror made by Ishikoridome, as is above recorded. The jewel is the curved bead of increasing prosperity made by Tamanoya, and the sword is the sword of gathered clouds, obtained by the god Susa-no-o and offered by him to the Great Goddess. The goddess's commands on the Three Regalia must indicate the proper methods of governing the country. The mirror does not possess anything of its own, but without selfish desires reflects all things, showing their true qualities. Its virtue lies in its response to these qualities, and as such represents the source of all honesty. The virtue of the jewel lies in its gentleness and submissiveness; it is the source of compassion. The virtue of the sword lies in its strength and resolution; it is the source of wisdom. Unless these three virtues⁸ are joined in a ruler, he will find it difficult indeed to govern the country. The divine commands are clear; their words are concise, but their import is far-reaching. Is it not an awe-inspiring thing that they are embodied in the imperial regalia?

The mirror stands first in importance among the regalia, and is revered as the true substance of ancestor-worship. The mirror has brightness as its form: the enlightened mind possesses both compassion and decision. As it also gives a true reflection of the Great Goddess, she must have given her profound care to the mirror. There is nothing brighter in heaven than the sun and the moon. That is why, when the Chinese characters were devised, the symbols for sun and for moon were joined to express the idea of brightness. Because our Great Goddess is the spirit of the sun, she illuminates with a bright virtue which is incomprehensible in all its aspects, but dependable alike in the realm of the visible and invisible. All sovereigns and ministers have inherited the bright seeds of the divine light, or they are the descendants of the deities who received personal instruction from the Great Goddess. Who would not stand in reverence before this fact? The highest object of all teachings, Buddhist and Confucian included, consists in realizing this fact and obeying in perfect consonance its principles. It has been the power of the dissemina-

⁸ Cf. *Book of History* (Hung-fan); Legge, *The Chinese Classics, Shoo-King*, p. 333: "The three virtues: The first is correctness and straightforwardness; the second, strong rule; and the third, mild rule."

tion of the Buddhist and Confucian texts which has spread these principles.⁹ It is just the same as the fact that a single mesh of a net suffices to catch a fish, but you cannot catch one unless the net has many meshes. Since the reign of the Emperor Ōjin, the Confucian writings have been disseminated, and since Prince Shōtoku's time Buddhism has flourished in Japan. Both these men were sages incarnate, and it must have been their intention to spread a knowledge of the way of our country, in accordance with the wishes of the Great Sun Goddess. [pp. 20-22]

⁹ That is, Buddhist and Confucian texts have helped to spread a knowledge of Shinto because they contain the same essential principles.



CHAPTER XIV

THE VOCABULARY OF JAPANESE AESTHETICS II

The collapse of the Heian society is all too apparent in the terrible wars that mark the close of the period, in the growth of new religious sects (some of which preached that the world had entered its last, degenerate days), and in the successive disasters which befell the once lovely capital. During much of the period from 1100 to 1600 there was bitter warfare, marked usually by the triumphs of the lower rank of warlord over the higher, a tendency which culminated in the victory of Hideyoshi, a man of extremely humble birth. The wars brought so much destruction and death that it must have seemed at times the whole country would become one huge graveyard. It is small wonder that ghosts so frequently figure in the literature, and that the prevailing tone is one of intense tragedy. *The Tale of the Heike*, written at the beginning of this long period of warfare, opens with the words: "In the sound of the bell of the Gion Temple echoes the impermanence of all things. The pale hue of the flowers of the teak-tree show the truth that they who prosper must fall. The proud ones do not last long, but vanish like a spring night's dream. And the mighty ones too will perish in the end, like dust before the wind."

It might be expected that parallel changes in aesthetic principles would at once have developed, and that the new masters of Japan would have imposed new standards of taste. We find, however, that although changes did occur, they were soon softened by the influence of *miyabi* and the son of an upstart warlord was likely to compose verses on the sadness of the falling cherry blossoms. The third of the Kamakura shoguns prided himself on being an accomplished poet of the traditional school, and exchanged *aware*-laden verses with members of the court.

The new aesthetic standards in literature and art which eventually emerged did not represent any sharp break with the past, but were instead an intensifying and a darkening of the Heian ideals. Fujiwara no

Shunzei (1114-1204) declared, "We should seek to express emotions which our predecessors have not already described, but in so doing retain the language which they used." In other words, he did not advocate a rejection of the means of earlier poets, but rather the use of the old means in the search for new ends. It was the ends involved which characterize the period from the end of the twelfth century to the seventeenth century.

The aesthetic ideals which pervaded the poetry, drama, painting, gardens, tea ceremony, and most other artistic activities during this period were summarized largely in the concept of *yūgen*. *Yūgen* was a word used to describe the profound, remote, and mysterious, those things which cannot easily be grasped or expressed in words. Its closest equivalent in Western terms is probably "symbolism," not the obvious symbolism of a flag standing for a country or a bird in a cage for a captive spirit, but what Poe called "a suggestive indefiniteness of vague and therefore of spiritual effect." To intimate things rather than state them plainly was what Japanese of the medieval period no less than nineteenth-century Europeans were trying to do.

The connection between the ideal of *yūgen* and that of *aware* is obvious, but there was a difference. The Heian poet felt *aware* when he saw wrinkles reflected in the mirror and realized that time was passing by and the years of his youth vanished. But this realization was in a sense the end of the emotion: it did not extend to the dark and mysterious regions of *yūgen*. On the other hand, when a Nō actor slowly raises his hand in a play, it corresponds not only to the text which he is performing, but must also suggest something behind the mere representation, something eternal—in T. S. Eliot's words, a "moment in and out of time." The gesture of the actor is beautiful in itself, as a piece of music is beautiful, but at the same time it is the gateway to something else, the hand that points to a region as profound and remote as the viewer's powers of reception will permit. It is a symbol, not of any one thing, but of an eternal region, of an eternal silence. Again, in T. S. Eliot's words,

. . . Words, after speech, reach
 Into the silence. Only by the form, the pattern,
 Can words or music reach
 The stillness, as a Chinese jar still
 Moves perpetually in its stillness.¹

¹ Burnt Norton, in *Four Quartets*, p. 7.

To suggest the stillness there must be form or pattern. If that form or pattern is beautiful, it is enough for many people, and they do not feel a need for any deeper meaning. Others might even doubt whether such a thing as silence beyond the form really exists, and whether one can seriously consider anything like *yūgen* which defies definition or description.

Such doubts are not peculiar to our time. A work written in the year 1430 contains these words: "*Yūgen* may be comprehended by the mind, but it cannot be expressed in words. Its quality may be suggested by the sight of a thin cloud veiling the moon or by autumn mist swathing the scarlet leaves on a mountainside. If one is asked where in these sights lies the *yūgen*, one cannot say, and it is not surprising that a man who does not understand this truth is likely to prefer the sight of a perfectly clear, cloudless sky. It is quite impossible to explain wherein lies the interest or the remarkable nature of *yūgen*."²

It may be impossible to explain *yūgen*, but we can intuitively sense it. "It is just as when we look at the sky of an autumn dusk. It has no sound or color, and yet, though we do not understand why, we somehow find ourselves moved to tears."³ *Yūgen* is the quality of the highest realm of art, an absolute domain to which all forms point. It tends to be expressed in bare and simple terms, as if to keep the mind from dwelling too long on the beauty of the form presented, and thereby to allow it to leap to that realm. There is *yūgen* in the simple perfection of the Chinese jar which "moves perpetually in its stillness," but not in the Dresden figurine. There is *yūgen* in the sound of the Nō flute, which stirs us imprecisely but with an almost painful urgency to an awareness of the existence of something beyond the form, but not in the ravishing melodies of the sextet from *Lucia*. There is *yūgen* in the sight of a tea-master dipping water into a kettle with simple movements that have about them the lines of eternity.

Although *yūgen* may be discovered in many forms of Japanese medieval art, the Nō theatre was the medium which carried it to the highest degree. It was in fact the effect at which the masters of the Nō, and particularly the great Seami (1363-1443), consciously aimed. From what little we know of the Nō before Seami's day it seems clear that it was essentially a representational theatre, with the attempt being made in a

² *Shōtetsu Monogatari* in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, Book 16, p. 929.

³ *Mumyō Hisho* in *Gunsho ruijū*, Book 13, p. 366.

manner not very different from that employed in the West to portray on the stage the actions of dramatic personages. Seami, however, chose to make of the Nō a symbolic theatre, in which the most important actions were not represented but suggested. The central character in many of his plays is a ghost, someone from a world beyond our own which can only be symbolized. Often this ghost returns in his former appearance in the second part of the play, and during the interval between the first and second parts harsh music and inarticulate cries from the musicians suggest the distance of the world of the dead and the pain of being born. The climax of the play is the final dance which symbolizes and resolves the character's anguish.

Seami wrote that spectators of the Nō sometimes found the moments of "no-action" the most enjoyable, when it was not any gesture of the actor which suggested the eternity beyond gestures, but only the unconsciously revealed spiritual strength of the actor. However, *yūgen* was more normally achieved through the means of beautiful forms, and in deciding what was beautiful Seami was guided by the Heian principle of *miyabi*. He says, for instance, that "the *yūgen* of discourse lies in a grace of language and a complete mastery of the speech of the nobility and the gentry so that even the most casual utterance will be graceful." This is another instance of how it was attempted to achieve *yūgen* by using Heian aesthetic means and not by denying them. But what had stopped at the level of being "charming" or "touching" in the Heian Period became in the medieval period the profoundly moving *yūgen*. It is tempting to speculate that in an age of painful changes and destruction like the Japanese medieval period, the need for eternal incorruptible values might well give rise to such an aesthetic ideal as *yūgen*.

Towards the end of the medieval period another aesthetic ideal, that of *sabi*, joined *yūgen*. *Sabi* was a very old word, found as far back as the *Manyōshū*, where it has the meaning of "to be desolate." It later acquired the meaning of "to grow old" and it is related to the word "to grow rusty." In *The Tale of the Heike* we find it used in the sentence, "It was a place *old* with moss-covered boulders, and he thought it would be pleasant to live there." It seems likely that already by this time (the thirteenth century) *sabi* suggested not only "old" but the taking of pleasure in that which was old, faded, or lonely. To achieve the end of *yūgen*, art had sometimes been stripped of its color and glitter lest these externals distract; a bowl of highly polished silver reflects more than it suggests,

but one of oxidized silver has the mysterious beauty of stillness, as Seami realized when he used for stillness the simile of snow piling in a silver bowl. Or one may prize such a bowl for the tarnished quality itself, for its oldness, for its imperfection, and this is the point where we feel *sabi*.

If the Nō is the highest expression of *yūgen*, *sabi* is most profoundly felt in the tea ceremony, and to attend one even today is to get a glimpse of *sabi* at its purest. The tea hut is extremely bare and almost devoid of color. If a flower is arranged in a vase, it is usually a single, small blossom of some quiet hue or white. The tea utensils are not of exquisite porcelain but of coarse pottery, often a dull brown or black and imperfectly formed. The kettle may be a little rusty. Yet from these objects we receive an impression not of gloominess or shabbiness but one of quiet harmony and peace, and watching the ceremony we may experience an intimation of *yūgen*.

The love of imperfection as a measure of perfection in pottery and other forms of art and nature is very old with the Japanese. We find a beautiful statement of it in the *Essays in Idleness* (*Tsuredzure-gusa*) of Yoshida Kenkō (1283-1350) when he asks:

Are we only to look at flowers in full bloom, at the moon when it is clear? Nay, to look out on the rain and long for the moon, to draw the blinds and not to be aware of the passing of the spring—these arouse even deeper feelings. There is much to be seen in young boughs about to flower, in gardens strewn with withered blossom. . . . They must be perverse indeed who will say, "This branch, that bough is withered, now there is nought to see."⁴

The love for the fallen flower, for the moon obscured by the rain, for the withered bough is part of *sabi*. Unlike *yūgen* (to which, however, it is not opposed) *sabi* does not necessarily find in these things symbols of remoter eternities. They are themselves and capable in themselves of giving deep pleasure. *Sabi* also differs from the gentle melancholy of *aware*: here one does not lament for the fallen flower, one loves it. This quality is superbly captured in the *haiku* of Bashō (1644-1694) who, although he lived after the end of the medieval period, was heir to its aesthetic traditions. Many of his *haiku* give expression to a love for old and faded things.

Kiku no ka ya
Nara ni wa furuki
Hotoketachi

Scent of chrysanthemums—
And in Nara all the many
Ancient Buddhas.

⁴ Sansom, "Tsuredzure-gusa," p. 85.

In this *haiku*, which unfortunately depends a great deal for its effect on an exquisite choice of words that cannot be approximated in translation, there is suggested the correspondence between impressions of *sabi* received through different senses. The scent of chrysanthemums, astringent and somewhat musty, blends into the visual impression of the statues in the old capital of Nara—dark, with flaking gold leaf and faded colors. The *sabi* quality found alike in the chrysanthemums and the ancient statues may be contrasted with the Heian love for the fragrance of plum blossoms, recalling the memories of past springs, and for richly colored images, or with the common Western preferences for the heavy perfume of the rose and the polish of white marble statues.

In *sabi* art is valued as a refuge, a haven of tranquility, as is not surprising when we read the early history of the tea ceremony, born amidst the terrible warfare of the medieval period. Even when the warfare ceased in the seventeenth century the need for spiritual peace continued to be met largely by the *sabi* aspects of beauty.

Yūgen can probably only be understood by a person of developed aesthetic perceptions who is spiritually capable of seeing beyond symbols to the eternal things adumbrated, but *sabi* has become very much a part of Japanese life. The Japanese, like every other people, love bright colors, but they are unusual in that they also love the old, the faded, and the underdecorated. This is not always understood by foreigners. During the days of the American occupation, for example, Americans who requisitioned Japanese houses often painted the woodwork to "brighten" the subdued harmonies of the buildings, much to the dismay of the Japanese owners. More recently, when the Golden Pavilion was rebuilt in Kyoto, its dazzlingly gilded walls reflected in the temple pond brought delight to many tourists, but the people of Kyoto said, "Wait ten years, wait till it acquires some *sabi*." This love for the old and unobtrusive may be the best defense the Japanese have against the harsher aspects of mechanization which are otherwise all too apparent today.

SEAMI

On Attaining the Stage of Yūgen

Yūgen is a term which it is difficult either to define or to translate. It primarily means "mystery," and however loosely used in criticism generally retains some-

thing of the sense of a mysterious power or ability. The term was employed as a standard of criticism long before Seami, but it was only with him that it attained its full meaning as the unifying aesthetic principle underlying all parts of the Nō. In this section of a longer essay he gives some of the ways of attaining *yūgen*. It should be noted, however, that he concludes by insisting that it is not enough for an actor to learn about *yūgen* from others—he must attain it through his own efforts.

[From Nosé, *Seami Jūrokubushū Hyōshaku*, I, 358–66]

Yūgen is considered to be the mark of supreme attainment in all of the arts and accomplishments. In the art of the Nō in particular the manifestation of *yūgen* is of the first importance. In general, a display of *yūgen* in the Nō is apparent to the eye, and it is the one thing which audiences most admire, but actors who possess *yūgen* are few and far between. This is because they do not in fact know the true meaning of *yūgen*. There are thus none who reach that stage.

In what sort of place, then, is the stage of *yūgen* actually to be found? Let us begin by examining the various classes of people on the basis of the appearance that they make in society. May we not say of the courtiers, whose behavior is distinguished and whose appearance far surpasses that of other men, that theirs is the stage of *yūgen*? From this we may see that the essence of *yūgen* lies in a true state of beauty and gentleness. Tranquility and elegance make for *yūgen* in personal appearance. In the same way, the *yūgen* of discourse lies in a grace of language and a complete mastery of the speech of the nobility and gentry, so that even the most casual utterance will be graceful. With respect to a musical performance, it may be said to possess *yūgen* when the melody flows beautifully and sounds smooth and sensitive. In the dance there will be *yūgen* when the discipline has been thoroughly mastered and the audience is delighted by the beauty of the performer's movements and by his serene appearance. In acting, there will be *yūgen* when the performance of the Three Roles is beautiful. If the characterization calls for a display of anger or for the representation of a devil, the actions may be somewhat forceful, but as long as the actor never loses sight of the beauty of the effect and bears in mind always the correct balance between his mental and physical actions and between the movements of his body and feet,¹ his

¹ Seami elsewhere discusses the relation between what the actor expresses with his body and what he knows but does not overtly express. At first an actor who has studied with a master does not know any more than what he has learned and what he expresses, but as he

appearance will be so beautiful that it may be called "the *yūgen* of a devil."

All these aspects of *yūgen* must be kept in mind and made a part of the actor's body, so that whatever part he may be playing *yūgen* will never be absent. Whether the character he portrays be of high or low birth, man or woman, priest, peasant, rustic, beggar, or outcast, he should think of each of them as crowned with a wreath of flowers. Although their positions in society differ, the fact that they can all appreciate the beauty of flowers makes flowers of all of them.² Their particular flower is shown by their outward appearance. An actor, by the use of his intelligence, makes his presentation seem beautiful. It is through the use of intelligence that the above principles are thoroughly grasped; that poetry is learned so as to impart *yūgen* to his discourse; that the most elegant costuming is studied so as to impart *yūgen* to his bearing: though the characterization varies according to the different parts, the actor should realize that the ability to appear beautiful is the seed of *yūgen*. It is all too apt to happen that an actor, believing that once he has mastered the characterization of the various parts he has attained the highest stage of excellence, forgets his appearances and therefore is unable to enter the realm of *yūgen*. Unless an actor enters the realm of *yūgen* he will not attain the highest achievements. If he fails to attain the highest achievements, he will not become a celebrated master. That is why there are so few masters. The actor must consider *yūgen* as the most important aspect of his art and study to perfect his understanding of it.

The "highest achievement" of which I have spoken refers to beauty of form and manners. The most careful attention must therefore be given to the appearance presented. Accordingly, when we thoroughly examine the principles of *yūgen* we see that when the form is beautiful, whether in dancing, singing, or in any type of characterization, it may properly be called the "highest achievement." When the form is poor, the performance will be inferior. The actor should realize that *yūgen* is attained when all of the different forms of visual or aural expression

himself acquires mastery there are things which he comes to understand beyond what he has been taught and which he suggests rather than expresses.

The relation between the movements of the body and feet refers to a principle of Seami's that if the body and feet move in the same manner the effect will be crude. Thus, in an agitated passage if the feet are stamping wildly, the movements of the body should be gentle. Otherwise a disorderly effect will be produced which will mar the enjoyment of the spectators.

² That is, their love of beauty makes them beautiful, however humble their station may be.

are beautiful. It is when the actor himself has worked out these principles and made himself their master that he may be said to have entered the realm of *yūgen*. If he fails to work out these principles for himself, he will not master them, and however much he may aspire to attain *yūgen*, he will never in all his life do so.

On the One Mind Linking All Powers

The influence of Zen Buddhism is particularly apparent in the following section. The "mindlessness" which transcends mind, the moments of "no-action" which excite greater interest than those of action, the mind which controls all the powers—all these are familiar ideas of Zen, and show to how great an extent Seami's aesthetic principles relied on the Zen teachings.

[From Nosé, *Seami Jūrokubushū Hyōshaku*, I, 375-79]

Sometimes spectators of the Nō say, "The moments of 'no-action' are the most enjoyable." This is an art which the actor keeps secret. Dancing and singing, movements and the different types of miming are all acts performed by the body. Moments of "no-action" occur in between. When we examine why such moments without actions are enjoyable, we find that it is due to the underlying spiritual strength of the actor which unremittingly holds the attention. He does not relax the tension when the dancing or singing come to an end or at intervals between the dialogue and the different types of miming, but maintains an unwavering inner strength. This feeling of inner strength will faintly reveal itself and bring enjoyment. However, it is undesirable for the actor to permit this inner strength to become obvious to the audience. If it is obvious, it becomes an act, and is no longer "no-action." The actions before and after an interval of "no-action" must be linked by entering the state of mindlessness in which one conceals even from oneself one's intent. This, then, is the faculty of moving audiences, by linking all the artistic powers with one mind.

Life and death, past and present—
 Marionettes on a toy stage.
 When the strings are broken,
 Behold the broken pieces.³

This is a metaphor describing human life as it transmigrates between life and death. Marionettes on a stage appear to move in various ways,

³ Buddhist verse by an unknown Zen master. The last two lines may mean, "When life comes to an end the illusions of this world also break into pieces."

but in fact it is not they who really move—they are manipulated by strings. When these strings are broken, the marionettes fall and are dashed to pieces. In the art of the Nō too, the different sorts of miming are artificial things. What holds the parts together is the mind. This mind must not be disclosed to the audience. If it is seen, it is just as if a marionette's strings were visible. The mind must be made the strings which hold together all the powers of the arts. If this is done the actor's talent will endure. This resolution must not be confined to the times when the actor is appearing on the stage. Day or night, wherever he may be, whatever he may be doing, he should not forget this resolution, but should make it his constant guide, uniting all his powers. If he unremittingly works at this his talent will steadily grow. This article is the most secret of the secret teachings.⁴

The Nine Stages of the Nō in Order

The *Nine Stages* is a summary and systematization of the aesthetic principles of Seami found in his various other writings. It appears to be a late work, and of all his works of aesthetic criticism is the most difficult to understand, partially because of the unexplained technical terms and partially because of its Zen form of expression. As the leading authority on the work, Nosé Asaji, wrote, "In order to understand this work properly one must have had considerable experience with Zen practices and have discovered how to decipher the Zen riddles (*kōan*). One must also have studied Seami's aesthetic criticism thoroughly. Unless this work is approached with the wisdom gained from both aspects of it, it will not be possible to give any definitive explanation of the text." Nevertheless, thanks mainly to Nosé's work, we can now understand much of what Seami was seeking to express in his deliberately elusive manner.

The influence of Zen teachings is apparent throughout this work. Most of the sentences or phrases used to characterize the different stages of the Nō are taken from poems written by Japanese Zen monks; the use of such symbols itself is a typical Zen device. But the general structure, synthetic character, and much of the terminology of this essay are reminiscent of Tendai and Shingon doctrine.

[From Nosé, *Seami Jūrokubushū Hyōshaku*, I, 547-83]

THE HIGHER THREE STAGES

1. The flower of the miraculous

"At midnight in Silla the sun is bright."⁵

⁴ The tradition of secret teachings transmitted from teacher to student is here indicated.

⁵ From a Chinese Zen work also paraphrased in Japan by Musō Kokushi. The reason for mentioning Silla (Korea) here is uncertain, but since Korea is to the east of China it may

The miraculous transcends the power of speech and is where the workings of the mind are defeated. And does "the sun at midnight" lie within the realm of speech? Thus, in the art of the Nō, before the *yūgen* of a master-actor all praise fails, admiration transcends the comprehension of the mind, and all attempts at classification and grading are made impossible. The art which excites such a reaction on the part of the audience may be called the flower of the miraculous.

2. The flower of supreme profundity

"Snow covers the thousand mountains—why does one lonely peak remain unwhitened?"

A man of old once said, "Mount Fuji is so high that the snow never melts." A Chinese disagreed, saying, "Mount Fuji is so deep. . . ." ⁶ What is extremely high is deep. Height has limits but depth is not to be measured. Thus the profound mystery of a landscape in which a solitary peak stands unwhitened amidst a thousand snow-covered mountains may represent the art of supreme profundity.

3. The flower of stillness

"Snow piled in a silver bowl."

When snow is piled in a silver bowl, the purity of its white light appears lambent indeed. May this not represent the flower of stillness?

THE MIDDLE THREE STAGES

1. The flower of truth

"The sun sinks in the bright mist, the myriad mountains are crimson."

A distant view of hills and mountains bathed in the light of the sun in a cloudless sky represents the flower of truth. It is superior to the art of versatility and exactness, and is already a first step towards the acquisition of the flowers of the art.

2. The art of versatility and exactness

"To tell everything—of the nature of clouds on the mountains, of moonlight on the sea."

To describe completely the nature of clouds on the mountains and of moonlight on the sea, of the whole expanse of green mountains that fills the eyes, this is indeed desirable in acquiring the art of versatility and

signify that the sun is already rising there while it is still night in China—a typical device in Taoism and Zen to show that nothing is impossible but only appears so due to the limitations in time and place of the individual.

⁶ Both the "man of old" and the Chinese are as yet unidentified. The meaning is apparently that height can be measured, but depth cannot.

exactness. Here is the dividing point from which one may go upward or downward.

3. The art of untutored beauty

"The Way of ways is not the usual way."⁷

One may learn the Way of ways by traveling along the usual way. This means that the display of beauty should begin at the stage of the beginner. Thus the art of untutored beauty is considered the introduction to the mastery of the nine stages.

THE LOWER THREE STAGES

1. The art of strength and delicacy

"The metal hammer flashes as it moves, the glint of the precious sword is cold."

The movement of the metal hammer represents the art of strong action. The cold glint of the precious sword suggests the unadorned style of singing and dancing. It will stand up to detailed observation.

2. The art of strength and crudity

"Three days after its birth the tiger is disposed to devour an ox."

That the tiger cub only three days after its birth has such audacity shows its strength; but to devour an ox is crude.

3. The art of crudity and inexactness

"The squirrel's five talents."

Confucius said,⁸ "The squirrel can do five things. He can climb a tree, swim in the water, dig a hole, jump, and run: all of these are within its capacities but it does none well." When art lacks delicacy it becomes crude and inexact.

In the attainment of art through the nine stages, the actor begins with the middle group, follows with the upper group, and finally learns the lower three. When the beginner first enters the art of the Nō, he practices the various elements of dancing and singing. This represents the stage of untutored beauty. As the result of persistent training, his untutored style will develop into greater artistry, constantly improving until, before he is aware of it, it reaches the stage of versatility and exactness. At this stage if the actor's training is comprehensive and he expands his art in versatility and magnitude until he attains full competence, he will be

⁷ Paraphrased from the opening of the *Tao Te Ching*, but the meaning given by Seami to the phrase is not the one currently accepted.

⁸ Said by Hsün-tzu and not Confucius.

at the stage of the flower of truth. The above are the stages from the learning of the Two Disciplines to the mastery of the Three Roles.

Next the actor progresses to the stage of calm and the flower that arouses admiration. It is the point where it becomes apparent whether or not he has realized the flower of the art. From this height the actor can examine with insight the preceding stages. He occupies a place of high achievement in the art of calm and the realization of the flower. This stage is thus called the flower of stillness.

Rising still higher, the actor achieves the ultimate degree of *yūgen* in his performance, and reveals a degree of artistry which is of that middle ground where being and nonbeing meet.⁹ This is the flower of supreme profundity.

Above this stage, words fail before the revelation of the absolute miracle of the actor's interpretation. This is the flower of the miraculous. It is the end of the road to the higher mysteries of the art.

It should be noted that the origin of all these stages of the art may be found in the art of versatility and exactness. It is the foundation of the art of the *Nō*, for it is the point where are displayed the breadth and detail of performance which are the seeds of the flowers of the highest forms of the art. The stage of versatility and exactness is also the dividing line where is determined the actor's future. If he succeeds here in obtaining the flower of the art he will rise to the flower of truth; otherwise he will sink to the lower three stages.

The lower three stages are the turbulent waters of the *Nō*. They are easily understood and it is no special problem to learn them. It may happen, however, that an actor who has gone from the middle three stages to the upper three stages, having mastered the art of calmness and the flower of the miraculous, will purposely descend and indulge in the lower three stages.¹⁰ Then the special qualities of these stages will be blended with his art. However, many of the excellent actors of the past who had mounted to the upper three stages of the art refused to descend to the lower three. They were like the elephant of the story who refused to follow in the tracks of a rabbit. There has been only one instance of an actor who mastered all the stages—the middle, then the upper, and

⁹ Expression used in Tendai philosophy of a region "which is not being and not nonbeing, and is being and nonbeing."

¹⁰ Suggested by the Mahāyāna doctrine of the bodhisattva who voluntarily leaves the highest rank to go down to save those at the bottom.

then the lower: this was the art of my late father.¹¹ Many of the heads of theatres have been trained only up to the art of versatility and exactness and, without having risen to the flower of truth, have descended to the lower three stages, thus failing in the end to achieve success. Nowadays there are even actors who begin their training with the lower three stages and perform with such a background. This is not the proper order. It is therefore no wonder that many actors fail even to enter the nine stages.

There are three ways of entering the lower three stages. In the case of a great master who has entered the art by way of the middle stages, ascended to the upper stages of the art, and then descended to the lower stages, it is quite possible to give a superb performance even within the lower stages. Actors who have dropped to the lower stages from the level of versatility and exactness will be capable only of parts which call for strength with delicacy or crudity. Those actors who have wilfully entered the art from the lower three stages have neither art nor fame and cannot be said even to be within the nine stages. Although they have taken the lower three stages as their goal, they fail even in this, to say nothing of reaching the middle three stages.

THE BOOK OF THE WAY OF THE HIGHEST FLOWER (*SHIKADŌ-SHO*)

In this piece Seami, one of the great masters of the Nō drama, sets forth the criteria for consummate mastery in the performance of this art. "Flower" here signifies "beauty" or "perfection," a meaning which derives from the use of the Lotus as a symbol of supreme truth or perfection in Buddhism, especially as represented in the *Lotus (Hokke)* and *Flower Wreath (Kegon) Sūtras*.

Seami was chiefly instrumental in defining and shaping the Nō drama, and his views reflect the synthetic character of the art form which he and his father, Kan'ami, helped to develop. In it elements from earlier dance-drama forms, especially temple and folk dances, were combined to produce an art of the greatest refinement and sophistication. Much of the subtlety and striking simplicity of the Nō manifest the influence of Zen Buddhism, then dominant at the Ashikaga court in Kyoto. But the extreme stylization, precision, and gorgeous costuming of the Nō also reveal the deep and lasting influence of Esoteric Buddhism on Japanese art, though this is today less generally appreciated. The elaborate symbolism, conventionalized movements, and stylized

¹¹ Kan'ami (1333-1384), the first great master of the Nō.

gestures of the Nō relate it closely to the maṇḍala, that typical expression of the esoteric teaching in the field of painting, which, like the Nō, is so inaccessible to those who are ignorant of the conventions which have surrounded these arts from the beginning. To them Esoteric Buddhism has contributed, not so much the conventions themselves, as the essential concern for proper form in the representation of sacred mysteries and the performance of symbolic acts. Through the exercise of all men's faculties, not just the intellectual, Esoteric Buddhism made the widest use of all the riches of the natural world to enhance the efficacy of its secret formulas and thus achieve the unity of matter and spirit in the perfection of Buddhahood. To accomplish this was a great art, requiring perfect mastery. Seami's conception of mastery in the Nō, his insistence on prolonged training in orthodox disciplines and in imitation of one's teacher, as well as his neat numerical formulations and philosophical categories, all attest to the formative influence of this earlier tradition. Seami served his apprenticeship in Nara, the stronghold of Buddhist catholicism which left its seal on the fundamentals of his art. Only later in the Ashikaga court at Kyoto did he find in Zen the final quickening insight which brought these dramatic elements into sharp focus and raised his mature art to the threshold of perfect ease and freedom.

[From Nosé, *Seami Jūrokubushū Hyōshaku*, I, 435-80]

1. The Two Mediums and the Three Roles

Although there are many different items of training in the art of the Nō, the initial preparation should be confined to the Two Mediums and the Three Roles. By the Two Mediums is meant dancing and singing; the Three Roles refer to the types of people represented. First of all, singing and dancing must be thoroughly studied and practiced under the guidance of a master. While the actor is still a boy, from his tenth to his fifteenth years, he should not study the Three Roles; he should merely perform the singing and dancing of these roles while remaining in a boy's attire. He should not wear a mask. His miming should be nominal, and his appearance in keeping with his age. It is similar to the way in which the dancing-boys perform the Ryō-ō, the Nassori, and other court dances in outline only, wearing no masks, and retaining their youthful appearance. This training as a boy is the root of the flower which will maintain its beauty in all an actor's later performances.

When an actor has been initiated into manhood¹² and has come of age, he wears a mask and changes his appearance according to the role he

¹² The *gembuku* ceremony took place when a boy reached the age of fifteen. His personal name was changed and he wore for the first time the hat and clothes of an adult.

assumes. There are many types of impersonation, but the beginner may attain to the highest flower of true art through the Three Roles only. The old man, the woman, the warrior—these are the three. These roles must be thoroughly studied and practiced, and then combined with the various types of singing and dancing which have already been learned. No other training exists in the art of the Nō.

The other forms of miming all derive from the Two Mediums and the Three Roles, and one should wait for ability in them to develop naturally. The noble perfection of the dances of the gods derives from the mastery of the role of the old man; beauty and elegance in the singing and gestures derive from the role of the woman; and vigor in the movements of the body and the feet derives from the role of the warrior. The actor will naturally express in his performance his own conception of the role. If his talents are inadequate and natural mastery does not develop, he may still be considered an actor of the highest flower if he is thoroughly trained in the Two Mediums and the Three Roles. That is why they are known as the measure, essence, and basis of the art of the Nō.

When we examine contemporary methods of training in the Nō, we find that the initial steps are not made on the main road of the Two Mediums and the Three Roles, but instead all kinds of unorthodox fashions of miming are practiced. This results in a lack of mastery, a feebleness of performance and general inferiority—there are thus no actors today who are worthy of the name of "masters."

Having entered the art in a way other than the Two Mediums and the Three Roles, to indulge in fripperies of style constitutes a denatured and peripheral training.

(Author's note: It should be borne in mind that the beauty of an actor's boyhood appearance is preserved in the Three Roles, and the mastery derived from the three roles can impart vividness to every performance.)

2. The lack of mastery

In the art of the Nō a lack of mastery is to be deplored. This matter deserves careful consideration. It seems likely that natural gifts make one a master. May it not be also that natural gifts are developed through an accumulation of experience in this art? Take the case of singing and dancing. As long as an actor is trying to imitate his teacher, he is still

without mastery. Even once he has perfected his imitation, until he makes the performance his own it will be lacking in vigor and inadequate: he will still be an actor without mastery. The master-actor is one who has trained himself thoroughly in imitation of his teacher, and having absorbed his art and made it his own, part of his own body and mind, thus achieves effortless proficiency. His performance is then imbued with life. An actor may be said to be a master when, by means of his artistic powers, he quickly perfects the skills he has won through study and practice, and thus becomes one with the art itself. I must insist on the importance of recognizing the demarcation between mastery and lack of mastery. Mencius said, "To do is not difficult; to do well is difficult."¹³

3. The master-actor

In the art of the Nō it sometimes happens that a master-actor who has scaled the topmost heights of the profession and who is aware of his degree of attainment will perform in an unusual manner, which is then copied by beginners. The perfect freedom exercised by the accomplished veteran should not be imitated thoughtlessly. What, I wonder, do beginners think that they are doing when they copy him?

The art of the accomplished veteran lies in the spiritual strength of his interpretations. It may occasionally lead him to demonstrations of the skill which he has attained after having spent the years from youth to old age in intensive training in all aspects of the Nō, and after having gathered to himself all the good techniques and rejected the bad ones. He may then at his stage of perfection mix a little of the bad techniques, which he has hated and rejected during his years of training, with the good ones. Why, it may be wondered, should a master indulge in faulty techniques? The answer is that it is a method of demonstrating his virtuosity. The master-actor by definition has only good techniques. Thus, if, as it may happen, his excellences lose their unusualness and become somewhat stale to the audience, he may occasionally introduce faulty techniques which will be acclaimed for their novelty in a master's performance. In this way, faulty techniques may actually seem good ones to the audience. This is a case where the talents of the master seem to transform faults into merits. It thereby creates an interesting effect.

If beginners in the art, finding such techniques an interesting method

¹³ This statement is not by Mencius; it is not even in normal Chinese.

of winning applause, believe that they should copy them, their imitations will represent the admixture of essentially faulty techniques with their own immature style; it will be "adding fuel to the flames" of their mediocrity. Imagining that maturity in art is a matter of techniques, they may not realize that it comes from the attainment of mastery. This fact requires careful attention.

The actions which the master performs with full awareness that they are wrong are imitated by the young actors in the delusion that they are right. They thus differ as much as black and white. How can the beginner hope to attain the level of the master-actor without having accumulated experience? When a beginner imitates the mannerisms of the master actor, he is imitating faults, which make him all the worse an actor, do they not? Mencius said, "To do what you do to seek for what you desire is like climbing a tree to seek for fish."¹⁴ He adds, by way of comment, "If you climb a tree to seek for fish, it is merely stupid, and does you no harm. But to do what you do to seek for what you desire assuredly does you harm." The fact that faults of technique in the hands of the veteran master-actor may actually become merits shows that artistic achievements may be obtained by a master-actor, but this does not lie within the competence of an unskilled performer. Thus, if with the limited powers at his disposal, he seeks to emulate the inimitable feats of the master-actor, there is certain to be harm done. It is like "doing what you do to seek for what you desire." As long as the beginner confines his imitations to consummate performances of the correct techniques, however inadequate he may be there is not likely to be much harm done. It is like "climbing a tree to seek for fish." I repeat: the beginner must not imitate the eccentricities and mannerisms of the master-actor's performance. To do so invites mishaps.

Beginners should remain close to their master, ask his advice on their problems, and find out everything they can about their art. Even when they witness examples of the kind of unusual performance I have described they should direct their efforts towards the mastery of the Two Mediums and the Three Roles. The *Lotus Sūtra* states, "Be wary of those who consider enlightenment yet to come as enlightenment attained, and

¹⁴ Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Mencius IA:7. The passage concerns the use of improper means to achieve an end, aspiring to greatness without first qualifying for it through personal cultivation.

mystic insight yet to be achieved as mystic insight won." Bear this in mind.

4. The skin, flesh, and bones

The art of the Nō has its skin, flesh, and bones, but the three are never found together. In calligraphy as well they say that the three have never been found together except in Kūkai's writing. The skin, flesh, and bones of the Nō may thus be identified: the display in this art of the special powers which have enabled one to become a master-actor naturally, by virtue of inborn abilities, may be designated the bones; the display of the perfect powers which have come from study and experience of dancing and singing may be called flesh; and an appearance which exhibits these qualities at their highest pitch, with perfect gentleness and beauty, may be termed the skin. If these three aspects are equated with the senses, seeing may be called the skin, hearing the flesh, and feeling the bones. Moreover, the three aspects may be found in singing alone or dancing alone. (In singing the voice is the skin, the style the flesh, and the breathing the bones; in dancing, the appearance is the skin, the movements the flesh, and the expression the bones.) These distinctions should be noted carefully.

When I look over the contemporary Nō performers, not only do I fail to find anyone who possesses these three aspects of the art, but there is not a single person who even realizes that such things exist. I myself learned of them through the secret teachings of my late father. The contemporary performers whom I have seen limit themselves to a feeble representation of just the skin, and even that is not the real skin. Again, the fact that they imitate only the skin proves that they are actors without mastery.

Even if an actor happens to possess all three qualities, there is another point to be borne in mind: he may have natural gifts (the bones), consummate attainments in dancing and singing (the flesh), and personal beauty (the skin), but it may be that he merely *possesses* the three. He still cannot be said to be an actor with full control of them. To say of an actor that he has attained full control of the three qualities means that he has developed to their limits all of his inborn talents, and being already in the highest rank, reaches to effortless and ineffable performance. His performances on the stage will offer pure enjoyment, and the

audience will lose itself in the wonder of his art. Only on careful reflection after the performance will the audience appreciate its flawlessness; this is the feeling aroused by accomplishment in the art of the bones. The audience will then also be aware of the actor's inexhaustible wealth of skill: this is the feeling aroused by accomplishment in the art of the flesh. And it will realize that, in whatever way it might be considered, the performance was of perfect beauty: this is the feeling aroused by accomplishment in the art of the skin. In view of the effect that he has produced on the audience, the actor may then be known as a master in full control of the skin, flesh, and bones.

5. Essence and performance ¹⁵

We must distinguish in the art of the Nō between essence and performance. If the essence is a flower, the performance is its fragrance. Or they may be compared to the moon and the light which it sheds. When the essence has been thoroughly understood, the performance develops of itself.

Among those who witness Nō plays, the connoisseurs see with their minds, while the untutored see with their eyes. What the mind sees is the essence; what the eyes see is the performance. That is why beginners, seeing only the performance, imitate it. They imitate without knowing the principles behind the performance. There are, however, reasons why the performance should not be imitated. Those who understand the Nō see it with their mind and therefore imitate its essence. When the essence is well imitated, the performance follows of itself. The untutored, believing that the performance is the thing to follow, imitate it; they show themselves unaware of the fact that the performance when imitated becomes an essence as well.¹⁶ Since, however, it is not the true essence, both the essence and the performance are doomed eventually to perish, and the style which they are imitating will cease to exist. It will then be Nō without direction and without purpose.

When we speak of the essence and the performance, they are two. Without the essence, however, there cannot be any performance. There is no such thing as performance by itself, and it thus does not deserve to

¹⁵ By essence is here meant the inner understanding of the Nō, the true accomplishment of the actor; the performance is the actual manifestation on the stage of his qualities.

¹⁶ That is, sets up within the actor a basic misconception of the art.

be imitated. If, however, it is considered to exist and is copied, does it not become a false essence? The connoisseur realizes that the performance lies in the essence and not apart from it, and that there is no reason to imitate it. Such a person understands the Nō.

Since there is no reason to imitate the performance, it must not be imitated. It should be realized that to imitate the essence is in fact to imitate the performance. I repeat: he who bears in mind the fact that to imitate the performance is to create a false essence may be termed an actor who has distinguished between essence and performance. It has been said, "What one should desire to imitate is skillfulness; what one should not imitate is skillfulness."¹⁷ To imitate is performance, to have achieved resemblance is essence.

These items of training in the Nō, some simple and some profound, were not very much considered in the past. A very few of the actors of the old style were able by their innate talents to attain the heights of the art. In those days, the criticism made by the courtiers consisted entirely of praise for the excellences which they observed; they did not criticize the faults. At present, however, their powers of observation have greatly developed, and they have come to criticize the most trifling faults. Thus, unless performances are as polished jade or chosen flowers, they will not meet with the approval of the patrons on high. That is why there are few masters of this art. The Nō is steadily declining as an art, and if training in it is neglected, it may well perish. With this in mind I have recorded in outline my convictions about the Nō. The rest of the instruction will depend on the degree of talent of the inquirer, and must be privately transmitted in person.

Ōei 27 [1420] Sixth Month

[*signed*] Seami

¹⁷ One should supply the words "of essence" and "of performance" to complete the meaning of each part of this curious statement.

PART FOUR

THE TOKUGAWA PERIOD

- 1571 Nobunaga destroys the Enryaku-ji on Mt. Hiei.
- 1582 Nobunaga murdered. Hideyoshi succeeds to power.
- 1587 First persecution of Christians.
- 1592 First Korean expedition.
- 1593 Ieyasu meets Fujiwara Seika. Subsequently, Chu Hsi Confucianism is adopted as official cult of Tokugawa Japan.
- 1597 Second Korean expedition.
- 1598 Death of Hideyoshi.
- 1600 Victory of Ieyasu at Sekigahara.
- 1603 Establishment of Tokugawa Shogunate.
- 1608 Hayashi Razan becomes Confucian tutor to the shogun.
- 1615 *Laws Governing the Military Households* promulgated. Osaka Castle destroyed; final defeat of Hideyoshi's heirs.
- 1616 Death of Ieyasu.
- 1617 Christians again persecuted.
- 1624 Spaniards expelled.
- 1637-1638 Shimabara revolt. Japanese forbidden to leave Japan.
- 1639 Portuguese expelled.
- 1640 Other Europeans excluded.
- 1647 Kumazawa Banzan, having studied Ōyōmei philosophy under Nakae Tōju, enters the service of Lord Ikeda of Okayama.
- 1648 Nakae Tōju (1608-1648).
- 1657 Great Fire in Edo. *Dai-Nihon-shi* started.
- 1665 The Chinese émigré Chu Shun-Shui settles in Mito as adviser to Mito school.
- 1670 *General History of Our State (Honchō Tsugan)* completed by Hayashi school.
- 1682 Yamazaki Ansai (1618-1682).
- 1685 Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685), early proponent of the "Way of the Warrior" (*Bushidō*).
- 1687 Reform program of Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691) arouses the shogunate's wrath.
- 1688-1704 Genroku period, featuring novels of Saikaku, plays of Chikamatsu, poems of Bashō, and Ukiyo prints.
- 1691 Hayashi Hōkō named hereditary Head of the State University.
- 1703 Incident of the 47 *rōnin*.
- 1705 Itō Jinsai (1627-1705), proponent of "Ancient Studies."

- 1709 Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725) becomes Confucian consultant to the shogunate.
- 1714 Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714).
- 1715 Yoshimune becomes shogun. Arai Hakuseki dismissed as Confucian adviser; Muro Kyūsō (1688-1734) employed.
- 1716 Relaxation of edicts against foreign learning gives impetus to Dutch studies.
- 1728 Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728). High tide of Chinese studies. Kada Azumamaro (1669-1736) petitions shogunate to establish school of national (Shinto) learning.
- 1732 Great famine.
- 1746 Tominaga Nakamoto (1715-1746), rationalist philosopher.
- 1769 Kamo Mabuchi (1697-1769), Neo-Shintoist.
- 1783-1786 Serious famines and epidemics.
- 1787 Matsudaira Sadanobu institutes various fiscal and social reforms in Shogun's administration.
- 1789 Miura Baien (1723-1789), rationalist philosopher.
- 1790 Shogunate issues edict suppressing heterodox learning.
- 1791-1792 American and Russian ships visit Japan. Thereafter, for the next half century, repeated attempts are made to open relations with Japan.
- 1801 Motoori Norinaga (1730-1817), Neo-Shintoist and philologist.
- 1817 Kaiho Seiryō (1755-1817), rationalist thinker.
- 1821 Honda Toshiaki (1744-1821), economic and political thinker.
- 1843 Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843), Neo-Shintoist.
- 1846 U.S. warships under Biddle at Uraga request opening of Japan to trade.
- 1850 Satō Nobuhiro (1769-1850), political thinker.

INTRODUCTION

THE TOKUGAWA PEACE

In the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868), which followed the military reunification of the country in the late sixteenth century, modern Japan began to take definite shape. It is for this reason that many historians have been tempted to identify the beginning of the modern era in Japan with the founding of the Tokugawa regime. True, there is some incongruity in calling "modern" a period which saw the perpetuation of a feudal system and military government inherited from medieval times; and a question might also be raised, with respect to the drastic changes made after Japan's opening to the West, as to why, by that time, she should still have been so much in need of modernization. Yet we should have even more difficulty explaining Japan's success in undertaking such a vigorous reorganization of her national life and assuming a very active role in the modern world, if during the preceding centuries Japan had not already been traveling, though perhaps somewhat more slowly, in the direction of her subsequent rapid progress. And among the changes in Japanese society which helped to prepare her for this role, we may point to several significant trends in thought which were already well established in the Tokugawa Period.

The first of these is a marked shift in attention from religious questions—from the Buddhist search for release from the bonds of this world—to more mundane problems. This is not to suggest that Buddhism suddenly went into eclipse or that its light ceased to shine among the Japanese people as a whole, but rather that there was an almost immediate response in the intellectual world to the need felt by the Tokugawa shoguns for a secular ideology that would buttress their own rule. What they sought was less peace of mind than the peace of the nation, and it was natural that they should turn to Confucianism for this, since it was par excellence the philosophy which devoted itself to the problem of achieving social peace and order. Consequently the new "this-worldliness" of the Tokugawa era did not directly concern the

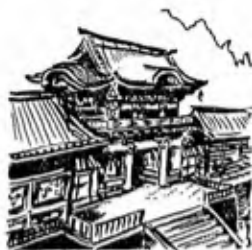
material or physical world so much as the world of social ethics, and it was in this domain that the Neo-Confucianism adopted from China had its greatest impact. At the same time, however, from the Neo-Confucianism which the Tokugawa officially endorsed flowed other streams that nourished and invigorated Japanese thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As compared to Buddhism's emphasis on the evanescence of this world, Neo-Confucianism stressed its substantiality, orderliness, and intelligibility. In the minds of a significant few among Tokugawa thinkers this attitude helped eventually to foster a new interest in the study of nature. More directly, however, it expressed itself in the typical Confucian concern for the study of human history as revealing the constant laws of human behavior and political morality. As applied to Japan this study took forms for which there was no precedent in China's experience: first, it focused attention on the question of legitimate imperial rule and the unbroken succession of the reigning house, which ultimately enkindled a new loyalty to the Throne and prepared the way for an imperial restoration; second, it inspired a new study of native religious traditions which contributed to the revival of Shinto. In time both of these trends fused in an intense nationalism, which consciously rejected Chinese influence while yet incorporating essential elements from the great residue of Confucian moral indoctrination. Perhaps the most striking example of this is the development of *Bushidō*, the "way of the warrior," which joined Japanese feudal traditions with Confucian ethics and placed them at the service of the emperor.

If Confucian historicism thus inadvertently reinforced a growing sense of nationalism, Confucian rationalism, along with some exposure to Western science through the Dutch at Nagasaki and no doubt a certain measure of native realism, helped to keep that nationalism from developing a total blindness to Japan's own weaknesses. We are speaking here of a much less pervasive force in the nation's life—indeed, one which affected only a few exceptional individuals in the educated class. Nonetheless it was from this same limited class that the leadership came for Japan's eventual modernization, and we cannot help but be struck by the fact that the samurai, whose qualifications to rule had once been strictly martial, by the end of the Tokugawa Period had developed in some of its members a competence in other fields of leadership, intellectual



as well as political. The example of Yoshida Shōin, a great hero of the Restoration movement who combined fanatic nationalism, Confucian moral discipline, and an intense awareness of the need to learn from the West, is exceptional. Still, there were other educated Japanese before Yoshida, and these for the most part samurai, who were already grappling with some of the most challenging problems of their own society, economic ones especially, and some questions which only became acute when Japan's doors were forcibly opened. Even when these individual thinkers had no direct influence on their own age, they gave evidence that despite the backwardness of the shogunate itself and the Tokugawa attempt to exact a rigid conformity of thought in the interests of their own security, other forces were at work which would better prepare Japan to take her place in the new world.



CHAPTER XV

HEROES AND HERO WORSHIP

The medieval period in Japan, from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, was one of incessant change which nevertheless served to quicken the economic, social, and religious life of the people. It was only in the political sphere that the powerful centrifugal tendencies of feudal society seemed for long to permit no regrouping of forces which might conform to a more orderly pattern of development. Yet it was precisely during the worst period of disorder, in the first half of the sixteenth century that the centrifuge of war separated out, from over sixty more or less independent domains, a few powerful feudal houses which were to provide the leadership for a new era in Japanese history. Out of the elimination contest among them issued forth three great generals, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu, and through their efforts Japan emerged suddenly united. While they left till a much later time the destruction of feudalism itself and the establishment of a modern state, nevertheless these titanic figures did succeed in bringing Japan to the threshold of a new era, as remarkable for its stability as the old one had been for its turbulence. And in this process the intellectual life of the country underwent an equally striking transformation, step by step with political changes, from the dominance of Buddhist institutions and ideals to that of a new Confucian rationalism concerned with the problems of this changed society.

ODA NOBUNAGA

Significantly, one big step in this process of political unification was the destruction of the power of the chief strongholds of Buddhism. This was the work of Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), who did not live to receive the submission of his secular rivals, but did succeed in eliminating from contention the religious communities which had for centuries played a

questionable and sometimes crucial role in the unending struggle for power over the Kyoto court. Nobunaga, who thus humbled such a mighty—and seemingly indestructible—bastion of Buddhist tradition as Mt. Hiei, was himself of a rather obscure family, a typical product of the upheavals which Japanese historians described, in language taken from the Book of Changes, as *ge-ko-ku-jō*, “the overturning of those on top by those below.” His ambition, which he narrowly failed to achieve, was “to bring the whole country under one sword” (*tenka-fubu*), a motto inscribed on his personal seal. His qualifications for this stupendous task were somewhat paradoxical: a singleminded, ruthless determination to attain his ends, coupled with an amazing flexibility and open-mindedness as to means. His rise to power, though swift, was by no means direct, and a man less stubborn and resourceful than he could not have recovered from the many setbacks he experienced, nor would he have persisted so tenaciously in prosecuting long, grueling campaigns which almost exhausted human endurance and ingenuity. Nobunaga had schooled himself in self-reliance, alertness, and adaptability, and he looked for these qualities in his men, prizing those who could act without orders and granting them the utmost freedom of action. In this respect it may be noteworthy that the only Buddhist teaching for which he seems to have had any use was that of Zen, which likewise emphasizes these qualities. But beyond this Nobunaga was also a master of the art of treachery, and did not hesitate to use the most deceitful stratagems when fair means failed. Moreover, he had a long memory for old injuries and his vindictiveness led him to exact the most cruel punishments from those with whom he had a score to settle—as for instance a man who had once taken a pot-shot at him and who, when caught many years later in religious seclusion, had had his head sawed off at the neck while his body was planted in the ground; or for another instance, the monastic inmates of Mt. Hiei, every one of whom he took elaborate steps to capture and slaughter, irrespective of age or guilt, just to show the world how awful his vengeance could be.

The fact is, however, that Nobunaga was almost as hard on his friends as his enemies. His preoccupation with his own plans, his impatience with whatever did not seem to contribute to their advancement, and sometimes also the depth of his inmost feelings, made him appear wayward and heedless of ordinary conventions. He appeared at his father's funeral in

a dishevelled condition and was criticized for the disrespectful manner in which he tossed at his parent's corpse the incense which he should have burned in homage. Eventually his eccentric behavior, upon which the remonstrances of his aged tutor failed to have any effect, forced this faithful retainer to commit suicide as the only means of bringing Nobunaga to his senses.

Yet his hostility to established tradition and convention left Nobunaga receptive to much that was strange and new, as well as quick to turn recent developments to his own advantage, so that his name became associated with several innovations of lasting significance in Japanese history. Thus his cordiality toward the Christian missionaries newly arrived in Japan seems to have been inspired fundamentally by a desire to learn, but perversely also by his antipathy for traditional Buddhism. In any case his obvious admiration for the high intelligence and nobility of these intrepid Jesuits, as well as his generous treatment of them, won for Nobunaga the distinction of being the first great Japanese leader for whom Western accounts of Japan were to become important biographical sources. He became identified, moreover, with the development of another importation from the Portuguese in the sixteenth century—firearms. Not only was he quick to train himself in the offensive uses of those weapons, but he also took the lead in working out a solution to the defensive problems they presented: the massive castle of the type he built at Azuchi, with its extensive moats and high stone ramparts, which served as a model for the monumental fortifications erected by Hideyoshi at Osaka and Ieyasu at Edo (Tokyo). The protection afforded by this type of virtually impregnable fortress also served to attract those interested in trade, an increasingly important element in the economy of the country and of great potential benefit to the financing of Nobunaga's ambitious schemes. In his indecisive siege of Osaka we find the same historical forces juxtaposed: his recognition of the vital importance of seaports and control of the Inland Sea route; his bull-headed attempt to crush the religious communities controlling these commercial centers, such as the Ikkō followers of the Pure Land Sect in Osaka; and his use of iron-clad ships, for the first time in Japanese history, to blockade the port and cut its lines of communication and supply with its allies in Western Japan.

There is reason to think that he had a keen awareness of the vistas

opened up by Japanese overseas trade, and that he hoped, once national unity had been achieved, to exploit Japan's growing maritime power for the launching of military expeditions on the Asiatic mainland. It remained, however, for his successor, Hideyoshi, to act on this ambitious plan. Before final unity had been won, Nobunaga died in the prime of life at the hands of one of his own generals—a fitting recompense, as the Buddhists pointed out, for one who had risen to power through violence and treachery.

The Burning of Enryaku Temple and the Slaughter of Monks and Inmates

Perhaps no other incident in the life of Nobunaga reveals more vividly than does the burning of the Tendai monastery on Mt. Hiei his ruthless determination to crush any power in his way, secular or religious. In this account by an early biographer, condensing a longer contemporaneous account, Nobunaga justifies his destruction of this venerable center of Japanese Buddhism, with its 3,000 buildings and 20,000 inmates, as necessary to the maintenance of law and order in the country. It is not a vindictive desire to avenge himself on the monks, but—he protests—a selfless devotion to the cause of unification which motivates him.

[From *Hoan Nobunaga-ki*, Ch. 4 in *Dai-Nihon Shiryō*, Part 10, Vol. 6, pp. 871-74]

On September 11, the second year of *Genki* [1571], Nobunaga encamped at Gyokurin-sai's place in Seta, and . . . he ordered his principal retainers to set fire to and to destroy all temples, halls, and quarters on Mount Hiei and to annihilate all monks and inmates. Devoid of compassion, he relentlessly commanded his men to hasten with the destruction. Although vassals close to him, alarmed and confounded, remonstrated with him not to go ahead with the order, Nobunaga's indignation increased and he could not be restrained. Thus, all helplessly acceded to his order. Then one [Sakuma] Nobumori and a lay-bonze Takei [Sekian] of Higo came forward with an offer to remonstrate with Nobunaga. They told him that this mountain center, since its founding during the *Enryaku* Era [782-805] by the joint efforts of the fiftieth Emperor Kammu and Dengyō Daishi,¹ had been the guardian of the imperial palace for 800 years, and that its complaints to the Throne—even the most audacious—had not

¹ Saichō, founder of the Tendai Sect.

gone unheeded. "Although it is said that ours is a degenerate age," they continued, "such an act as the destruction of the center is an unprecedented, unheard-of act." In the face of this strong remonstrance Nobunaga explained that he was not entirely insensitive to the warning, but he requested that they listen calmly to what he had to say. He said, "I am not the destroyer of this monastery. The destroyer of the monastery is the monastery itself. As you know I am one who has not known a moment of peace. I have risked my life. I have devoted myself to hard work and to a life of denial of my personal desires. I have given myself to the hardships of warrior life in order that I might restrain the turbulence within the land, check the decline of imperial prestige and restore it, improve the prevailing manners and customs, and perpetuate the benefits of government and religion. But last year, when Noda and Fukushima of Settsu Province were about to be subdued and their strongholds about to fall, Asakura and Asai seized the opportunity of my absence to invade Shiga in this province at the head of several tens of thousands of mounted troops. Thus, I was compelled to return here and to expel them from Sakamoto. The following day I drove the rebels to the hilltop of Tsubogusa. The deep snows retarded their flight and they were about to be slain by our men when the monastic inmates of Mt. Hiei came to their assistance. You were sent to dissuade and to reason with the monks, but they would not listen. Whereupon, I sent another envoy—Inaba—to inform them that if they persisted in their decision, all buildings without exception, including the central cathedral and the Shrine of the Mountain King,² would be burned and destroyed, and all inmates—clergy and otherwise—would be decapitated. Still they would not yield. I do not speak falsehoods. It is they who obstruct the maintenance of law and order in the country. Those who would help rebels are themselves traitors to the country. If, moreover, they are not destroyed now, they will again become a peril to the nation. Therefore not a single life should be spared." So convincing was his reasoning that even Sekian, the lay-bonze, succumbed to his arguments without a word of protest.

Thereupon, one Ikeda Katsusaburō offered a suggestion, saying, "The day is drawing to a close and the rebels will withdraw and disperse, and their numbers will diminish. Thus, if we encircle them under cover of

² Mountain King, a Shintō deity, whom Dengyō Daishi found enshrined on Mt. Hiei. He chose the Mountain King as the guardian deity of his Tendai headquarters.

darkness and launch the attack at the crowing of the cock tomorrow, not a single soul will escape." Nobunaga agreed. Thus, the attack was not carried out during the day; but in the dead of night his men completely encircled the broad expanse of Mt. Hiei, leaving no room for escape. Then when horns were sounded as a signal for the attack, the men launched the assault from all sides with a fierce battle cry. Although the troops of the monastery contested every inch of the hill, they were not equal to the occasion. Everything, everywhere, from the central cathedral to the twenty-one shrines of the Mountain King, the bell tower and the library, were burned to the ground. Moreover, the holy scriptures—both esoteric and exoteric—and the records of the imperial capital under generations of emperors were destroyed at once. Great scholars, men of rare talents, aged priests and young boys—still with their innocent, delicate features—were either beheaded or taken captive. Some pleaded innocence, claiming that they held no enmity; but they were told merely to cease their pretense and their connivance. Some begged to be spared while others remained steadfast in their faith, saying, "As the world, after the lapse of 500 years, has entered upon the period of the Latter Degenerate Days of the Law,³ there can be no hope for the future. If we burn together with the icons and the images of the Mountain King, the Great Founder [Dengyō Daishi], and the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, it may create for us the merit of attaining Buddhahood. Let us concentrate our attention on the Moon of Perfect Enlightenment, and chastise our hearts in the water that flows from the hillside of Shimei.⁴ Scalding water and charcoal fire are no worse than the cooling breeze." So saying they threw themselves into the raging flames, and not a few were thus consumed by the flames. The roar of the huge burning monastery, magnified by the cries of countless numbers of the old and the young, sounded and resounded to the ends of heaven and earth. The noise was at once deafening and pathetic. A historian has said: "The fall of the Six Kingdoms was the work of the Six Kingdoms and not the work of the Ch'in. The destruction of the Ch'in was the work of the Ch'in and not the work of the nation." Thus, it may be said that the destruction of the mountain center was its own doing and not that of Nobunaga.

³ A period foretold by Buddha in which his teaching would decline and perish.

⁴ Shimei—symbolic name of Mt. Hiei deriving from the Ssu-ming mountains of China where the original headquarters of the Tendai Sect was located.

The Reverend Sakugen of West Kyoto wrote in sorrow over the development:

In all buildings, great and small, on Mount Hiei
 The Law has been in decline;
 What a pity that the Three Calamities of fire, sword, and death
 Have sent their fumes to heaven.
 Even the waters of the lake⁵ that wash the twenty-four provinces
 Have grown hot,
 And the ashes and the embers of three thousand sanctuaries
 Are turning cold.
 Though the imperial solicitude, like the sun and the moon,
 Stood high in a pagoda,
 And the Shrine of the Mountain King
 Has stood long in history,
 The gray-haired deity⁶ has resided there
 Who has been witness of the sea
 Which seven times has turned to land.

The Introduction of Firearms

(As described by Nampo Bunshi in the *Teppō-ki* for Lord Tanegashima Hisatoki)

Sixty years after the introduction of the Portuguese arquebus to Japan, this account was written for a descendant of the local lord of Tanegashima, an island off the southern tip of Japan which was the site of this historic incident. In the intervening years the use of firearms spread so rapidly that it became a large factor in the campaign of unification prosecuted by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, threatening to revolutionize battle tactics and the construction of defense works (including castles). A delightful feature of this account is the purported attempt of the Japanese involved to interpret the nature and uses of firearms in terms of traditional Oriental philosophy.

[Okamoto, *Jūroku seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū*, pp. 187-89]

To the south of Ōsumi [Province] 18 *ri* off the shore, there is an island called Tanegashima. My forbears had lived there for generations. Ac-

⁵ Biwa, largest lake in Japan, located at the foot of Mt. Hiei.

⁶ Reference is to Shiragi Myōjin, the deity enshrined at Onjō-ji on the shores of Lake Biwa. Onjō-ji, a rival of Enryaku-ji, had been attacked and burned several times by the monks of Enryaku-ji; thus the allusion to the "sea which seven times has turned to land," i.e., the sea, in reflecting the burning of Onjō-ji, looked like land.

cording to an ancient legend, the name Tane is derived from the fact that despite the smallness of the island, the number of inhabitants has continued to grow and to prosper, like a seed planted in season. During the Temmon Era [1532-1554], on the 25th of the eighth month of the year of the Water and the Hare [1543], there appeared off our western shore a big ship. No one knew whence it had come. It carried a crew of over a hundred whose physical features differed from ours, and whose language was unintelligible, causing all who saw them to regard them suspiciously. Among them was a Chinese scholar of whose family or given name no one was certain, but whose pen name was Goho. There was at the time a man called Oribe, the chieftain of a village on the west coast, who was quite well-versed in Chinese. Thus, upon meeting Goho he conversed with him by writing Chinese words on the sand with his cane. He wrote: "Those passengers on the ship—of what country are they? Why do they appear so different?" Goho wrote in answer: "They are traders from among the south-western barbarians. They know something of the etiquette of monarchs and ministers, but they do not know that polite attitudes are part of etiquette. Thus, when they drink, they do not exchange cups. When they eat they use their hands, not chopsticks. They know how to gratify their appetites but they cannot state their reasons in writing. These traders visit the same places in the hope of exchanging what they have for what they do not have. There is nothing suspicious about them."

Then Oribe wrote: "About 13 *ri* from here there is a seaport called Akaogi where the family to whom I owe allegiance has lived for generations. The population of the seaport is several tens of thousands of households. The people are rich and prosperous, and merchants from the south and traders from the north come and go continuously. Now this ship is anchored here, but it is far better there as the port is deep and calm." When the report of the foreign ship was made to my grandfather and to my aged father, the latter sent several tens of junks to fetch the ship at Akaogi, where it arrived on the 27th.

At that time there lived at the port a certain Zen student of senior grade who had once been a disciple of Ryōgen of Hyūga. Desirous of attending the lectures on the Lotus Gospel of Universal Enlightenment, he remained in the port, and, in the end, he became a convert to the

Lotus Sect at a monastery called Jūjō-in. Well-versed in the scriptures and the classics, he was capable of writing fast and intelligently. He met Goho with whom he carried on conversation through the written word. Goho regarded him as a true friend in an alien land—a case of like attracting like. [He reported:]

"There are two leaders among the traders, the one called Murashusa, and the other Christian Mota. In their hands they carried something two or three feet long, straight on the outside with a passage inside, and made of a heavy substance. The inner passage runs through it although it is closed at the end. At its side there is an aperture which is the passageway for fire. Its shape defies comparison with anything I know. To use it, fill it with powder and small lead pellets. Set up a small white target on a bank. Grip the object in your hand, compose your body, and closing one eye, apply fire to the aperture. Then the pellet hits the target squarely. The explosion is like lightning and the report like thunder. Bystanders must cover their ears. . . . This thing with one blow can smash a mountain of silver and a wall of iron. If one sought to do mischief in another man's domain and he was touched by it, he would lose his life instantly. Needless to say this is also true for the deer and stag that ravage the plants in the fields."

Lord Tokitaka saw it and thought it was the wonder of wonders. He did not know its name at first nor the details of its use. Then someone called it "iron-arms," although it was not known whether the Chinese called it so, or whether it was so called only on our island. Thus, one day, Tokitaka spoke to the two alien leaders through an interpreter: "Incapable though I am, I should like to learn about it." Whereupon, the chiefs answered, also through an interpreter: "If you wish to learn about it, we shall teach you its mysteries." Tokitaka then asked, "What is its secret?" The chief replied: "The secret is to put your mind aright and close one eye." Tokitaka said: "The ancient sages have often taught how to set one's mind aright, and I have learned something of it. If the mind is not set aright, there will be no logic for what we say or do. Thus, I understand what you say about setting our minds aright. However, will it not impair our vision for objects at a distance if we close an eye? Why should we close an eye?" To which the chiefs replied: "That is because concentration is important in everything. When one concentrates, a broad

vision is not necessary. To close an eye is not to dim one's eyesight but rather to project one's concentration farther. You should know this." Delighted, Tokitaka said: "That corresponds to what Lao Tzu has said, 'Good sight means seeing what is very small.'"¹

That year the festival day of the Ninth Month fell on the day of the Metal and the Boar. Thus, one fine morning the weapon was filled with powder and lead pellets, a target was set up more than a hundred paces away, and fire was applied to the weapon. At first the people were astonished; then they became frightened. But in the end they all said in unison: "We should like to learn!" Disregarding the high price of the arms, Tokitaka purchased from the aliens two pieces of the firearms for his family treasure. As for the art of grinding, sifting, and mixing of the powder, Tokitaka let his retainer, Shinokawa Shōshirō, learn it. Tokitaka occupied himself, morning and night, and without rest in handling the arms. As a result, he was able to convert the misses of his early experiments into hits—a hundred hits in a hundred attempts. . . .

So interested was Tokitaka in the weapon that he had a number of iron-workers examine and study it for months and from season to season in order to manufacture some. His product resembled the foreign weapon in outward appearance, but he did not know how to close the end of the barrel. The following year foreign traders came again to a bay in Kumano, one of our islands. . . . Fortunately, there was among the traders an iron-worker whom Tokitaka regarded as a godsend. He ordered the Commandant Kimbei Kiyosada to learn from the iron-worker how to close the end of the barrel. He learned that there was a spring within the barrel, which discovery led to the production of several tens of firearms in a period of a little more than a year. Then the wooden stock and the ornament resembling a key were manufactured. Tokitaka's interest lay not in the stock or the ornament but in their use in warfare. Thus, his retainers, far and near, all practiced the use of the new arms with the result that soon there were many who could score a hundred hits in a hundred attempts. Later, a man named Tachibana-ya Matasaburō, a merchant, who stayed on our island for one or two years, learned the art of the firearm. He became quite skilled in it, and upon his return home everyone called him, not by his name, but as Teppō-mata.² Following this the provinces in the Inner Circuit learned the art, and in time

¹ *Lao Tzu (Tao te ching)*, LII.

² *Teppō* means "firearm."

not only the Inner Circuit but also the provinces in the West as well as those in the East learned the art. . . .

It is more than sixty years since the introduction of this weapon into our country. There are some gray-haired men who still remember the event clearly. The fact is that Tokitaka procured two pieces of the weapon and studied them, and with one volley of the weapon startled sixty provinces of our country. Moreover, it was he who made the iron-workers learn the method of their manufacture and made it possible for that knowledge to spread over the entire length and breadth of the country.

The ancients have said that if the achievements of our forbears are obscure, the fault lies with posterity; so, here is the record.

TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI

The greatest success story in Japanese history is probably that of Hideyoshi (1536-1598), a peasant boy who first came into Nobunaga's service as a menial, and who, eight years after the latter's death in 1582, became the undisputed master of all Japan. This burly, big-hearted son of the soil had started life without even a family name, and the names he subsequently adopted indicate the successive steps in his rise from obscurity to unprecedented power. Under Nobunaga he was known first as Kinoshita, "under-the-shade-of-a-tree," suggesting his original homeless condition. Next he put together the names of two of Nobunaga's lieutenants whom he desired to emulate and got Hashiba. After Nobunaga's death his ambition to become shogun found expression in the choice of Taira, a family name appropriate to one who hoped to succeed the Ashikaga shoguns of Minamoto descent. Failing in this, he aspired to and won the premiership, adopting the name of the Fujiwara family which had monopolized this post for centuries. Finally, at the peak of his power he took for himself the title, Taikō (His Highness, lit. "Great Palace"), and a new family name, Toyotomi, "abundant provider." This latter desire to be identified with wealth and largesse, rather than with military might, was confirmed by the posthumous title with which he was enshrined, Hōkoku, "Wealth of the Nation," and also by the song sung at his shrine in Kyōto:

Shihyaku yoshū o
 Ryōte ni nigiri
 Cha-no-yu asobasu hito wa
 Tare?
 Taikō san
 Do erai go-itoku

Who's that
 Holding over four hundred provinces
 In the palm of his hand
 And entertaining at a tea-party?
 It's His Highness
 So mighty, so impressive!

Hideyoshi had all the ambition of Nobunaga, but with it a reputation for magnanimity which contributed as much to the achievement of his aims as sheer power. He could use the arts of persuasion and compromise—as when he achieved a settlement with religious communities which had been at odds with and were left unsubdued by Nobunaga—or he could apply overwhelming force with unremitting pressure, as when he besieged his last remaining enemy in the north, the Hōjō at Odawara, for four months with a force of 200,000 men. Yet unlike Nobunaga he dealt generously even with those he had defeated in battle and did not seek their utter extermination.

This characteristic of Hideyoshi's is in keeping with the kind of unity he sought to achieve for Japan: cooperative endeavor by all the feudal houses of the land under his personal leadership. At this crucial juncture in the nation's history Hideyoshi did not contemplate the employment of his unprecedented military power for the achievement of a more thoroughgoing national unification, involving drastic political reforms. Economic forces, such as the growth of commerce and manufacturing, the spread of a money economy, and the extension of overseas enterprises were impelling sixteenth-century Japan along the same path as the rising nation-states of Western Europe, and this impulse toward unity might have been further strengthened by the threatening appearance of these Western powers in Japanese waters. Yet Hideyoshi did not respond with a plan of integration which would have placed Japan on the threshold of progress as a modern state and world power. His own hegemony over the daimyō and their domains was expressed in feudal ties and personal relationships; his ascendancy was that of the overlord, not that of the systematic nation-builder who establishes a new pattern of power on the ruins of the old. Thus he created a new alignment without disturbing the traditional organization of Japanese society. Within it, however, there was a place both for representatives of the old military aristocracy and for new leaders of humbler origin, such as Katō Kiyomasa,

a peasant from Hideyoshi's own village, and Konishi Yukinaga, a drug-merchant and Christian convert, who became an expert in naval matters and an outstanding general in the Korean campaign.

Just as this alignment centered upon the commanding figure of Hideyoshi, so also the objectives it served were bound up with the personal ambitions of Hideyoshi, who looked upon himself as embodying the destiny of the Japanese nation to rule all of East Asia. This grandiose scheme was by no means an outpouring of sudden enthusiasm or a momentary diversion, hastily conceived. The dream of conquering China was part of Nobunaga's legacy to Hideyoshi, and much methodical planning was devoted to achieving the maximum employment of Japan's naval power and logistic capabilities in the Korean expeditions of 1592 and 1597. Nevertheless, it took only the sudden death of one man, Hideyoshi, to bring about the total collapse of this vaunted enterprise and to show how prematurely Japan had been cast in the role of empire. It revealed, too, how much the new regime had been held together by a single figure. With Hideyoshi's passing his power was rapidly dispersed among contending generals and his own son lost out in the ensuing struggle.

Hideyoshi had not been so preoccupied with dreams of empire that he overlooked entirely the business of strengthening the internal administration of the country, and yet the character of those reforms he did undertake indicates how far short they fell of creating a regime which could survive his own demise. Some of his measures to stabilize the existing feudal order, such as prohibitions on change of residence and employment and on the carrying of arms by others than samurai, had the effect of creating a rigid class system which did indeed endure into the nineteenth century under Tokugawa auspices. But these ordinances, issued individually to the feudal lords in various domains on the personal authority of the Taikō, tended more to confirm local autonomy and the status-quo than to assert the direct control of a centralized state over all Japan. Further evidence of this tendency is found in the extensive land survey conducted over the years from 1582 to 1595. The first such survey had been made in the seventh century, following the example of T'ang China, with a view to establishing a tax system which would secure for the state assured revenue from the land, revenue to sustain the large Chinese-type bureaucracy then envisaged. For Hideyoshi, on the contrary,

the purpose of this survey was not to bring all land under the taxing power of the state, but to serve as the basis for awarding such land to faithful retainers and for fixing the income which *they* might derive from it.

If Hideyoshi thus failed to devise a political mechanism which could operate independently of himself, he was nonetheless successful in achieving unprecedented personal power and wealth. He could assign or reassign the feudal lords to such domains as he chose, and he could exact from them substantial contributions to projects which showed forth his own magnificence, such as the construction of a Great Buddha image in Kyoto and a massive castle in Osaka. His great wealth enabled him to become a virtual patron of the impoverished imperial court, upon which he lavished his generosity as no shogun had done for centuries, and to entertain notables from all segments of Japanese society—political, religious, intellectual, and artistic—at his elaborate performances of the tea ceremony. At his death he was already an almost legendary figure, and the imperial court took the lead in expressing the people's reverence for him by granting Hideyoshi the posthumous Shinto title, Hōkoku, or "Wealth of the Nation," and by raising a shrine to his memory on the southeastern heights of Kyoto, above the Great Buddha image he had erected. Almost immediately this shrine, known as Toyokuni (also meaning "wealth of the nation"), became the cynosure of the capital and the nation, the center of a new form of national hero-worship in honor of the godlike leader who had unified Japan and inspired in her people the dream of overseas empire.

Had Hideyoshi's family been able to maintain its position, this shrine would no doubt have been accorded a place among the so-called "Big Five" national shrines. Ironically, however, it was the inscription on the bell Hideyoshi's son gave in honor of the Great Buddha that served as a pretext for Ieyasu's campaign against him.¹ After a long siege the seemingly impregnable walls of Osaka castle fell to Ieyasu's assault in 1615, and under Tokugawa rule Toyokuni Shrine became an object of deliberate neglect rather than of national reverence. This fate had almost been foretold in the poem said to have been composed by Hideyoshi just before his death.

¹ Part of the inscription expressing a desire for the nation to be at peace (*koheka anko*) contained the two characters of Ieyasu's name, and since they happened to lie just at the point where the bell was usually struck, this was interpreted as putting a curse on Ieyasu.

Tsuyu to oki	Like dew I came,
Tsuyu to kienan	Like dew I go.
Waga mi kana	My life
Naniwa no koto wa	And all I have done at Osaka
Yume no mata yume	Is just a dream in a dream.

Even centuries of Tokugawa rule, however, could not wholly obscure Hideyoshi's vision of a larger world in which Japan was to play a part, of a horizon that stretched beyond Asia to Africa and Europe. Two maps he had had made kept this vista constantly before him, one mounted on a folding screen in his palace and the other on a fan with which, while cooling himself, he had fanned the flames of his ambition. During the years that followed the memory of Hideyoshi's exploits lingered on in the consciousness of an isolated, insular Japan, as a reminder of the world beyond her shores and of a destiny which some day would carry her warriors again to the banks of the Yalu.

TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI

Letter to the Viceroy of the Indies

Three years before the date of this letter, Hideyoshi had received a letter from the Viceroy of the Indies (Portuguese Goa) through a Jesuit missionary. This letter, which Hideyoshi wrote in reply, and a similar letter he was to send in 1597 to the Governor-General of the Philippines, reveal his attitude toward Christianity and religion generally, and incidentally his ambition to rule all of East Asia.

[From Akiyama, *Nisshi kōshō-shi kenkyū*, pp. 65-66]

Reading your message from afar, I can appreciate the immense expanse of water which separates us. As you have noted in your letter, my country, which is comprised of sixty-odd provinces, has known for many years more days of disorder than days of peace; rowdies have been given to fomenting intrigue, and bands of warriors have formed cliques to defy the court's orders. Ever since my youth, I have been constantly concerned over this deplorable situation. I studied the art of self-cultivation and the secret of governing the country. Through profound planning and forethought, and according to the three principles of benevolence, wisdom, and courage, I cared for the warriors on the one hand and looked after the common people on the other; while administering justice, I was able

to establish security. Thus, before many years had passed, the unity of the nation was set on a firm foundation, and now foreign nations, far and near, without exception, bring tribute to us. Everyone, everywhere, seeks to obey my orders. . . . Though our own country is now safe and secure, I nevertheless entertain hopes of ruling the great Ming nation. I can reach the Middle Kingdom aboard my palace-ship within a short time. It will be as easy as pointing to the palm of my hand. I shall then use the occasion to visit your country regardless of the distance or the differences between us.

Ours is the land of the Gods, and God is mind. Everything in nature comes into existence because of mind. Without God there can be no spirituality. Without God there can be no way. God rules in times of prosperity as in times of decline. God is positive and negative and unfathomable. Thus, God is the root and source of all existence. This God is spoken of by Buddhism in India, Confucianism in China, and Shinto in Japan. To know Shinto is to know Buddhism as well as Confucianism.

As long as man lives in this world, Humanity will be a basic principle. Were it not for Humanity and Righteousness, the sovereign would not be a sovereign, nor a minister of state a minister. It is through the practice of Humanity and Righteousness that the foundations of our relationships between sovereign and minister, parent and child, and husband and wife are established. If you are interested in the profound philosophy of God and Buddha, request an explanation and it will be given to you. In your land one doctrine is taught to the exclusion of others, and you are not yet informed of the [Confucian] philosophy of Humanity and Righteousness. Thus there is no respect for God and Buddha and no distinction between sovereign and ministers. Through heresies you intend to destroy the righteous law. Hereafter, do not expound, in ignorance of right and wrong, unreasonable and wanton doctrines. A few years ago the so-called Fathers came to my country seeking to bewitch our men and women, both of the laity and clergy. At that time punishment was administered to them, and it will be repeated if they should return to our domain to propagate their faith. It will not matter what sect or denomination they represent—they shall be destroyed. It will then be too late to repent. If you entertain any desire of establishing amity with this land, the seas have been rid of the pirate menace, and merchants are permitted to come and go. Remember this.

As for the products of the south-land, acknowledgment of their receipt is here made, as itemized. The catalogue of gifts which we tender is presented on a separate paper. The rest will be explained orally by my envoy.

Tenshō 19 [1591]: Seventh Month, 25th Day [signed] The Civil Dictator

Memorandum on the Korean Expedition

The Korean expedition, which was only the initial step in Hideyoshi's grand scheme to bring China—and eventually all of Asia—under his control, had been launched only a few weeks before the date of this memorandum. This communication from Hideyoshi to his nephew reflects Hideyoshi's supreme confidence of victory and his expectation that China could be governed by the kind of feudal regime he was accustomed to in Japan. Hideyoshi had assembled at Nagoya (now Karatsu) in northern Kyushu a force variously estimated at from 300,000 to 480,000 men, and the division of about 130,000 men which he reports in this memorandum as having reached the Korean capital (Seoul) had achieved its objective within twenty days of its landing near Pusan.

[From Akiyama, *Nisshi kōshō-shi kenkyū*, pp. 55-57]

[1] Your Lordship [Hidetsugu] must not relax preparations for the campaign. The departure must be made by the First or Second Month of the coming year.

[2] The Capital of Korea fell on the second day of this month. Thus, the time has come to make the sea crossing and to bring the length and breadth of the Great Ming under our control. My desire is that Your Lordship make the crossing to become the Civil Dictator of Great China.

[3] Thirty thousand men should accompany you. The departure should be by boat from Hyōgo. Horses should be sent by land.

[4] Although no hostility is expected in the Three Kingdoms [Korea], armed preparedness is of the utmost importance, not only for the maintenance of our reputation but also in the event of an emergency. All subordinates shall be so instructed. . . .

[The next thirteen items deal with supplying, equipping and staffing the expeditionary force.]

[18] Since His Majesty is to be transferred to the Chinese capital, due preparation is necessary. The imperial visit will take place the year after next. On that occasion, ten provinces adjacent to the Capital shall be

presented to him. In time instructions will be issued for the enfeoffment of all courtiers. Subordinates will receive ten times as much [as their present holdings]. The enfeoffment of those in the upper ranks shall be according to personal qualifications.

[19] The post of Civil Dictator of China shall be assigned, as aforementioned, to Hidetsugu who will be given 100 provinces adjacent to the Capital. The post of Civil Dictator of Japan will go to either the Middle Counsellor Yamato,¹ or to the Bizen Minister,² upon declaration by either of his readiness.

[20] As for the position of Sovereign of Japan, the young Prince or Prince Hachijō shall be the choice.

[21] As for Korea, the Gifu Minister³ or Bizen Minister shall be assigned. In that event the Middle Counsellor Tamba shall be assigned to Kyūshū.

[22] As for His Majesty's visit to China, arrangements shall be made according to established practices for Imperial tours of inspection. His Majesty's itinerary shall follow the route of the present campaign. Men and horses necessary for the occasion shall be requisitioned from each country involved.

[23] Korea and China are within easy reach, and no inconvenience is anticipated for any concerned, high or low. It is not expected that anyone in those countries will attempt to flee. Therefore, recall all commissioners in the provinces to assist in preparation for the expedition. . . .

Hideyoshi [Seal]

Tenshō 20 [1592]: Fifth Month, 18th Day

To: His Lordship the Civil Dictator [of China]

The Sword Collection Edict

Of more enduring significance than Hideyoshi's dreams of conquest were the measures he adopted to solidify his power and stabilize the existing order. Since the twelfth century Japan had been dominated by warriors, but the very warfare which had put an increasing premium on military prowess in medieval times showed little regard for hereditary rights or class distinctions. In the hurly-burly struggles of the sixteenth century peasants and seafaring people fought alongside aristocrats, and through such an exacting test of individual

¹ Hideyoshi's half-brother, Hidenaga.

² His adopted son (*yushi*) Ukita Hideie.

³ Hashiba Hideyasu, a relative by marriage.

merit men of humble origins like Hideyoshi could rise to great power. But Hideyoshi's avowed purpose was to put an end to this disordered state of affairs, and thus to deny others the opportunities which had been afforded to him. One of the many means he had used to accomplish this was his famous Sword Hunt, which deprived the peasantry of their weapons and made fighting the exclusive prerogative of an hereditary class. In justification of this he offered a pious motive as well: the confiscated metal could be used for the casting of a great Buddha image.

[From Kuroita, *Kokushi gaihan*, p. 236]

[1] The people of the various provinces are strictly forbidden to have in their possession any swords, short swords, bows, spears, firearms, or other types of arms. The possession of unnecessary implements [of war] makes difficult the collection of taxes and dues and tends to foment uprisings. Needless to say, the perpetrators of improper acts against official agents shall be summarily punished, but in that event the paddy fields and farms of the violators will remain unattended and there will be no yield of crops. Therefore the heads of provinces, official agents, and deputies are ordered to collect all the weapons mentioned above and turn them over to the government.

[2] Swords and short swords thus collected will not be wasted. They shall be used as nails and bolts in the construction of the Great Image of Buddha. This will benefit the people not only in this life but also in the life hereafter.

[3] If the people are in possession of agricultural implements only and devote themselves exclusively to agriculture, they and their descendants will prosper. Sincere concern for the well-being of the people is the motive for the issuance of this order, which is fundamental for the peace and security of the country and the happiness of the people. In other lands, such as China, the ruler Yao converted rare swords and sharp weapons into agricultural implements after he had established peace. In our country such an experiment has never been made. Thus, all the people should abide by and understand the aims of this act and give their undivided attention to agriculture and sericulture.

All implements mentioned above shall be collected and submitted forthwith.

Hideyoshi [Seal]

Tenshō 16 [1588]: Seventh Month, 8th Day

Restrictions on Change of Status and Residence

The beginnings of the rigid class system of the Tokugawa Period are found in ordinances such as this issued by Hideyoshi. In the absence of more direct control by a centralized administration, it was essential that the activities and movements of the people be regulated by the feudal lords in each locality and that the responsibility for this be clearly defined. The principle of collective responsibility, so much in evidence here, was also embodied in Hideyoshi's revival of the Five and Ten-man Group Responsibility System, which likewise became an important feature of Tokugawa rule.

[From *Kokushi shiryō shū*, III, 280-81]

[1] If there should be living among you any men formerly in military service who have taken up the life of a peasant since the seventh month of last year, with the end of the campaign in the Mutsu region, you are hereby authorized to take them under surveillance and expel them. If persons of this type are kept concealed in any place, the entire town or village shall be brought to justice for this evasion of the law.

[2] If any peasant abandons his fields, either to pursue trade or to become a tradesman or laborer for hire, not only should he be punished but the entire village should be brought to justice with him. Anyone who is not employed either in military service or in cultivating land shall likewise be investigated by the local authorities and expelled. If local officials fail to take action in such cases, they shall be stripped of their posts for negligence. In cases involving concealment of peasants who have turned to trade, the entire village or town shall be held responsible for the offense.

[3] No military retainer who has left his master without permission shall be given employment by another. A thorough investigation should be made of the man's previous status and he should be required to provide a guarantor.

Those who fail to report that they already have a master are to be arrested for violating the law and returned to their former master. Whenever this regulation is violated and the offender allowed to go free, the heads of three men shall be offered in compensation to the original master. If restitution is not made in this manner, there will be no alternative except to hold the new master responsible and bring him to justice.

Such are the provisions of this ordinance.

Hideyoshi [*Seal*]

Tenshō 19 [1591]: Eighth Month, 21st Day

TOKUGAWA IEYASU

Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), from the lower ranks of the feudal gentry, rose to prominence in the armies of Nobunaga and won undisputed mastery over Japan after Hideyoshi's death, first by defeating a powerful coalition of rivals at Sekigahara in 1600 and finally by reducing the Osaka fortress of Hideyori in 1615. Short, stout, and somewhat ugly to look at, he was powerfully built and famous as a commander for his thunderous battle-cry. Less impetuous than Nobunaga, less colorful and dramatic than Hideyoshi, Ieyasu surpassed both in foresight and political acumen, which enabled him to climax his military triumphs by the achievement of a lasting peace. It was to be the longest period of peace—and for the most part, prosperity—which Japan has ever known, one which saw his own family retain unbroken control of the shogunate down to 1868.

For this achievement Ieyasu was revered—almost to the point of idolatry—as a national hero by many generations of Japanese, his cult quickly displacing that which had so lately grown up around the magnificent Hideyoshi. Neither a thinker nor a writer, Ieyasu nevertheless figured prominently in the history of Japanese thought for over two centuries, and in the popular mind became the focus of some of the most diverse and persistent tendencies in the religious life of the time. We have tangible evidence of this in the famous shrine at Nikkō, dedicated to him. There is a common saying,

Nikkō minai de

Speak not of beauty

Kekkō to yū na

Until you have seen Nikkō.

Some discriminating judges may dispute whether the pretentious architecture and ornate design of the Nikkō shrine justify such high praise as is proverbially accorded to it, but none can deny it a place as one of the great monuments of Japanese architecture, heightened by a natural setting of picturesque mountains and giant evergreens which overlook vast

stretches of the eastern plains. Officially it is classed as one of the five leading Shinto shrines of Japan (designated as *miya* or *gū*) among which is the famous shrine to the Sun Goddess at Ise.¹ Built at a great cost, in gold, silver, and rice, to the shogunate treasury, supplemented by sizeable contributions from the Tokugawa feudatories, this lavish creation was obviously meant to associate the cult of Ieyasu with the Sun Goddess, if not to rival Ise itself. Nikkō means "Sunshine" and the title granted the new shrine was Tōshō-gū, "Shrine of the Sun God of the East." Even the Emperor in Kyoto, who claimed to be a living descendant of the Sun Goddess, gave his imprimatur to the title by autographing a scroll painted by the foremost artist of the time, Kanō Tanyū, called "An Illustrated Account of the Sunshine Shrine."

One of the most distinctive features of the Nikkō cult, however, is the fact that it is not merely Shintoist. An attempt was initially made by the exclusive "One and Only" Shinto sect to have Ieyasu enshrined like Hideyoshi as a Shinto deity alone, but the venerable Abbot Tenkai, who had been Ieyasu's closest religious and political adviser, prevailed in the choice of the posthumous title, Tōshō Gongen, "Buddha Incarnate as the Sun God of the East." Ieyasu had indeed been a devout Buddhist all his life. Amidism was especially strong in the region he came from, and his most intimate spiritual confidant was the Amidist, Zon'ō. Ieyasu's humility, his forbearance, his sense of equity, his love of peace, and his abiding concern for the life hereafter, all suggest the deep and persistent influence of the Pure Land teaching. But his creed, which verged on monotheism in its exclusive devotion to Amida, was an embarrassment politically. It had no place for the Shinto deities or even for the other Buddhas, and yet Ieyasu, the overlord of Japanese of many faiths, somehow had to reconcile their claims. In the catholic syncretism of the Tendai school, as represented by Abbot Tenkai, he found a doctrine which embraced Shinto particularism in Buddhist universalism—native deities are so many manifestations of the cosmic Buddha. It is appropriate, then, that Tenkai should have succeeded in identifying Ieyasu with the Cosmic Buddha, known in Japanese as Dainichi or "Great Sun." He thus became both the Sun God and the Sun Buddha of the East.

Of all the schools of thought in Japan, however, the one which owed

¹ The other three are the shrine to Hachiman in Kamakura; Temmangū, dedicated to Sugawara Michizane at Kitano in Kyoto; and the Kasuga Shrine in Nara.

most to Ieyasu and had the most reason to venerate him was the Confucian school, which was to dominate the intellectual life of the Tokugawa Period. After the nation had been united in submission to the new shogun, his great task was to restore social order, stability, and peace. Confucianism he found well suited to assist him in this task, especially the Neo-Confucian philosophy of Chu Hsi which had already gained wide acceptance and official sanction in China, though centuries of turmoil and disunity had hindered its spread in Japan. Buddhism, which had long since declined on the Continent but was still a living force in Ieyasu's homeland, generally took a pessimistic view of life in this changing uncertain world. It had little hope in human society or the moral order; all laws but the one Law of Buddha's Liberating Truth were delusive and burdensome. The Buddhist solution was to "leave the world," to seek total emancipation by Enlightenment or through the saving power of Amida. But Ieyasu and his successors sought peace and order here and now, and the rational humanism of Chu Hsi gave some promise of this in its stress on the rule of law and order throughout the universe, its optimistic view of man's political and social intelligence, and its insistence upon individual morality as the foundation of the state.

A soldier with little time for formal education, Ieyasu nevertheless was as noted for his interest in the "arts of peace" as for his accomplishments in war. He surrounded himself with learned men, and greatly encouraged the printing of books. Still, his intellectual concerns were intensely practical; not the metaphysical theories of the Sung philosophers, but the political history of China and Japan was what attracted him most. One of his idols was the founder of the T'ang dynasty, T'ai-tsung, the greatest organizer and administrator of empire which the Far East had so far seen. It is significant, however, that Ieyasu was far more inclined to emulate the personal virtues of a T'ang T'ai-tsung than to imitate the imperial institutions of China. He was no more tempted, indeed, than Hideyoshi to undertake the wholesale revamping of Japanese institutions which such an ambition would have required.

As it was, the stable political system which Ieyasu handed on to his long line of Tokugawa successors contained little that was new and much that derived from the rule of Hideyoshi. Unlike the civil bureaucracy of China, it was an avowed military government predicated upon a feudal organization of society and a hereditary aristocracy. The shogunate's

principal concern was with the disposition of the feudal houses, which it placed in such a manner that its closest adherents could afford maximum support and protection to the new regime and its potential enemies the least possible resistance. Following this policy earlier, Hideyoshi had been responsible for moving the Tokugawa to new headquarters in the strategic fishing village of Edo, which has since become Tokyo. From its massive fortress there the shogunate saw to it that their feudatories did not build castles of comparable size, and that they took up periodic residence or left hostages in Edo as insurance against hostile activities. Such general measures as the Bakufu, or military government, enforced were meant to regulate the relations of the feudal lords among one another, so as to prevent any horizontal combination from forming which might cut through or disrupt the vertical control of the Tokugawa overlords. The effect of this policy was to seal off the feudatories and set them apart, to encourage dispersion of power, decentralization, and particularism. Within these bounds the various domains enjoyed their traditional autonomy, and the Bakufu refrained from interfering in their internal administration except insofar as necessary to preserve the status quo in all things. Frankly and unqualifiedly conservative, and opposed in principle to any "innovation," the Tokugawa confirmed the class restrictions of Hideyoshi as a bar to social mobility, and also Hideyoshi's stern system of collective responsibility in five-man groups (*gonin-gumi*) for individual crimes.

Though not uniformly successful in preventing change or innovation, the shogunate did at least maintain its rule unbroken for two and a half centuries, due partly to superior management of the Tokugawa household by a Council of Elders ensuring continuity of administration regardless of the capabilities of the incumbent shogun. In addition, among the other considerations which may explain the durability of so reactionary a government is the basic fact that it did not attempt to do too much, but concentrated its efforts on the maintenance of peace and security, which in turn fostered prosperity and general well-being. Another factor is certainly the effectiveness of that ethical code, feudal and Confucian, which it promoted so assiduously among all segments of the population. Much of the legal code of the Tokugawa consists of ethical maxims or injunctions, which today may appear naive and quaint or else unduly to infringe upon the domain of private morality. Yet in a feudal society,

where the governmental structure was built upon personal relationships and so much depended upon the loyalty, fitness, and discretion of the individual members of the ruling class, such a code served a vital need and its universal acceptance took the place to a large extent of centralized control backed by force. The Tokugawa appreciated that the voluntary, internalized restraints of Confucian morality, reinforcing the rigid self-discipline of feudal tradition, could be a potent force in itself for the maintenance of order. The effectiveness of this policy is indicated by the infrequent application of armed force in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so much so that the samurai, or warrior, class was deprived of any real opportunity to discharge its military function. Whatever else may have contributed to this remarkable development, there can be no doubt that the Tokugawa succeeded admirably in inculcating among all ranks of Japanese a system of ethics which served well its own security requirements, and which became so deeply ingrained in the life of the people that it long outlived the shogunate itself.

Laws Governing the Military Households

The character of Tokugawa rule is nowhere better shown than in the laws governing the military aristocracy promulgated in 1615, a year before Ieyasu's death, by his successor as shogun, Hidetada. The object of these laws was to insure peace and order among the feudal domains, not to interfere unduly in local matters. Extremely precise in regard to certain security requirements affecting the interests of the Tokugawa as military overlords, this code gave only the most generalized sort of moral guidance to the feudal nobility in other areas of administration. It thus reflects the continuing force of feudal traditions, stressing individual rule, personal loyalties, and martial virtues, and also Confucian emphasis upon personal morality as the foundation of the social order.

Similar regulations were later issued for the imperial household, the court families and the Buddhist communities, setting forth the conditions and procedures according to which these largely self-governing bodies were to conduct their own affairs.

The commentary on the various provisions below contains numerous maxims and quotations from earlier authorities, legal and canonical, often loosely applied to the case in hand and without attribution as to source. To avoid excessive annotation, only a few sample quotations are identified.

[From Ono Kiyoshi, *Tokugawa seido shiryō*, pp. 2-4]

[1] The arts of peace and war, including archery and horsemanship, should be pursued single-mindedly.

From of old the rule has been to practice "the arts of peace on the left hand, and the arts of war on the right"; both must be mastered. Archery and horsemanship are indispensable to military men. Though arms are called instruments of evil, there are times when they must be resorted to. In peacetime we should not be oblivious to the danger of war. Should we not, then, prepare ourselves for it?

[2] Drinking parties and wanton revelry should be avoided.

In the codes that have come down to us this kind of dissipation has been severely proscribed. Sexual indulgence and habitual gambling lead to the downfall of a state.

[3] Offenders against the law should not be harbored or hidden in any domain.

Law is the basis of social order. Reason may be violated in the name of the law, but law may not be violated in the name of reason. Those who break the law deserve heavy punishment.

[4] Great lords (daimyō), the lesser lords, and officials should immediately expel from their domains any among their retainers or henchmen who have been charged with treason or murder.

Wild and wicked men may become weapons for overturning the state and destroying the people. How can they be allowed to go free?

[5] Henceforth no outsider, none but the inhabitants of a particular domain, shall be permitted to reside in that domain.

Each domain has its own ways. If a man discloses the secrets of one's own country to another domain or if the secrets of the other domain are disclosed to one's own, that will sow the seeds of deceit and sycophancy.

[6] Whenever it is intended to make repairs on a castle of one of the feudal domains, the [shogunate] authorities should be notified. The construction of any new castles is to be halted and stringently prohibited.

"Big castles are a danger to the state."¹ Walls and moats are the cause of great disorders.

[7] Immediate report should be made of innovations which are being planned or of factional conspiracies being formed in neighboring domains.

"Men all incline toward partisanship; few are wise and impartial. There are some who refuse to obey their masters, and others who feud

¹ Legge, *The Chinese Classics, Tso Chuen*, pp. 2, 5. "Any metropolitan city, whose walls are more than 3,000 cubits round, is dangerous to the state. According to the regulations of the former kings, such a city . . . can have walls only a third as long as the capital."

with their neighbors."² Why, instead of abiding by the established order, do they wantonly embark upon new schemes?

[8] Do not enter into marriage privately [i.e., without notifying the shogunate authorities].

Marriage follows the principle of harmony between yin and yang, and must not be entered into lightly. In the *Book of Changes*, under the thirty-eighth hexagram (*k'uei*), it says, "Marriage should not be contracted out of enmity [against another]. Marriages intended to effect an alliance with enemies [of the state] will turn out badly."³ The Peach Blossom ode in *The Book of Poetry* also says that "When men and women are proper in their relationships and marriage is arranged at the correct time; then throughout the land there will be no loose women."⁴ To form an alliance by marriage is the root of treason.

[9] Visits of the *daimyō* to the capital are to be in accordance with regulations.

The *Chronicles of Japan, Continued*, contains a regulation that "Clansmen should not gather together whenever they please, but only when they have to conduct some public business; and also that the number of horsemen serving as an escort in the capital should be limited to twenty. . . ." *Daimyō* should not be accompanied by a large number of soldiers. Twenty horsemen shall be the maximum escort for *daimyō* with an income of from one million to two hundred thousand *roku* of rice.⁵ For those with an income of one hundred thousand *roku* or less, the escort should be proportionate to their income. On official missions, however, they may be accompanied by an escort proportionate to their rank.

[10] Restrictions on the type and quality of dress to be worn should not be transgressed.

Lord and vassal, superior and inferior, should observe what is proper to their station in life. [Then follows an injunction against the wearing of fine white damask or purple silk by retainers without authorization.]

[11] Persons without rank shall not ride in palanquins.

² From the Constitution of Prince Shotoku. See Chapter III.

³ These passages have been pieced together from the sub-commentary on the 38th hexagram, in which context they have quite a different significance from that indicated here.

⁴ Legge, *The Chinese Classics, She King*, Prolegomena, p. 38, Preface to the 6th ode, T'ao yao. The original text reads "throughout the land there will be no widowers." A character has been substituted here which means "unattached female" and also has the misleading connotation of "seductive and frivolous." There is only the remotest connection between the original context and the purpose which the quotation is made to serve here.

⁵ Rank was indicated by the estimated revenue from lands held in fief.

From of old there have been certain families entitled to ride in palanquins without special permission, and others who have received such permission. Recently, however, even the ordinary retainers and henchmen of some families have taken to riding about in palanquins, which is truly the worst sort of presumption. Henceforth permission shall be granted only to the lords of the various domains, their close relatives and ranking officials, medical men and astrologers, those over sixty years of age, and those ill or infirm. In the cases of ordinary household retainers or henchmen who willfully ride in palanquins, their masters shall be held accountable.

Exceptions to this law are the court families, Buddhist prelates, and the clergy in general.

[12] The samurai of the various domains shall lead a frugal and simple life.

When the rich make a display of their wealth, the poor are humiliated and envious. Nothing engenders corruption so much as this, and therefore it must be strictly curbed.

[13] The lords of the domains should select officials with a capacity for public administration.

Good government depends on getting the right men. Due attention should be given to their merits and faults; rewards and punishments must be properly meted out. If a domain has able men, it flourishes; if it lacks able men it is doomed to perish. This is the clear admonition of the wise men of old.

The purport of the foregoing should be conscientiously observed.

Military Government and the Social Order

This anecdote told by a contemporary of Ieyasu gives the latter's views on the functions of the emperor, the shogun, and the four classes of society. They reflect both the warlike virtues of the feudal society through which he struggled to power and the Confucian social theories by which he hoped to preserve that power in peace. Note that the Emperor's duties are largely ceremonial, while the shogun serves as actual ruler.

[From *Korō shodan*, in *Dai-Nihon shiryō*, Part 12, Vol. 24, pp. 546-49]

Once, Lord Tōshō [Ieyasu] conversed with Honda, Governor Sado, on the subject of the emperor, the shogun, and the farmer. "Whether there is order or chaos in the nation depends on the virtues and vices of these three. The emperor, with compassion in his heart for the needs of the

people, must not be remiss in the performance of his duties—from the early morning worship of the New Year to the monthly functions of the court. Secondly, the shogun must not forget the possibility of war in peacetime, and must maintain his discipline. He should be able to maintain order in the country; he should bear in mind the security of the sovereign; and he must strive to dispel the anxieties of the people. One who cultivates the way of the warrior only in times of crisis is like a rat who bites his captor in the throes of being captured. The man may die from the effects of the poisonous bite, but to generate courage on the spur of the moment is not the way of a warrior. To assume the way of the warrior upon the outbreak of war is like a rat biting his captor. Although this is better than fleeing from the scene, the true master of the way of the warrior is one who maintains his martial discipline even in time of peace. Thirdly, the farmer's toil is proverbial—from the first grain to a hundred acts of labor. He selects the seed from last fall's crop, and undergoes various hardships and anxieties through the heat of the summer until the seed grows finally to a rice plant. It is harvested and husked and then offered to the land steward. The rice then becomes sustenance for the multitudes. Truly, the hundred acts of toil from last fall to this fall are like so many tears of blood. Thus, it is a wise man who, while partaking of his meal, appreciates the hundred acts of toil of the people. Fourthly, the artisan's occupation is to make and prepare wares and utensils for the use of others. Fifthly, the merchant facilitates the exchange of goods so that the people can cover their nakedness and keep their bodies warm. As the people produce clothing, food and housing, which are called the 'three treasures,' they deserve our every sympathy."

Ieyasu's Secret

From the reminiscences of an elderly man who had followed Ieyasu's activities at his military headquarters, we learn of this occasion on which the Tokugawa leader summed up his philosophy of life in just four words. Here the influence of "tender-minded" Amidism and Taoism is quite strong on this "tough-minded" general.

[From Daidō-ji Yūzan, *Iwabuchi Yawa-besshū* in *Dai-Nihon shiryō*, Part 12, Vol. 24, pp. 438-39]

At Suruga Castle one evening after the Osaka campaign, Ieyasu summoned his attendants before him and spoke thus: "As you know, I was born in the very midst of the period of turbulent warfare. Every day,

from dawn to dusk and since my boyhood, my body and soul have been given to the councils of war. I have had little time to pursue learning. However, there is a line from a text I have studied which I have always retained in my mind. Since my days at the castle in Okazaki, Mikawa to the present time of the unification of the country, I have always acted according to the principle expressed in that one line in attempting to establish by deeds the fortunes of my family. What do you think that line is, and where does it come from: the Confucian canon or the biographies of the sages, or the words of Buddha? I should like you to think about it," he ordered.

Among those in attendance on that occasion were some who possessed great learning. They ventured one answer after another, only to be told they were incorrect. Soon all admitted that they did not know the answer. Then Ieyasu spoke thus: "From the statements you have just made suggesting the presence of the line in the Four Books and the Five Classics, or in the sayings of the sages and the scholars, this line must indeed be an important text in literary studies. However, as you know, I am unlettered, and therefore I am not certain of its source. At any rate, the line which I learned in my boyhood and which I have always retained in my mind runs, 'Requite malice with kindness.'¹ It has been useful to me on many occasions, great and small. That is the secret formula I wish to confide to you today" said Ieyasu smiling.

Ieyasu and the Arts of Peace

Although Ieyasu had had little formal education and left no writings of significance, anecdotes told by his contemporaries reveal him as a man with a deep respect for learning, and especially for that which bore on the conduct of life, government or war. The following excerpt from an official chronicle indicates his breadth of mind, his particular interest in Chinese political history and thought, and his encouragement of learning through the promotion of printing. Movable type had been introduced to Japan from Korea and the West at the turn of the century.

[From *Tōshō-gū go-jikkī*, by Narushima Motonao, in Kuroita, *Kokushi gaikan*, p. 282]

Having lived from boyhood to manhood in military encampments, and having suffered hardship after hardship in countless battles, large and

¹ From Lao Tzu, LXIII.

small, His Lordship had little time to read or study. Although he had conquered the country on horseback, being a man of innate intelligence and wisdom, he fully appreciated the impossibility of governing the country on horseback. According to his judgment there could be no other way to govern the country than by a constant and deep faith in the sages and the scholars, and as a human being interested in the welfare of his fellow human beings, he patronized scholarship from the very beginning of his rule. Thus, he soon gained a reputation as a great devotee of letters and as one with a taste for elegant prose and poetry. On one occasion, Shimazu Yoshihisa, whose Buddhist name was Ryūhaku, took the trouble to arrange a poetry composition party in Ieyasu's honor, only to learn that His Lordship did not care at all for such a vain pastime. He listened again and again to discourses on the *Four Books*, the *Records of the Historian* by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, and the *Precepts and Policies of T'ang T'ai-tsung* (*Chen-kuan cheng-yao*) as well as the *Six Tactics* and *Three Strategies*.¹ Among Japanese works he gave special attention to the *Institutes of Engi*, the *Mirror of the East*, and the *Kemmu Regulations*.²

He kept the company of Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Dōshun as well as the Three Elders of Nanzen-ji, the Elder Tetsu of Tōfuku-ji, the Courtier Kiyohara Hidekata, Lieutenant General Minase Chikatomo, Sanyō of the Ashikaga School, the Elder [Shōda] of Rokuon-in, and the Abbot Tenkai in whose discourses about [The Confucian sage-kings] Wen and Wu, the First Han Emperor's magnanimity and tolerance, and T'ang T'ai Tsung's openmindedness and amenability to suggestion he found constant delight. He also extolled the spirit of personal sacrifice and the utterances and deeds of loyalty to the state of such [great Chinese statesmen] as T'ai Kung-wang, Chang Liang, Han Hsin, Wei Cheng, and Fang Hsuan-ling. And among the warriors of our country he constantly asked for discourses on the General of the Right of Kamakura (Minamoto Yoritomo). Whatever the subject, he was interested, not in the turn of a phrase or in literary embellishments, but only in discovering the key to government—how to govern oneself, the people, and the country.

¹ The *Liu t'ao* and *San-tieh*, works on the art of war falsely attributed to Lu Wang of the early Chou and Huang Shih-kung of the third century B.C., respectively.

² The *Engi shiki*, a compilation of governmental regulations in A.D. 927; the *Azuma kagami*, a chronicle of the Kamakura Shogunate from 1180 to 1266; and the *Kemmu shikimoku*, a compilation of governmental by-laws during the reign of the Emperor Go-daigo, 1334-35.

Ieyasu declared, "If we cannot clarify the principles of human relations, society and government will of itself become unstable and disorders will never cease. Books are the only means whereby these principles can be set forth and understood. Thus, the printing of books and their transmission to the public is the first concern of a benevolent government." For this reason steps were taken for the printing of various books.

The Sun God of the East

More than a century after Ieyasu's rule this appreciation of him was written by the noted scholar Ogyū Sorai. Believing in the importance of governing according to fixed laws and institutions, in contrast to the usual Confucian reliance on the efficacy of personal virtue, Sorai especially admired Ieyasu's attention to the establishment of lasting institutions of government. At the same time Ogyū's deification of Ieyasu reflects not only his personal predilections, but the general awe in which the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate was held by posterity. The title "Sun God of the East" (Tōshō) was originally accorded to Ieyasu by the Tendai abbot Tenkai, one of his personal advisers.

[From *Ken'en dan'yo*, Ogyū Sorai in *Dai-Nihon shiryō*, Part 12, Vol. 24, pp. 441-42]

The Great Sun God of the East seemed to have been blessed with the wisdom of a sage. The great achievement of his lifetime—that of restoring order throughout the country—cannot be appreciated by the ordinary mind. I, as a scholar, would regard his age as essentially one of strife and warfare. True, the *Nō* play, tea ceremony, and other pastimes were in vogue, but serious attention to literature and Confucianism did not exist. . . . It was at such a time that [Hāyashi] Razan was invited to become Ieyasu's tutor while [the scholarly Sūden], the Elder of Konji-in, was also invited to serve as his companion during his military campaigns. He always put great store in books. He collected the ancient texts of China and Japan, the classics and their commentaries, philosophical works and historical accounts—all of which he sent to his library in Edo. Such works which have come down to our time as the *Administrative Code*,¹ the *Institutes of Engi*, *Selected Writings in Chinese*,² and the *Mirror of the East*, all appeared in print in his time and were made widely available. He also invited, year after year, eminent Buddhist priests from

¹ That is, the Yōrō Code of 718 together with its commentaries.

² The *Honchō monzui*, a collection of prose and poetry in Chinese written by Japanese, compiled in A.D. 999.

Kyōto, Nara, and other Buddhist centers in the provinces to lecture on and discuss their doctrines before him at his headquarters in Suruga. And he made gifts of gold and silver to them upon their departure for home. We appreciate now his noble intentions to change the rough and violent customs of a warring age into cultured, genteel ways as the basis for eternal peace. In this connection there is a noteworthy anecdote about something he did during the Osaka campaign. He went to Kyoto, which was still in the midst of war and confusion, to borrow the records of the imperial court and also to gather books and manuscripts from courtiers and long-established families so that he might examine precedents and procedures for the drafting of laws and regulations. This is the mark of a monarch capable of ruling the country. Thus, his plans for laws to administer the country have been effective, and today, more than a hundred years later, the government maintains its equilibrium and remains firmly established on a solid foundation. Education is spreading from day to day, and in the observance of the principle of the five human relationships between the ruler and the ruled, parent and child, etc., we excel the past. Even China and Korea cannot attain our position in this regard. This is a matter which only the well-informed can appreciate.



CHAPTER XVI

NEO-CONFUCIAN ORTHODOXY

Confucianism, though a product of China, has not, historically speaking, been confined to a role as the national creed or cult of the Chinese, but has entered deeply into the lives of other East Asian peoples as well. Its transmission to these other countries is all the more remarkable, however, since Confucianism has had no missionaries of its own to win converts abroad. The scholar and the official, rather than the monk or pilgrim, is the usual symbol of Confucianism in action; its natural orbit is the family and the state, not the "uncivilized" world. Consequently when Confucianism was first introduced into Japan in the sixth and seventh centuries, Buddhist monks had to serve as the intermediaries, bringing Chinese culture with them as naturally as Christian missionaries of the twentieth century brought Western medicine, for example, to strange lands. Similarly, when the second great wave of Confucian influence reached Japan, Buddhist monks again served as intermediaries—this time the Zen monks who played such a prominent part in trade and intercourse with China, and who made their monasteries centers of Chinese studies in the Ashikaga period. We have already seen how great an impression had been made on the Japanese by the artistic achievements of the Sung dynasty. Another outstanding product of Sung times was Neo-Confucian philosophy, which likewise attracted the attention of learned monks in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Japan.

It is nevertheless to other factors than its reception by Zen monks that Neo-Confucianism owes the ascendancy which it achieved in the early years of the Tokugawa Period. Neo-Confucian orthodoxy in Japan was a creation of both scholarship and state sponsorship. The achievement of peace and unity, under a new and stronger military government, provided an opportunity to Neo-Confucianism which it had lacked in more disordered times. Circumstances had enhanced its importance to men

confronted by precisely those problems which Confucianism took most seriously, and whose outlook and interests differed greatly from its original clerical sponsors. It was not long, therefore, before those who espoused the cause of Neo-Confucianism at court, like Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan, attempted to liberate themselves from clerical dominance and establish Neo-Confucianism, not only as an independent teaching, but also as a creed and code having undisputed state sanction.

FUJIWARA SEIKA AND THE RISE OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM

The first interview between Tokugawa Ieyasu and Fujiwara Seika (1561-1619) took place as early as 1593 when Toyotomi Hideyoshi was still the Tycoon of Japan and Ieyasu one of his lieutenants. The meeting was a momentous one, for it led eventually to wholesale renovation of the cultural and educational policy of the new shogunate. History remains silent as to who it was that took the initiative for that interview, from which both had much to gain. Ieyasu had been inspired by the example of China's great empire builder, T'ang T'ai-tsung (r. 627-649) whose reconstruction policies were outlined in a Japanese movable-type edition of the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* appearing at that time, and he was eager to learn how peace and stability could be restored to his own war-ravaged land. Seika, at the same time, was anxious to promote a new center of study outside the Five Zen Monasteries. There is strong evidence that a third party interested in overseas trade might have been instrumental in bringing the two together. We may well believe that enterprising traders of the time wanted a man like Ieyasu, of firm character and steady temper, to take the lead in establishing a regime devoted to peace and prosperity, and that they looked upon Seika as one well-suited to serve such a regime as commissioner of foreign trade and ambassador extraordinary, since he was a learned student of things Chinese, able to write Chinese as well as the Zen monks, and acquainted with adjacent countries as well.

Two such traders were Yoshida Sōan and his father Ryōi, well-established Kyoto capitalists engaged exclusively in overseas trade. Ryōi and Sōan were Seika's ardent admirers and disciples, on whose behalf Seika

later wrote his *Bunshō Tattoku Kōryō*, and also a letter addressed to the merchant prince of Annam.

A scion of the Fujiwara aristocracy, Seika was a twelfth-generation descendant of Fujiwara no Teika, the foremost poet and arbiter elegantium of the thirteenth century, and Seika himself was a poet of great skill. Much reduced by circumstances, he made his way to Kyoto to study Chinese poetry and prose at one of the Five Zen Monasteries, hoping to prepare himself for the post of emissary to China. Seika's deep interest in Chinese studies can be seen in his *Bunshō Tattoku Kōryō*, the most extensive and systematic study of Chinese poetry and prose until then attempted from the creative point of view. He also took every opportunity to acquaint himself personally with Korean captives and Chinese envoys arriving in Japan at irregular intervals. He even attempted to visit China in 1596, but a shipwreck upset his plans.

One thing he became aware of in the course of his preparatory studies was the complete change that had taken place in China and adjacent countries, through the establishment of Neo-Confucianism or Chu Hsi philosophy as the official basis of all instruction. The decline of Buddhism was already well-advanced in China. Zen teaching, especially, was held to be purely negative in regard to secular affairs; more particularly, as far as Seika was concerned, it failed to offer an ethical code such as was needed to govern the peaceful pursuit of international trade. Chu Hsi philosophy, however, being thoroughly secular and rational in character, and also by now officially accepted in all the countries of East Asia, could serve as a moral basis for international dealings.

It may be noted in this connection that Seika's adherence to Chu Hsi philosophy was qualified, being less exclusive than was later the case with his follower Hayashi Razan. For the latter, it was Chu Hsi alone that mattered; but for Seika, any system of philosophy (including the unorthodox Wang Yang-ming school) would suffice providing that it offered a secular and rational standard of conduct for the peaceful transaction of business, and was acceptable to all countries.

Seika's awareness of the need for such a code or standard in international dealings must have impressed Ieyasu; for the latter was much interested in overseas commercial ventures, as he later proved when shogun. Indeed, he wished to enlist Seika's services for this purpose, but

the latter declined, and recommended in his stead one of his young and rising disciples, Hayashi Razan. It was through the efforts of Razan and his descendants that Neo-Confucianism became the official philosophy and code of the shogunate, in both external and internal affairs.

FUJIWARA SEIKA

Letter to the Prince of Annam

The following letter was written in behalf of the Kyoto merchant, Yoshida Ryōi, who was sending a trading expedition to Annam. Like Korea and Japan, Annam was in the Chinese cultural sphere, within which diplomatic and commercial intercourse were usually conducted on the basis of the Chinese language and customs.

[From *Fujiwara Seika shū*, I, 125-26]

To Lord Huang, Chief of Annam:

The going and coming of ships to your country in recent years bears certain witness to the amicable friendship between our two countries and is a source of deep satisfaction.

Last year during the sixth month our crew arrived home safely bearing your reply to our letter and also some exquisite gifts. Words cannot express our appreciation for your generous good-will.

Your letter says that the only thing important is the word "good faith"; it is the essence of morality in the nation and the home. We too hold to the belief that good faith is inherent in our nature, that it moves heaven and earth, penetrates metals and rocks, and pervades everything without exception; its influence is not just limited to contact and communication between neighboring countries. The winds may blow in different directions in countries a thousand miles apart, but as to good faith every quarter of the world must be the same, for this is the very nature of things.

It will be seen therefore that men differ only in secondary details, such as clothing and speech. Countries may be a thousand or even ten thousand miles apart and differences may be found in clothing and speech, but there is one thing in all countries which is not far apart, not a bit different: that is good faith.

Our former representatives were not virtuous; on their way back and

forth, they went astray in both conduct and speech and were guilty of many irregularities. So they were punished according to the law of our country. We imagine that this is what your country would do under the same circumstances.

The crews of our ships are drawn from among street boys and shop clerks, who are apt to lose their sense of honor when they see a chance to get something for themselves. They say whatever suits their fancy at the moment, so their word cannot be fully trusted. From now on therefore let the good faith of our two countries be embodied in written form, and let the written forms be stamped with a seal to certify their genuineness.

We are taking the liberty of sending, in the care of our crew, an answer to your letter of last summer which we want you to examine carefully. We are sending along with it several samples of our native products as tokens of good-will. Your letter also says that your "country is a land of poetry, history, good manners, and justice, not a land crowded with traders and merchandise. When merchants and traders crowd around, they are only bent on profit, which is really deplorable."

Generally speaking, however, the four classes of people¹ are all people, the eight departments of government are all parts of the government; and aside from people and government, poetry, history, good manners, and justice do not mean anything. This is likewise a fixed truth in all lands, and the basis of good faith everywhere. What your country is really concerned about is that a lack of good faith may produce all kinds of undesirable results. But as long as our two countries are not lacking in good faith, even if there be a few contemptible men among the crews, there need be no fear of such undesirable incidents arising. Of course one cannot afford to be careless or lax, and if such incidents occur, each of our two countries has its own code of punishment, has it not?

Ship's Oath

This oath was drawn up by Fujiwara Seika in connection with the same trading mission referred to above. It represented a policy declaration on the part of the owners and captain of the ship, whose crew members were to conform to

¹ Scholar-officials, farmers, artisans, and merchants. Defending the merchant class from the aspersions of the Confucian-minded Anamese, Seika shows that merchants have a legitimate place even in the Confucian scheme of things.

its provisions. Note the characteristic Confucian subordination of the profit motive to equity and mutual benefit.

[From *Fujiwara Seika shū*, I, 126-27]

1. Commerce is the business of selling and buying in order to bring profit to both parties. It is not to gain profit at the expense of others. When profit is shared the gain may be large but the benefits are small. "Profit is the happy outcome of righteousness." So while the greedy merchant bids for five, the decent one bids for three. Keep that in mind.

2. Foreign lands may differ from our own in manners and speech, but as to the nature bestowed upon men by heaven there cannot be any difference. Do not forget the common identity and exploit differences. Beware even of minor lies and cheating, of arrogance and cursing. The foreigner may not be aware of them but you certainly will be. "Good faith reaches to the pig and fish, and trickery is seen by the seagulls." Heaven does not tolerate deception. Be mindful, therefore, not to bring disgrace upon our country's tradition. In case you meet men of benevolence and education, respect them as you would your own father or teacher. Inquire into the restrictions and taboos of the country, and act in accordance with its customs and religion.

3. Between heaven above and earth beneath all peoples are brothers and things are the common property of all, everyone being equal in the light of Humanity. It must be the more so with one's fellow countrymen and still more so with men on the same ship. In trouble and tribulation, in sickness and hunger, relief should go to everyone equally. Never should anyone think only of his own escape.

4. Raging waters and angry waves, dangerous as they are, are not so dangerous as human passions. Human passions are numerous, but none are so dangerous as the passion for liquor and women that drowns men. Those who go around together, wherever it may be, should act as a team for restraining and correcting each other. The old adage says that the dangerous road lies in a soft bed, in eating and in drinking. Be on guard.

The Common Basis of Confucian Teaching

In contrast to the spirit of strict Neo-Confucian orthodoxy later fostered by the Tokugawa, Fujiwara Seika inclined toward an easy eclecticism, avoiding con-

troversy on metaphysical questions and pointing instead to the common ethical principles of the Neo-Confucian philosophers. This excerpt is from a letter to his disciple Hayashi Razan, who became the champion of orthodox Chu Hsi philosophy.

[From Inoue, *Shushi gakuhwa*, pp. 26-27]

Chu Hsi was by nature conscientious and consistent; he had a taste for the profound and the precise. Those who followed him were therefore liable to suffer from the defect of hair-splitting. Lu Hsiang-shan was by nature superbly brilliant and craved unfettered simplicity. Those who followed him, therefore, were inclined to suffer from a lack of restraint. That is where they differed, and people took note of their differences without taking note of their agreement on fundamentals.

Where did they agree? They agreed on the approval of [the sage-kings] Yao and Shun, and on the disapproval of [the tyrants] Chieh and Chou. Both also agreed on reverence for Confucius and Mencius, and on the rejection of Shākyamuni Buddha and Lao Tzu. They also considered an action in accord with heaven's law as public-spirited and an action that follows human desire as selfish-minded.

What all students should do therefore is keep a right mind, be prompt in action, and practice patience and perseverance. Then one day in the course of time, a sort of self-revelation independent of everyday knowledge will overtake them all of a sudden, and the question of agreements and disagreements will solve itself.

THE OFFICIAL SCHOOL: THREE GENERATIONS OF THE HAYASHI FAMILY

It took father, son, and grandson—three generations of the Hayashi family—to initiate, establish, and entrench Sung Neo-Confucianism as the creed and code of the ruling class under the Tokugawa Shogunate. The father was Hayashi Razan (1583-1657), also known as Dōshun. A precocious youth, he began his Chinese studies in his early teens at Kyoto under the guidance of Zen monks, but being dissatisfied both with the Zen method of study and with the traditional way of the court scholars, he went to Fujiwara Seika, unofficial Confucian adviser to Tokugawa Ieyasu, to study further under his guidance. This was a case in which the

younger scholar proved abler than the older, both in philosophical studies and literary ability. Recommended by his master to serve as Confucian tutor to the shogun in 1608, he rose steadily in influence and importance. His biographers maintain that after his appointment, "there was not a single line in the laws or edicts of the first Tokugawa Shoguns that was not drafted by him." The most important of these laws served as a virtual constitution for Tokugawa Japan: the Laws Governing the Military Households, the Imperial Court and the Buddhist religious communities.

To set forth the vast system of Neo-Confucian philosophy which Hayashi Razan embraced is not our purpose here, but it is worth noting some features of Chu Hsi's thought which were to have a profound influence upon Japanese intellectual and political life for the next three centuries. One of these is its fundamental rationalism. The Ch'eng-Chu school was known as the "philosophy of reason (or principle, *li*)," since it stressed the objective reason or principle in all things as the basis of learning and conduct. Intellectually this required exhaustive study of things and human affairs in order to determine their underlying principles, pursuing what the *Great Learning*, a favorite text of this school, called "the investigation of things." This positivistic and quasi-scientific approach was a notable characteristic of Japanese thought and scholarship in the Tokugawa period, which showed a new interest in observing the constant laws of nature and human society, as contrasted to the medieval, Buddhistic view of the world as subject only to ceaseless change, the Law of Impermanence.

Another important feature of Chu Hsi's philosophy is its essential humanism, which, like his rationalism, derives from the earlier Confucian tradition. The moral doctrines of this school focus directly upon man and his closest human relationships, not upon any supernatural order or divine law. These are expressed most concretely in the Five Human Relationships and their attendant obligations (between father and son, ruler and subject, husband and wife, older and younger brother, and between friends). Such an emphasis upon human loyalties and personal relationships was obviously congenial to the feudal society of Japan in this period, and provided a uniform, secular code by which the Tokugawa could maintain social order in all their domains, no matter how divided they might be by local loyalties or religious allegiances. It is a noteworthy fact that public morality until recent times, as well as the peculiar code of

the warrior-aristocrat known as *bushido*, drew more upon the ethical teachings and terminology of Confucianism than upon any other doctrine.

A third characteristic of Chu Hsi's thought is what might be called its historicism. For Chu Hsi, good government depended not only on the personal moral cultivation of the ruler and his subjects, but also upon the study of history. In the record of the past could be found the principles of human affairs, which a ruler must understand in order to discharge his function properly. Chu Hsi took it upon himself to compile a general history of China, the *Outline and Digest of the General Mirror*,¹ pointing up the moral implications of past events. His followers in Japan devoted much of their study to history, and were responsible for reviving interest in Japan's own past, which had been largely neglected in medieval times. On the whole Neo-Confucianists in Japan distinguished themselves, not in the realm of speculative philosophy, but in historical studies, and exerted the greatest influence on their own and later times by their interpretations of Japanese history and traditions.

This brings us to a fourth feature of Neo-Confucianism, ethnocentrism, which tended strongly to reinforce an already well-developed sense of nationalism. The Neo-Confucian revival in the Sung Dynasty had brought a reassertion of Chinese cultural traditions and values against a foreign faith, Buddhism, and in the face of imminent conquest by Turkic and Mongol barbarians. Chu Hsi's history had put special stress, in its moralistic judgments, upon the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate rulers, and upon Chinese civilization as opposed to foreign barbarism. In the Japanese mind this same attitude inspired loyalty to the Throne and intense xenophobia, both of which became increasingly significant toward the end of the shogunate.

Furthermore, Confucian economic thinking was traditionally agrarian and hostile to the development of commerce. This was due partly to an ethical viewpoint in which the sense of equity dominated over the sense of utility or profit, and also to two basic facts of Chinese political economy: that the fortunes of government (and revenues of the state) rose or fell with the condition of agriculture, and that the monopolistic Chinese state resented large-scale private enterprise which might challenge its own interests. Notwithstanding the great social and economic disparities

¹ The *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, a condensation of Ssu-ma Kuang's *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*.

between China and Japan, and disregarding especially the tremendous expansion of Japanese commerce in recent years, the Tokugawa and their Neo-Confucian advisers adopted the traditional Chinese attitude of opposing commerce and imposing social disabilities upon the merchant class.

Finally, related to nationalism and agrarianism is the traditional isolationism of the Chinese Confucianist, his conviction of Chinese self-sufficiency and cultural superiority, his disbelief in the advantages of cultural relations or trade with the world beyond the pale of China, and his usual preoccupation with security problems at home rather than expansion abroad. There can be no doubt that this kind of thinking carried over into the minds of Neo-Confucian officials in Japan and disposed them to adopt a seclusionist policy similar to that of the Ming dynasty.

Tokugawa Ieyasu was a cautious administrator who, as we have seen, kept in his service two older and very astute advisers, Abbot Tenkai (1536-1643) of the Tendai sect and the Elder Sūden (1569-1633) of the Zen sect. The former was director of the Nikkō shrines, with all Esoteric Buddhist temples and syncretic Shinto shrines under his jurisdiction; while the latter was superintendent-general of all Zen denominations, with the traditional privilege of supervising government correspondence with foreign countries. Razan raised objections to the meddling of Buddhists in the secular affairs of the government, but was soundly beaten by Tenkai, it is said, in a debate held in the presence of Ieyasu. While thus carrying on the old struggle of the Neo-Confucianists against the Buddhists—a rivalry already centuries old in China—Razan found a natural ally in native Shinto. With a view to strengthening this alliance by showing the essential unity of the Shinto religion and Confucian ethics, and perhaps also to establish himself at court as an authority on Japanese history and Shinto, he undertook extensive research into Shinto which resulted in his *Study of Our Shinto Shrines* (*Honchō jinja-kō*). He also studied the history of Japan and wrote a *General History of Our State* (*Honchō tsugan*) with Chu Hsi's *T'ung-chien kang-mu* as his model. In philosophy, history, prose, and poetry, Chinese as well as Japanese, Razan worked with amazing speed and industry to provide authoritative compilations which would stand as guides to the three shoguns he served. His collected works ran to 150 titles, and his residence

at Ueno grew into a true college of liberal arts with the largest private library in Japan attached to it.

Still the elder Hayashi was unable by himself to overcome Buddhist influence in the government; in fact, to maintain his own position at court he was forced to comply with an old custom requiring the Buddhist tonsure of all those entrusted with educational duties. It is fortunate, therefore, that he had worthy successors in his own son, known as Shunsai and also as Gahō (1618-1680), and in his grandson Hōkō (1644-1732). It was the former who compiled the 300-volume *Family Genealogies* in 1643, and who completed the aforementioned *General History of Our State* in 310 volumes, by 1670. There is also a collection of his complete works, including commentaries on all the Confucian Classics, in 120 volumes. As a consequence of this great scholarly achievement the college came to gain official recognition as the shogunate university with the title of *Kōbunin*, and Gahō was named the first doctor of literature (*Kōbunin gakushi*). The award of the official title, Head of the State University (*Daigaku-no-kami*), had to wait for another generation.

In 1691, the fifth shogun, Tsunayoshi, himself an ardent Confucianist, conferred on Hōkō that eminent title, which became hereditary in the Hayashi family. At the same time the university was renamed The School of Prosperous Peace (*Shōhei-kō*) and located at a new site in Yushima, where it stood throughout the long Tokugawa rule as the center of official instruction. It was indeed not only an educational center, but a Confucian religious center as well, for images of Confucius and his disciples were installed in the building, and the shoguns came to pay homage there every year, with the head of the Hayashi family always acting as master of ceremonies.

Following are the Hayashi family leaders, all of whom except Razan and Gahō were Heads of the State University (*Daigaku-no-kami*) under the Tokugawa Shogunate.

1. Razan	1583-1657	7. Kimpō	1767-1793
2. Gahō	1618-1680	8. Jussai ²	1768-1841
3. Hōkō	1644-1732	9. Teiu	1791-1844
4. Ryūkō	1681-1758	10. Sōkan	1828-1853
5. Hōkoku	1721-1773	11. Fukusai	1800-1859
6. Hōtan	1761-1787	12. Gakusai	1833-1906

² Adopted heir from the Ogyū family.

HAYASHI RAZAN

On Mastery of the Arts of Peace and War

As Confucian adviser to Tokugawa Ieyasu, Hayashi Razan represented the Chinese tradition of civil government and polite learning at the center of Japanese military government. His function was to assist Ieyasu, the man of war, to become a man of peace as well, to crown his military success with the achievement of an enduring social order based on Confucian ethical ideals. In this excerpt Razan explains why the members of the military aristocracy, the samurai, should cultivate the arts of peace and devote themselves to Confucian learning. It was the pursuit of this aim which led, in the course of the long Tokugawa period, to the "civilizing" of the warrior class, to the Confucianizing of feudal ethics, and to increasing acceptance of the idea that the samurai's role as a member of the ruling class partook of political and intellectual functions akin to those of the Chinese scholar-bureaucrat. In making his point Razan identifies the samurai with the knight or gentleman (*shih*; Jap. *shi*) of whom Confucius spoke, and who, in the evolution of Chinese social thought, came to represent the ideal scholar-bureaucrat. Razan thus attempts the conversion of the samurai to a new concept of moral and intellectual leadership (in somewhat the same way that Confucius had the "knight").

[From *Hayashi Razan bunshū*, pp. 309-10]

Someone asked for an explanation of the samurai's mastering both the arts of peace and the arts of war. The reply was: "Armies achieve victory by the arts of war. That by which they achieve victory is strategy. Strategy is derived from the arts of peace. This is why the precepts of T'ai Kung included a chapter on civil arts as well as a chapter on military arts.¹ These two together make up the art of the general. When one is unable to combine one with the other, as in the cases of Chuang Hou and Kuan Ying, who lacked the arts of peace, and Sui Ho and Lu Chia, who lacked the arts of war, there will be cause for regret. Warfare involves knowledge of one's opportunity. Stratagems involve secrecy. Opportunities are not easy to see, but one can learn them through stratagems so long as the stratagems are not divulged. Therefore, those who are adept at the handling of troops regard the arts of peace and the arts of war as their left and right hands.

"Let us consider [the teaching of] the Sage that 'to lead an untaught

¹ Referring to the *Liu t'ao*, falsely attributed to Lü Wang, a minister to King Wen of Chou according to traditional Chinese accounts.

people into war is to throw them away.'² Teaching the people is a civil art, but warfare is a military art. Without both of them, the people would be thrown away. Therefore it is said that the man of civil affairs must also have military preparedness. There may be no lack of daring in hunting a tiger unarmed or in crossing a river without a boat, but this is not the same thing as prowess in the arts of war. There may be no lack of magnanimity in refraining from making old people prisoners of war, but this is not the same thing as mastery of the arts of peace. To have the arts of peace, but not the arts of war, is to lack courage. To have the arts of war, but not the arts of peace, is to lack wisdom. Keeping both in mind, generals employ or disperse their troops and advance or retreat according to the proper time. This is the Way of the general. A general is no other than a true man. A man who is dedicated and has a mission to perform is called a samurai (or *shi*). A man who is of inner worth and upright conduct, who has moral principles and mastery of the arts is also called a samurai. A man who pursues learning, too, is called a samurai. A man who serves [at court] without neglecting the mountains and forests is also called a samurai. The term samurai (or *shi*) is indeed broad. Thus of ranks [in the Chou dynasty] it was said that they ascended from officer [*shi*] to high official; from high official to chief minister; and from chief minister to prince. Nevertheless, when a man became a chief minister and entered the service of the king to administer the government, he was also called a 'minister-officer' (*kyō-shi*).³ At court he was a statesman; in the field he was a general. The Book of Odes says: 'Mighty in peace and war is Chi-fu / A pattern to all the peoples.'⁴ How can a man discharge the duties of his rank and position without combining the peaceful and military arts?"

The Confucian Way

The early leaders of the Neo-Confucian revival in China had been strongly opposed to Taoism and Buddhism as being essentially amoral and antisocial. In Japan Hayashi Razan, as founder of the official Neo-Confucian school, took issue with these philosophies on the same grounds. Against their view of the way as transcending human reason and ethical relations, he reaffirms the fun-

² *Analects*, XIII, 30.

³ That is, the term *shi* (Ch., *shih*) was used for the lowest rank of the feudal aristocracy, but also in the titles of the highest officials.

⁴ Waley (trans.), *The Book of Songs*, No. 133, p. 127.

damental rationalism of the Confucian Way and the universal moral constants upon which human society rests. In this excerpt the immediate antagonist is Lao Tzu, but the language Razan uses makes it clear that he has Zen Buddhism in mind as well.

[From *Hayashi Razan bunshū*, p. 852]

Lao Tzu said: "The Way that can be told of is not an Unvarying Way."⁵ What he considered the Way was quiescence and nonstriving, and what he spoke of was the original undifferentiated state of nature. But man is born into the world of today and cannot even achieve the untroubled state of high antiquity; how much less can he put himself in the original undifferentiated state of nature? If it is true in the case of nature that in the original state of unresolved chaos there was no thought [mental discrimination], still while men live and breathe how can they avoid thinking? Man is essentially an active living thing. How can he be compared to desiccated bones? That old fool [Chuang Tzu]'s arguments based on withered trees, dead ashes, and old faggots⁶ are of the same sort—all weird, perverted talk.

The Way of the Sages is altogether different from this. Their Way consists in nothing else than the moral obligations between sovereign and subject, father and child, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and friend and friend. One practices it with the five virtues. The five virtues are rooted in the mind, and the principle which inheres in the mind is the nature [of man]. What all men partake of together is the Way, and attainment of the Way in one's mind is called virtue. Therefore, the Way, virtue, humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom are different in name but the same in essence. It is not what Lao Tzu called the Way. If one casts aside the moral obligations of man and calls something else the Way, then it is not the Confucian Way, it is not the Way of the Sages, and it is not the Way of Yao and Shun.

Essay on the Emperor Jimmu (Jimmu Tennō Ron)

Hayashi Razan, though not a philosopher of much originality, was deeply enough influenced by Chu Hsi's rationalism that he re-examined some of the legends concerning Japan's imperial house, such as the divinity of the first

⁵ Opening lines of the *Tao Te Ching*.

⁶ Symbols used by Chuang Tzu for the state of seeming unconsciousness or superconsciousness.

emperor, Jimmu. He was also enough of a sinologue and sinophile to convince himself that Japan's first civilized rulers were Chinese immigrants and that the so-called Three Imperial Regalia were of continental rather than divine origin. While Razan's views did not gain general acceptance, they are typical of his attempt to reconcile Chinese and Japanese traditions, by giving the latter a naturalistic and moralistic interpretation in line with Confucian teaching.

[From *Hayashi Razan bunshū*, pp. 280-81]

The Zen monk, Engetsu, of the East Hill Monastery undertook to compile a history of the nation. Because the court disapproved of it, his work was cast into the fire before it was finished. Engetsu's idea, as far as I can gather, was to cite certain historical records indicating that the Japanese were descended from Wu T'ai-po of China.⁷ T'ai-po found his refuge among barbarians, cut his hair, tattooed his body and lived with dragons. His descendant made his way to Tsukushi [in Kyushu], where the people considered him a deity; that may correspond to the imperial grandson's descent to the summit of Takachiho in Hyūga. [Then follow other alleged correspondences between Japanese imperial traditions and the legend of Wu T'ai-po]. . . . Although this is just a patchwork of conjecture, there seems to me to be an element of truth in it. If the imperial grandson was the son of Heavenly Gods, as the *Chronicles* say, how can you explain his descent on a remote hill of the western countryside, instead of on the central province? How can you explain that for three generations from Ninigi and Hikohoho to Ugaya, they made a protracted sojourn in Hyūga and passed away there without establishing their capital in central Japan? Jimmu, on his expedition to the East at the age of forty-five, first went to Aki and then made his way to Kibi a year later. He spent three years, therefore, readying his forces and gathering provisions; only then did he proceed to Kawachi, to win his great victory over Nagasune-hiko in the battle of Kushae Hill. Killing Nagasune, he made a triumphal entry into great Yamato, there to establish his court at Kashiwabara. Why did he have to overcome such difficulties, if he possessed divine powers in war? Just as the imperial grandson met resistance from Ōnamochi, so Jimmu was opposed in battle by Nagasune. Does it not give rise to suspicion? Is it not reasonable to assume that Ōnamochi and Nagasune were ancient tribal chieftains whom

⁷ According to tradition, noble scion of the house of Chou, who left the Chou state so that a younger brother could succeed to the throne, c. thirteenth century B.C.

Jimmu supplanted when he established his rule? Thus, the Wu prince and his descendants, having already held sway for a hundred generations in succession, will continue their reign for ten thousand generations to come. Is it not glorious? The once-powerful Wu may have been overcome [in China] by the Yüeh state, but their reign in our country is coeval with heaven and earth. I am therefore more and more inclined to believe in the sovereign virtue of T'ai-po. If Engetsu could come back to life, I would like to ask him what he thought of this.

Some may say: Our country regards the Yata mirror, the Kusanagi sword, and the Yasaka jewel as the Three Imperial Regalia. These Three Regalia have been handed down since the divine deities came to rule the land succeeding Heaven. Since the mirror, the sword and the jewel are heaven-made, succeeding reigns have treasured them. If we accept your interpretation, however, they are no more than man-made treasures from a foreign land, are they not?

In answer, I would state that when T'ai-po left his country, he most certainly brought with him articles and implements which would be bequeathed to his heirs. . . . [Razan goes on to show that objects similar to the Three Regalia were available to Wu T'ai-po in his native land.]

As to the distinction between Heaven-made and man-made, "We call what is metaphysical 'principle' and what is physical 'object'" but Heaven and man are one and principle and object are inseparable. Where there is reason there is matter, where there is matter there is form, and where there is form, there is object. The evolution of matter has its root in nature. Take the case of an ox's nose or a horse's neck; one is strung by a rope, the other yoked with a rod. We all know that the rope and the yoke are man-made, but we are not aware of the fact that the rope and yoke are made because of the ox and the horse. So it is with the Three Imperial Regalia. And likewise it is true, not of these divine objects alone, but of all the institutions created by the ancient sages. Where is there anything strange in this?

I have been trying to fathom the significance of the sacred scriptures on this subject. The Three Regalia are three virtues. The human mind is empty, alert, and transparent; it reflects and it apprehends. Is it not truly a mirror? The human mind is round and perfect in its virtue, as stainless as jade, the symbol of humanity (*jün*). It is a jewel, is it not? The human mind is brave and resolute, and makes decisions in accord-

ance with its sense of duty (*gi*). This signifies courage, which is represented by the sword, is it not? The Three Regalia are divine, and the three virtues are those of the human mind, which is the abode of the divine. So they are one in three and three in one, essentially inseparable. The divine is not finite; only in the object does it become manifest. The mind leaves no trace of itself; only through the medium of matter do we observe its reactions. The interrelation of Heaven and man is truly wondrous. How can we set them apart from each other?

If one who becomes the leader of men rules the land with these three virtues, long may he keep as his own the great treasure of the Three Regalia. But if the Regalia be taken while the virtues are abandoned, that will be the end. The ancients who read sacred scriptures were aware of this truth but did not talk about it; men today who read sacred scripture talk as if they understood but actually do not. So I have taken the liberty of discussing the matter.

Conversation with Three Korean Envoys

In Japan (as in other Far Eastern countries influenced by Confucian traditions of diplomatic intercourse) foreign relations were entrusted to men of superior intellectual attainments, capable of matching wits on all levels of discourse and thus upholding the moral and cultural prestige of their country. Here we find Hayashi Razan acting as a sort of foreign secretary for the shogunate and feeling out some Korean envoys on their position with respect to Chu Hsi's metaphysics. Since they could not speak each other's tongue, the "conversation" was conducted by writing in Chinese, the diplomatic language.

[From *Hayashi Razan bunshū*, p. 840]

The Bakufu [shogun] asked me, "What did you discuss in writing with the three Korean envoys?" I told him that I asked whether principle (*ri*) and material force (*li*) are to be regarded as one or two. Their answer was, "Principle is just one; as to material force there is the pure and the impure. The four impulses," they said, "come from principle, but the seven emotions arise from material force." I asked what that meant. Their answer was, "When pleasure, anger, sorrow, and happiness are normal, they are called pure; when they are abnormal, they are called impure. However, material force itself also comes from principle."⁸

I then asked which is greater, Chu Hsi or Lu Hsiang-shan. Their

⁸ Whereas Chu Hsi's philosophy had emphasized a dualism of principle and material force, Razan himself tended to reduce everything to principle or reason (Jap., *ri*; Ch., *li*).

answer was, "Chu Hsi achieved the supreme synthesis of the various philosophies. Hsiang-shan cannot be compared to him." I had special reason to ask the above question. I wanted to test their position. As to the foregoing opinions, they are set forth in many books already known to me and there was nothing to be learned by asking them. Their responses were what one would expect from Confucian scholars, and have no special significance.

On Wang Yang-ming

Wang Yang-ming, the Chinese Neo-Confucian thinker who departed from Chu Hsi's philosophy, was equally well known as a statesman and general. Razan, a strong partisan of Chu Hsi, suggests that Wang had one serious defect as a scholar: he was addicted to the study of military strategy and tactics. [From *Hayashi Razan bunshū*, p. 878]

Wang Yang-ming was the most gifted scholar of the Ming dynasty. Proclaiming his doctrine of "good knowledge," he attracted many followers, and his schoolmen are seen everywhere today. When, in obedience to the imperial decree, he subdued the rebel Ch'en Hao, he often gave instruction to his officers and men by quoting from [the Military Classics] of Sun and Wu, but [instead of identifying them] he would say, "According to the Classics. . . ." Wang Yang-ming was a man of profound intelligence and excellent memory, but even so in military matters he turned to the stratagems of Sun and Wu. . . . Examine the *Collected Works of Yang-ming* and see for yourself. They are full of strategies and intrigue which do violence to our best instincts, as the reader cannot fail to observe. That is one thing which readers must keep in mind. Is it not said that "those who like to fight are doomed to the heaviest punishment"?⁹ True gentlemen do not devote themselves to this kind of study.

THE SPREAD OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM IN JAPAN

The Hayashis' success in establishing Neo-Confucianism as the official system of instruction was due in large part to the wholehearted support given them by leading members of the Tokugawa family. Among the

⁹ An adage very similar to: "He who lives by the sword shall perish by the sword."

many sons of Ieyasu who contributed to the promotion of Neo-Confucianism, Yoshinao (1600-1650) may be noted especially. Representing one of the three Tokugawa branch families chosen to guard the interests of the shogunate in the provinces, with strategic Owari as his domain, Yoshinao was an early convert to Confucianism and a steadfast advocate of Chu Hsi philosophy. It was this scion of the Tokugawa who erected the Sage's Hall, in which Confucius' image was installed at Ueno and where Razan had his official residence. It was he, too, who induced the third shogun, Iemitsu, to pay personal homage to the image, thus helping to make it a center of religious veneration. Another Tokugawa prince who became especially interested in Confucianism was Tsunayoshi (r. 1680-1709), the fifth shogun. Given as he was to extremes of enthusiasm, Tsunayoshi outdid himself in promoting Confucianism. Through his lavish patronage, a new Paragon Hall was built near the center of Edo, with all the splendor of a national shrine. At the annual commemoration ceremony held there, one of the Hayashis acted as master of ceremonies, and the shogun took great pride in giving a personal lecture on one of the Confucian Classics, which was an outstanding feature of the program. From this time until the end of the shogunate, the School of Prosperous Peace (*Shōheikō*) was the cultural and educational center of the nation. At this center the Hayashis officiated as Commissioners of State Education and spread Neo-Confucian teachings throughout the metropolitan era of Edo.

But in the provinces it was a different matter. Topographically Japan was divided by steep hills and fast-running rivers into many comparatively isolated regions that could only be penetrated slowly and with difficulty. It was fortunate for the new movement that it found champions in a pair of Tokugawa princes, one Hoshina Masayuki (1611-1672), third son of the second shogun, Hidetada, and newly created lord of ancient Ainu-land in the remote northeast of Japan; and the other Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701), a grandson of the first shogun, who had the strategic Tone River basin of Hitachi as his feudal domain. The former was assisted by a hot-tempered Chu Hsi scholar of the Southern school, Yamazaki Ansai; the latter was under the tutelage of a high-minded Chinese political refugee, Chu Shun-shui.

YAMAZAKI ANSAI

The importance of Yamazaki Ansai (1618-1682) lies in his wide influence as a teacher of Chu Hsi's philosophy and in his role as the chief formulator of a new system of Shinto doctrine. Yamazaki was much impressed by the structure and clarity of Neo-Confucian metaphysics, but his natural inclinations led him away from this type of speculation toward a much simpler ethical teaching. In his hands the encyclopedic system of Chu Hsi was thus reduced to the much less complex formula "Devotion within, righteousness without." "Devotion" for Yamazaki was the traditional Confucian virtue of reverence or seriousness given a plainly religious significance. In his later years Yamazaki was increasingly drawn to the study of Shinto, and therefore interpreted this formula in terms strongly suggestive of worship and service of the gods. From one of his Shinto teachers he borrowed the expression *Suika*, which in turn derived from a Shinto text wherein men were enjoined to pray for the blessings of the gods and to rely on divine grace in all their actions. This expression eventually served as the distinctive mark of Yamazaki's brand of Confucian-Shinto, or *Suika Shinto*, combining the ethical maxims of the former teaching with the religious doctrines of the latter.

Actually Yamazaki went to much greater lengths than this to establish the unity of the two teachings. Not only did he equate Shinto creation legends with Chinese cosmology, and the Shinto pantheon with the metaphysical principles of the Neo-Confucianists, but he further identified the supreme moral virtue, devotion, with the primal stuff of the universe. In spite of his attempt, however, to embrace these disparate elements in what seemed to him a rationally coherent system, in the end he had to insist that human reason was inadequate to deal with such truths and much had to be taken simply on faith. Later Shintoists were glad enough to dispense with Yamazaki's tortuous rationalizations, while retaining his emphasis on faith, on the moral virtues, and particularly on devotion to the gods as expressed through devotion to their living embodiment, the emperor. In these respects Yamazaki serves as a striking example in the seventeenth century of three tendencies which became increasingly significant in modern times: the popularization of Confucian ethics in Japan; the revival of Shinto and its development as an articulate creed;

and finally the intense nationalism which combined Confucian reverence with Shinto tradition to produce emperor worship.

Principles of Education

(From the Preface to the Collected Commentaries on Chu Hsi's Regulations for the School of the White Deer Cave)

Yamazaki Anasi was a forceful teacher who impressed others with his earnestness and air of moral authority. As an exponent of Chu Hsi's teaching in Japan, he paid special attention to a somewhat neglected aspect of Chu's writing: the ethical maxims of the school in which the latter had taught. In his preface, Yamazaki is at pains to establish the authoritative character of this particular formulation by showing that it embraces all the teachings of the sacrosanct *Great Learning*. As such it provides a convenient résumé of the type of Confucian indoctrination to which many Japanese were exposed in this period.

[From *Zoku Yamazaki Ansai zenshū*, III, 1-5. Text abridged and commentary deleted]

The philosopher Chu, styled Hui-an, was conspicuously endowed with intellectual leadership. Following in the line of [the Sung philosophers] Chou Tun-i and the Ch'eng brothers, he advanced the cause of Confucianism in both elementary education and higher education. For the guidance of his students he established these regulations, but they failed to gain wide acceptance in his own time because of opposition from vile quarters. . . .

It would seem to me that the aim of education, elementary and advanced, is to clarify human relationships. In the elementary program of education the various human relationships are made clear, the essence of this education in human relationships being devotion to [or respect for] persons. The "investigation of things" in advanced studies [as set forth in the *Great Learning*] simply carries to its ultimate conclusion what has already been learned from elementary instruction. . . .

Chu Hsi's school regulations list the Five Human Relationships as the curriculum, following an order of presentation which complements the curriculum of advanced education [as found in the *Great Learning*]. Studying, questioning, deliberating and analyzing—these four correspond to the "investigation of things" and "extension of knowledge" in advanced education. The article dealing with conscientious action goes with the "cultivation of one's person." From the emperor to the common

people, the cultivation of one's person is essential, including both "making the thoughts sincere" and "rectifying the mind." The "managing of affairs" and "social intercourse" [in Chu's Regulations] refer to "regulating the family," "governing the state" and "establishing peace" [in the *Great Learning*]. These Regulations thus contain everything, and they should be used for instruction together with the *Book of Elementary Instruction* and the *Book of Advanced Education* [*Great Learning*]. But so far they have gone almost unnoticed among the items in Chu's collected works, scarcely attracting any attention from scholars. I have taken the liberty, however, of bringing them out into the light of day by mounting and hanging them in my studio for constant reference and reflection. More recently I have found a detailed discussion of these regulations in *Some Reflections of Mine* by the Korean scholar Yi T'oege. It convinced me more than anything else that these Regulations are the true guide to education. . . .

[Signed] Yamazaki Ansai

Keian 3 [1650]: Twelfth Month, 9th Day

REGULATIONS FOR THE SCHOOL OF THE WHITE DEER CAVE

[*The Five Regulations*]

Between parent and child there is intimacy.

Between lord and minister there is duty.

Between husband and wife there is differentiation.

Between elder and junior there is precedence.

Between friend and friend there is fidelity.

These five articles of teaching are what [the sage-kings] Yao and Shun commanded Ch'i, the Minister of Education, solemnly to promulgate as the five subjects of teaching. All that the student should study is contained in these five regulations, but in studying them he should follow five steps, as given below:

Study widely.

Question thoroughly.

Deliberate carefully.

Analyze clearly.

Act conscientiously. . . .

In speech be loyal and true; in action be conscientious and reverent. Subdue ire and stifle passion. Change yourself for the better; do not

hesitate to correct your errors. These things are essential to personal culture.

Do not do to others what you do not care for yourself. When action fails to get results, seek the reason for failure in yourself. These are important in social intercourse.

The aim of teaching and guidance given by ancient sages and scholars, it seems to me, is nothing more than to set forth moral principles, in order, first, to cultivate them in one's own person, and then to extend them to others. Simply to accumulate knowledge and learn to write well in order to gain fame and a well-paid position, is far from being the true function of education. Nevertheless that is what most men pursue learning for today. . . .

Devotion and Righteousness

Pedagogically it was the practice of Confucian scholars to sum up their teachings with a key word or phrase, which could be fixed easily in people's minds. Yamazaki Ansai's key virtues of Devotion and Righteousness were taken from a slogan of the Neo-Confucian philosopher Ch'eng Yi. The original Chinese term *ching*, rendered here as Devotion, covers a wide range of meaning, including "reverence," "seriousness," "conscientiousness," etc. As Yamazaki's Shintoist leanings became more pronounced, he stressed that aspect of the term having to do with worship of the gods and the emperor. Eventually he equated these two virtues with terms found in native texts concerning primitive Shinto mythology; namely: prayer (*negigoto* or *kitō*) and honesty or forthrightness (*massugu* or *shōjiki*).

What follows is a typical attempt to demonstrate that one's own favorite slogan contains the essence of the Confucian classics.

[From *Yamazaki Ansai zenshū*, I, 90, Suika-sō 11]

"By Devotion we straighten ourselves within; by Righteousness we square away the world without.' The significance of these eight characters cannot be exhausted by even a lifetime of application."¹ Indeed, the Master Chu was not exaggerating at all in saying this.

In the *Analects* of Confucius when it says "the superior man cultivates himself with reverent care [Chinese *ching*, Japanese *kei*],"² it simply means "By Devotion [*kei*] we straighten ourselves within." What is said further in the *Analects*, "To put others at ease by cultivating oneself, and

¹ Chu Hsi's comment on a saying by Ch'eng Yi.

² *Analects*, XIV, 45.

thus to put all men at ease" is the same as "By Righteousness we square away the world without."

. . . "The virtue of Sincerity [as taught in the *Mean*] is not merely for perfecting oneself alone; it is also for perfecting things [around us]. Perfection of self is Humanity; perfection of things is Knowledge. These are virtues which manifest our nature; this is the Way which joins the inner and the outer [worlds]." ³ Ch'eng I also said: "Devotion and Righteousness hold each other together and ascend straightway to attain the Virtue of Heaven." Thus when Chu Hsi said that these eight characters of Ch'eng I are inexhaustible in their application, he was not exaggerating at all.

Lecture Concerning the Chapters on the Divine Age

(in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*)

When Yamazaki Ansai took up Shinto studies late in life, he developed a cosmology based on early Japanese texts, which in spite of his own denials, obviously betrays the influence of Chinese models, especially the yin-yang and Five Elements theories incorporated into Neo-Confucian metaphysics. Fundamentally a monist who asserted the identity of the human and divine, Yamazaki saw all phenomena as produced by Fire and regulated by the interaction of two powers, Soil and Metal. With these powers he identified the supreme virtues of Devotion and Righteousness.

The following passage reveals the devious rationalizations by which Yamazaki tried to establish the relationship between Devotion and Soil and Metal. Some of the complicated philological arguments have been eliminated to smooth the way for the reader, but enough remain to illustrate Yamazaki's method.

[From *Zoku Yamazaki Ansai zenshū*, III, 207-12]

There is one important matter to be learned by those beginning the study of Shinto. If a student takes up the chapters on the Divine Age without first learning it, he will not readily understand the chapters' true significance; whereas, having the proper instruction, everything in these chapters can be understood without further inquiry. This is the key to Shinto which explains it from beginning to end. This you certainly must know.

³ *The Mean*, XXV, 3.

I am not sure whether you have heard about it yet or not, but this is the teaching on soil and metal [*tsuchi-kane*]. . . . Do you recall that in the Divine Age text soil [*tsuchi*] is represented as five [*itsutsu*]? Izanagi cut the fire-god Kagu-tsuchi into five, its says.¹ You may not see what that really means, but it indicates the conversion of soil into five. . . .

Soil comes into being only from fire. Fire is mind and in mind dwells the god. This is not discussed in ordinary instruction, and it is only because of my desire to make you understand it thoroughly that I am revealing this to you. Now here is the secret explanation of something very important: why a [Shinto] shrine is called *hokora*. *Hokora* is where the god resides, and is equivalent to *hi-kura* [storehouse of fire]. *Ho* is an alternate form of *hi* [fire], as seen in the words of *ho-no-o* [fire tail, i.e., flame] and *ho-no-ko* [fire-child, i.e., spark]. It is interesting to note that Steadfast-Devotion [*tsutsushimi*] comes only from the mind, which is fire, the abode of the god. Now when the fire-god Kagu-tsuchi was cut into five pieces, it led to the existence of soil [*tsuchi*]. That can be understood from the theory that fire produces soil.

As to soil, it does not produce anything if it is scattered and dissipated. Only where soil is compacted together are things produced. So you can see what is meant by *tsutsushimi* [steadfast devotion]: it is the tightening up of the soil [*tsuchi wo shimuru*]. Soil is a solid thing, which holds together firmly (here the Master held out his two fists by way of demonstration). Water always is running downward; but soil does not run downward, it holds fast. Because it holds fast, things are produced. The mountain that produces metal is particularly hard, as we all know. Metal is formed when the essence of soil is drawn together and concentrated. Metal [*kane*] is joined together [*kane*] with soil. Because of metal the soil is held firmly together, and because the soil holds together firmly, the metal power is produced. This is going on now right before your eyes.

If there were no soil, nothing would be produced; but even if there were soil, without steadfastness [*tsutsushimi*], the metal power would not be produced. That steadfastness is something in man's mind. Just as nothing is produced when the soil is scattered and dissipated, so if man becomes dissipated and loose, the metal power cannot be produced. The

¹ Aston, *Nihongi*, I, 29.

metal power is actually nothing other than our attitude in the presence of the God. There is something stern and forbidding about the metal power. When this power reaches the limit of its endurance, we must expect that even men may be killed. So unyielding is it that it allows of no compromise or forgiveness.

As we see every day, only soil can produce metal. That is the principle of soil begetting metal. But do not confuse it with the Chinese theory that fire produces earth and earth produces metal. Whatever the Confucian texts may say does not matter. What I tell you is the Way of the Divine Age, and it is also something which goes on right before your eyes. The Sun Goddess, you see, was female, but when the Storm God got out of hand, she put on warlike attire and took up a sword. Even Izanagi and Izanami ruled the land by use of the spade and sword. From very earliest times Japan has been under the rule of the metal power. And that is why I have been telling you that Japan is the land of the metal power. Remember that without steadfastness the metal power would not come into being, and steadfastness is a thing of the mind.

There are still more important things to be explained in connection with soil and metal, but these are beyond your capacity now. Without the moral discipline which would prepare you for them, you are not allowed to hear such things.

Anecdotes Concerning Yamazaki Ansai

A QUESTION OF LOYALTIES

A recurring question among Tokugawa scholars was the dual allegiance seemingly implied by adherence to Chinese ethics on the part of patriotic Japanese. Yamazaki Ansai's handling of the question suggests the possibility of being faithful to Confucius and yet anti-Chinese. Neo-Shintoists carried this a step further by rejecting Confucius himself out of national loyalty.

[From *Sentetsu sōdan*, pp. 124-25]

Once Yamazaki Ansai asked his students a question: "In case China came to attack our country, with Confucius as general and Mencius as lieutenant-general at the head of hundreds of thousands of horses, what do you think we students of Confucius and Mencius ought to do?" The students were unable to offer an answer. "We don't know what we should do," they said, "so please let us know what you think about it."

"Should that eventuality arise," he replied, "I would put on armor and take up a spear to fight and capture them alive in the service of my country. That is what Confucius and Mencius teach us to do."

Later his disciple met [the Sinophile] Itō Tōgai and told him about it, adding that his teacher's understanding of Confucius and Mencius was hard to surpass. Tōgai, however, told him smilingly not to worry about the invasion of our country by Confucius and Mencius. "I guarantee that it will never happen."

YAMAZAKI ANSAI AND HIS THREE PLEASURES

Though Yamazaki in general typifies the fusion of Confucian ethics with the feudal virtues of medieval Japan, this anecdote shows how Confucian insistence upon the moral worth of the individual militated against the principle of hereditary aristocracy basic to feudalism.

[From *Sentetsu sōdan*, pp. 122-23]

The Duke of Aizu asked Yamazaki Ansai if he enjoyed any pleasures of his own. In answer Yamazaki said:

"Your vassal enjoys three pleasures. In between heaven and earth there are innumerable creatures, but I [as a man] am the highest of all creatures. That is one source of pleasure. In between heaven and earth, peace and war come in defiance of all calculation. Fortunately, however, I was born in a time when peaceful arts flourish. Thus I am able to enjoy reading books, studying the truth, and keeping the company of the ancient sages and philosophers as if they were in the same room with me. That is another pleasure."

The Lord then said, "Two pleasures you have already told me about; I would like to hear about the third one." Yamazaki replied, "That is the greatest one though difficult to express, since your Highness may not take it as intended, but instead consider it an affront." The Duke said, "Ignorant though I am, I am still the devoted disciple of my teacher. I am always thirsty for his loyal advice and hungry for his undisguised opinions. I cannot see any reason why this time you should stop half-way."

Yamazaki then declared, "Since you go to such lengths, I cannot hold back even though it may bring death and disgrace. My third and greatest pleasure is that I was lowborn, not born into the family of an aristocrat."

"May I ask you the reason why?" the Duke insisted. "If I am not mistaken, aristocrats of the present day, born as they are deep inside a palace and brought up in the hands of women, are lacking in scholarship and wanting in skill, given over to a life of pleasure and indulgence, sexual or otherwise. Their vassals cater to their whims, applaud whatever they applaud, and decry whatever they decry. Thus is spoiled and dissipated the true nature they are born with. Compare them with those who are low-born and poor, who are brought up from childhood in the school of hardship. They learn to handle practical affairs as they grow up, and with the guidance of teachers or the assistance of friends their intellect and judgment steadily improve. That is the reason why I consider my low and poor birth the greatest of all my pleasures." The Duke was astounded and said with a sigh, "What you say is quite right."

THE MITO SCHOOL

The interest of Tokugawa Mitsukuni in Chinese studies was aroused by the great histories Chinese writers had produced, rather than by their religion or philosophy. This may well be considered one of the distinctive influences of Chinese culture on Japan, in contrast to Indian influence, which was confined to religion, philosophy, and the arts. As early as 1657, Mitsukuni set out to organize his own committee for the re-writing of Japanese history, a task which was to take nearly two hundred fifty years for completion. Apparently he was not satisfied with the new history of Japan started by Hayashi Razan in 1644, and in the initial stage of his project he had stiff competition from Hayashi Shunsai who was carrying on his father's work. As mentioned elsewhere, the Hayashis' work was completed in 1670 and accepted by the shogunate as the official history of Japan, having been accorded the title *General History of Our State* (*Honchō tsugan*). Fortunately Mitsukuni was able to persuade a Chinese political refugee of wide experience and considerable scholarship to participate in his new undertaking as general adviser. Chu Shunshui (1600-1682), a steadfast adherent of the Ming dynasty who had crossed the Eastern seas many times in hopes of raising outside help for the Ming cause, was finally forced by the dynasty's collapse to seek refuge in Nagasaki in 1659. In 1665, after repeated invitations from Mitsukuni to serve on his historical commission, Chu accepted and came to settle

in Mito. To Japanese Confucianists Chu symbolized above all else unswerving loyalty to his dynasty. This was what Chu Hsi had called "the highest duty of all (*taigi meibun*)," and what had served as a guiding principle in the great Sung scholar's rewriting of the *General Mirror*, as the *Outline and Digest of the General Mirror* (*T'ung-chien kang-mu*). There is no doubt that the presence of this staunch loyalist on the commission made itself felt, for patriotism and loyalty to the throne became the paramount themes of Mitsukuni's history, as well as the cardinal doctrines of those who later carried on the tradition of the Mito school. Through them these ideas were to exert a profound influence on the course of Japanese history during the Restoration period. Still later Chu Shun-shui's unceasing resistance to the Manchus was to serve as an inspiration to Chinese students in Japan, who returned home to lead in the struggle that brought the Manchu dynasty to an end.

TOKUGAWA TSUNAEDA

Preface to *The History of Great Japan* (*Dai-Nihon-shi*)

This preface was written in 1715 by Tsunaeda, then head of the Mito branch of the Tokugawa family, who records the aims of his predecessor Mitsukuni in launching this monumental history project. Two points are emphasized: loyalty to the legitimate imperial house (though not at this time suggesting active rule by the Emperor), and the contribution of objective historiography to the social order. Both are characteristic of Neo-Confucian thought.

[From *Dai-Nihon-shi*, I, i-ix]

My Sire [Mitsukuni] at the age of eighteen once read the biography of Po-i¹ and became a staunch admirer of his high character from that time on. Patting the volume containing it, he remarked with emotion, "Only by the existence of this book is the culture of ancient China made available to us; but for the writing of history how could posterity visualize the past?"

Thereupon he resolved to compile a history of Japan. Official chronicles were sought out as sources, and private records were hunted for far and

¹ Po-i, legendary figure of classical China whose biography is contained in the *Records of the Historian* by Su-ma Ch'ien. He and his brother were said to have starved themselves in the wilderness rather than live on the bounty of King Wu of Chou, whom they considered a usurper of the Shang throne. Since King Wu was a great hero to Confucianists, many of them have condemned this account as fraudulent.

wide. Famous religious centers were visited for rare documents, and eminent personages were approached for their personal memoirs. Thus scores of years have been spent in the work of compilation and editing in order to complete this history.

It was the Sun in person who laid the foundation of this nation over two thousand years ago. Since then, divine descendants have occupied the throne in legitimate succession; never did an impostor or traitor dare to usurp it. The Sun and Moon shone bright where the Imperial Regalia found their abode, splendid and wondrous. The ultimate reason for this can only be traced, I respectfully surmise, to the benevolence and charity of our imperial forbears, which served to keep the people's hearts united in solid support of the country. As to the doings and sayings of the wise ministers and able officials of early times, they may in general be ascertained from ancient records. In the Middle Ages, able sovereigns appeared who preserved the dynasty and maintained its prestige, pursuing policies as beneficial as those of early times. But because there is a dearth of sources for this period the contributions of individual ministers and advisers are gradually fading into oblivion, to my profound regret. That is the reason why this history was planned.

Having lived close to my Sire, [I], Tsunaeda, enjoyed the privilege of listening to his pregnant remarks concerning history as a record of the facts. "Write it faithfully on the basis of the facts, and the moral implications will then make themselves manifest. From antiquity to the present time, the customs and manners of the people, whether refined or vulgar, as also the government and administration of successive eras, whether conducive to prosperity or ruin, should be put down in black and white as clearly as if they were things held in our own hands. Good deeds will serve to inspire men and bad deeds to restrain them, so that rebels and traitors may tremble in fear of history's judgment. The cause of education and the maintenance of social order will thus greatly benefit. In writing one must be true to fact, and the facts must be presented as exhaustively as possible. Arbitrary selection or willful alteration has no place in authentic history. So in this history, all pains have been taken to make it true to fact, even at the expense of literary excellence. An excess of detail is preferable to excessive brevity. As to its final form and arrangement, I shall leave that to some great writer to come." Before the history was completed, however, my Sire passed away.

KAIBARA EKKEN AND THE STUDY OF NATURE

Among Japanese Neo-Confucianists there is perhaps none who combines more strikingly than Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714) both the moralistic and rationalistic tendencies of this movement. More than anyone else he brought Confucian ethics into the homes of ordinary Japanese in language they could understand. Other Neo-Confucianists might have taken great pride in demonstrating their command of Chinese style writing. Kaibara was content to set forth in comparatively simple Japanese the basic moral doctrines which should govern the everyday conduct of the people, their relations with others, their duties within the family and to their feudal lords, their duties in war and peace, etc. Though Kaibara addressed himself particularly to the samurai, his writings had a very general appeal to all classes and ages, and he gained a reputation for having made Confucian moral teachings "household talk" among the people. To do this he had especially to reach the women and children. In this way he (along with the playwright Chikamatsu) performed for Confucian ethics the service which the great apostles of the Pure Land Sect had performed for Buddhism in the medieval period—bringing it down from the realm of philosophical discussion and into the households of all who could read.

As a fact of incidental importance we should note that Kaibara, though childless, enjoyed a married life of rare happiness and genuine mutuality. His wife, trained in philosophy and history, skilled in calligraphy and poetry, provided him with intellectual companionship and accompanied him on his travels throughout Japan to historic sites. For forty-five years they lived happily together and then died within a year of each other.

Kaibara was from the feudal domain of the Kuroda clan in the southern island of Kyushu, where Christianity had so recently flourished and where the local lord had become so taken with things Western that he adopted Roman initials for his seal. We cannot help wondering whether these circumstances had something to do with the almost religious quality of Kaibara's approach to Neo-Confucianism, in particular his interpretation of the virtue of humanity (*jīn*) as love for all things. In an orthodox follower of Chu Hsi like Kaibara, however, this is not too surprising a development of the Sung philosopher's own view of *jīn* as representing a

cosmic love identified with the creativity of nature. And it was rather in his special emphasis on creativity and the life-force that Kaibara eventually qualified his acceptance of Chu Hsi by taking issue, in a book entitled *Grave Doubts* (*Taigi-roku*), with the latter's dualism of principle (*ri*) and material force (*ki*) in favor of a monism of *ki* understood as the life-force.

Kaibara's methodical study of natural life is also not without its antecedents in the more naturalistic and rationalistic tendencies of Neo-Confucianism, and yet he pursued this interest in nature much further than most other men in his school. In his youth he was trained as a physician, and from this profession he may have acquired the sort of objective approach which distinguishes him from most Confucianists of the day. Moreover, since he enjoyed the security of a feudal stipend and was not, like Confucianists at the shogunate capital, encumbered by political ambitions or official duties, Kaibara was free to put into practice and carry to its logical conclusion the dictum of the Great Learning: "Investigate things and make your knowledge perfect!" Virtually all Chinese and Japanese Confucianists had been content to confine their "investigation of things" to the classics, but Kaibara carried his inquiry further into the field of nature. His *Catalogue of Vegetables*, *Catalogue of Flora*, and *Medicinal Herbs of Japan*, together with his last work, *How To Live Well*, are samples of his extensive studies in the biological realm. But his interests in this sphere were not pursued to the exclusion of humanistic studies. To Kaibara, man and nature are allied and inseparable; an understanding of nature is indispensable to the understanding of man. In this respect it may be said that Kaibara still reflects the essential humanistic and ethical concerns of Confucianism, which distinguish him from the more independent "scientific" thinkers and "Dutch" schoolmen of the eighteenth century in Japan. Kaibara's contributions to the study of nature were nonetheless significant enough to attract the attention of Westerners, among them Dutch visitors, and also the American, Swingle, with the U. S. Agricultural Experimental Station after the Restoration, whose enthusiasm for Kaibara's works led him to collect a complete set of them in first editions.

KAIBARA EKKEN

Precepts for Children

This opening passage to his *Precepts for Children* (*Shogaku-kun*) sets forth with great simplicity Kaibara's view of the interrelation of man and nature through the supreme Confucian virtue of humanity or benevolence (Ch. *jen*, Jap. *jin*). To make clear that this virtue is understood by him as not only involving but transcending "humanity," we render the term here as "benevolence." The reader should not fail to observe, however, that it is precisely that which makes man truly man which unites him with nature.

In the first paragraph the compound standing for "nature" is rendered literally as "heaven and earth" so that the correspondence to "father and mother" may be brought out.

[From *Ekken zenshū*, III, 2-3]

All men may be said to owe their birth to their parents, but a further inquiry into their origins reveals that men come into being because of nature's law of life. Thus all men in the world are children born of heaven and earth, and heaven and earth are the great parents of us all. The *Book of History* says, "Heaven and earth are the father and mother of all things" (T'ai-shih 1). Our own parents are truly our parents; but heaven and earth are the parents of everyone in the world. Moreover, though we are brought up after birth through the care of our own parents and are sustained on the gracious bounty of the ruler, still if we go to the root of the matter, we find that we sustain ourselves using the things produced by nature for food, dress, housing, and implements. Thus, not only do all men at the outset come into being because of nature's law of life, but from birth till the end of life they are kept in existence by the support of heaven and earth. Man surpasses all other created things in his indebtedness to the limitless bounty of nature. It will be seen therefore that man's duty is not only to do his best to serve his parents, which is a matter of course, but also to serve nature throughout his life in order to repay his immense debt. That is one thing all men should keep in mind constantly.

As men mindful of their obligation constantly to serve nature in repayment of this great debt, they should not forget that, just as they manifest filial piety in the service of their own parents, so they should manifest to the full their benevolence toward nature. Benevolence means having a sense of sympathy within, and bringing blessings to man and

things. For those who have been brought up on the blessings of nature, it is the way to serve nature. It is the basic aim of human life, which should be observed as long as one lives. There should be no letting up on it, no forgetting of it. Benevolence in the service of nature and filial piety are one in principle: it is a principle which must be known and observed by anyone insofar as he is a man. There is none greater than this, none more important. All men living in their parents' home should expend themselves in filial service to their father and mother; and serving their lord should manifest single-minded loyalty to him. Just so, living as we do in the wrap of nature, we must serve nature and manifest to the full our benevolence. For a man to be unaware of this important duty, to let the days and years pass idly by and let one's life go for naught, is to make oneself unworthy of being a man. Indeed, how can anyone who would be a man ignore this fact? It is in this that the way of man lies. Any way apart from this cannot be the true way.

To persist in the service of heaven means that everyone who is a man should be mindful of the fact that morning and evening he is in the presence of heaven, and not far removed from it; that he should fear and reverence the way of heaven and not be unmindful of it. He should not, even in ignorance, oppose the way of heaven or commit any outrage against it. Rather, following the way of heaven, he should be humble and not arrogant toward others, control his desires and not be indulgent of his passions, cherish a profound love for all mankind born of nature's great love, and not abuse or mistreat them. Nor should he waste, just to gratify his personal desires, the five grains and other bounties which nature has provided for the sake of the people. Secondly, no living creatures such as birds, beasts, insects, and fish should be killed wantonly. Not even grass and trees should be cut down out of season. All of these are objects of nature's love, having been brought forth by her and nurtured by her. To cherish them and keep them is therefore the way to serve nature in accordance with the great heart of nature. Among human obligations there is first the duty to love our relatives, then to show sympathy for all other human beings, and then not to mistreat birds and beasts or any other living things. That is the proper order for the practice of benevolence in accordance with the great heart of nature. Loving other people to the neglect of parents, or loving birds and beasts to the neglect of human beings, is not benevolence.

陽 明

CHAPTER XVII

THE ŌYŌMEI (WANG YANG-MING) SCHOOL IN JAPAN

Deep and lasting as was the influence of Chu Hsi's philosophy in Tokugawa Japan, its dominance, even with the backing of the shogunate, was far from complete. Indeed, from the vantage point of history one of the most striking features of Japanese thought in this period is seen to be its diversity and vitality. Not only during the waning years of the Bakufu when its control was loosened, but even during the heyday of its power there were men of independent mind who offered alternatives to the established Neo-Confucian orthodoxy, even if they did not directly attack it. Among them an important strain of independent thought is represented by Nakae Tōju (1608-1648), considered the founder of the Wang Yang-ming school in Japan, and Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691), an outstanding example of those personal and political virtues which had already made this school a center of reformist activity in China.

NAKAE TŌJU

Ōyōmei is the Japanese rendering of the name Wang Yang-ming, the sixteenth-century Chinese Neo-Confucianist who became the outstanding spokesman of the School of Intuition (or Mind, *shin*), as opposed to Chu Hsi's School of Reason (or Principle, *ri*). Two features of Wang's teaching appealed especially to Nakae Tōju, who was introduced to it after he had spent many years in the study of Chu Hsi. One was his stress upon man's intuition or moral sense, rather than upon the intellect as with Chu Hsi. Everyone does not have to be a scholar but everyone ought to be a good man. For Nakae the moral sense innate in every man, the inner light which he later called the "Divine Light of Heaven," is man's only sure guide in life. Nakae was also attracted to Wang's teaching because of its emphasis on deeds rather than words. The

dictates of one's conscience should be carried out directly in action. Wang had explained the unity of knowledge and action by showing that no matter how much a man read or talked about filial piety, he could not be said truly to have learned or understood it until he had put it into practice. Nakae himself gave an excellent example of this. Because his conscience told him that the well-being of his parents should be the first concern of every pious son, Nakae resigned a post he held in the service of a feudal lord in Shikoku and returned to his native village near Lake Biwa in order to care for his aging mother. This meant virtually retiring from the world to take up the life of a farmer in a rather remote and rugged region of hills and streams. Nevertheless his fame was spread abroad as a teacher whose precepts were taken to heart by country folk as well as educated men. That he attracted such able men as Kumazawa Banzan to his school, and influenced such great scholars as Arai Hakuseki and Dazai Shundai, was due less to his intellectual brilliance than to his gentle-hearted and single-minded pursuit of this way of life, guided only by the Heavenly voice within him. It is this same single-minded and selfless determination which we find among his followers in the late Tokugawa, the reformer Ōshio Chūsai, and those zealous patriots, Sakuma Shōzan and Yoshida Shōin, whose example made such an impression upon the leaders of the Meiji Restoration. Even in the twentieth century the philosophy which Nakae Tōju espoused has had a considerable vogue (one periodical is devoted solely to studies and writings of this school), and the famous Western-trained preceptor to the Emperor Taishō (1912-1926), Sugiura Jūgō, paid this tribute to Nakae: "He was the Sage of Ōmi Province; but is he not also the sage of Japan, the sage of the East, and indeed, the sage of the entire world? For a sage is a sage in the same way in the present as in the past, in the East and in the West. That he was already the sage of Ōmi province is reason enough for calling him the sage of the entire world."¹

NAKAE TŌJU

Control of the Mind Is True Learning

According to Nakae Tōju the fundamental truths of life were the same for all men, regardless of their station in life. Where other Confucianists addressed

¹ Inoue, *Yōmei gakuha*, p. 18.

themselves generally to scholars and officials, Nakae offered guidance to the humblest of men and even to women, whom Confucianists and Buddhists often neglected.

[From *Tōju sensei zenshū*, II, 569-73]

There are many degrees of learning, but the learning that teaches control of the mind is the true learning. This true learning is of the utmost importance in this world and the chief concern of all mankind. The reason is that it aims at "exemplifying illustrious virtue,"¹ which is the greatest treasure of mankind. Gold, silver, and jewels are treasures, of course, but they are incapable of severing the root of all human suffering and of providing lasting happiness. So they are not man's greatest treasure.

When illustrious virtue shines forth, human suffering of all kinds will cease and our hearts will be filled with lasting happiness. Everything will be as we want it. Wealth and rank, poverty and lowliness, prosperity and adversity, will have little effect upon our enjoyment of life. Moreover everyone will love and respect us, Heaven itself will help us, and the gods will protect us, so that natural calamities and disasters will not harm us, thunder and earthquake will not injure us. Storms may destroy buildings but will leave us untouched. Fire will not burn us nor floods drown us. The devil will be afraid of us and the demon plague will not pester us. The spirits of evil and resentment will not come nigh. The fox and badger will be powerless with their magic. The tiger, wolf, and adder will not hurt us. Thieves and robbers will also be helpless to do us ill. Even swords and arms will be of no use against us. The seven sufferings will vanish and the seven happinesses will appear. In this world the enjoyment of life will be indescribable, and in the life hereafter we will be born in Heaven. Because of its boundless merits and blessings, this is called "the greatest treasure in the world." It is found in every human being, high or low, old or young, male or female, in the inexhaustible treasure-house of the Mind, but not knowing how to seek it, people in their pitiful ignorance go on searching for treasure in external things, only to sink into a sea of suffering. . . .

Some say that learning seems not to be the business of women. I say that there are many women busy composing poetry in both Chinese and Japanese, and though poetry would seem not to be the business of women,

¹ From the opening lines of the *Great Learning*.

they are not criticized for it. Control of the mind is of the utmost importance to women, and it would be a great mistake to say that it is not their business. The outward manner and temper of women is rooted in the negative (yin) power, and so temperamentally women are apt to be sensitive, petty, narrow, and jaundiced. As they live confined to their homes day in and day out, theirs is a very private life and their vision is quite limited. Consequently, among women compassion and honesty are rare indeed. That is why Buddhism says that women are particularly sinful and have the greatest difficulty in attaining Buddhahood. Thus women are in special need of mental discipline. If a wife's disposition is healthy and pious, obedient, sympathetic, and honest, then her parents and children, brothers and sisters, and, in fact, every member of her family, will be at peace and the entire household in perfect order, so that even lowly servants benefit from her gracious kindness. That kind of family is certain to enjoy lasting happiness and succeeding generations will continue to prosper as a result. . . .

It may be added that in ancient times when a girl reached ten years of age, she was turned over to a woman-teacher in order to learn the virtues and duties of womanhood. Now that practice has been discontinued, and "study" for women means only a little reading. Completely forgotten is the fact that cultivation of the mind is the essence of all learning. It is because of this that the question now has arisen as to whether or not learning is the business of women. It is imperative that this truth be fully understood, and that great care be given to the proper education of women, lest they should turn out to be the cause of domestic discord and family disaster.

The Divine Light in the Mind

Nakae Tōju's doctrine of innate or intuitive knowledge is directly derived from Wang Yang-ming, according to whom this sense constituted the goodness of human nature and rendered man one with Heaven. For Nakae, however, this doctrine has strong theistic overtones which reflect his tendency to re-interpret both Confucianism and Shinto in order to show their essential unity.

[From Inoue, *Yomei gakuha*, pp. 81-85]

The superior man will be watchful over those inmost thoughts known to himself alone. In his everyday thinking, he will not think anything for which he would have to fear if brought into the presence of the

Divine. In his everyday actions he will not perform an act of which he might be ashamed if it were known to others. By mistake an evil idea may arise, a wrong deed may present itself; but since there is within the mind a divine awareness illuminating it, what we call "enlightenment" will come. Once this realization occurs, rectification will follow, the evil idea and wrong deed will disappear, and the mind will revert to its normal state of purity and divine enlightenment. The ordinary man, unfortunately, continues to think such evil thoughts and goes on doing what he knows is wrong. Nevertheless, since the divine light in the mind makes the man aware [that he is doing wrong], he tries to hide it. In everybody's mind there is this divine light, which is one with the Divinity of Heaven, and before which one stands as if in a mirror, with nothing hidden either good or bad. [p. 81]

.

There is no distinction among men, be they sages or ordinary persons, so far as their Heaven-bestowed nature is concerned. They are all gifted with the divine light that tells good from bad. All men hate injustice and are ashamed of evil because they are born with this intuitive knowledge.¹ It is only from the self-watchfulness of the one and the self-deceit of the other that the vast distinction arises between the superior man and the inferior man. If, however, the inferior man realizes where he has erred and becomes watchful over himself, correcting his mistakes and turning to the good, he may then become a superior man. [pp. 84-85]

The Supreme Lord and God of Life

While Nakae Tōju accepted in general the pantheistic view of Heaven or the Supreme Ultimate prevailing among the Neo-Confucian scholars, he frequently confuses this impersonal concept with the idea of a personal or even anthropomorphic God, which harmonized readily with Shinto belief. Both of these tendencies are present, but unreconciled, in the following passages.

[From *Tōju sensei zenshū*, I, 128-38]

The Supreme Lord Above is infinite and yet He is the final end of all. He is absolute truth and absolute spirit. All forms of ether are His form; infinite principle is His mind. He is greater than all else and yet there is nothing smaller. That principle and that ether are self-sustaining and unceasing. Through their union He produces lives throughout all time, without beginning or end. He is the father and mother of all

¹ *ryōchi*, the "good-knowledge" of Wang Yang-ming.

things. Through division of His form He gives form to all things; through division of His mind He gives all things their nature. When form is divided, differences result; when mind is divided, the minds remain the same. [p. 128]

.

The Great God of Life¹ is called in the *Book of History* the Supreme Lord Above. The Supreme Lord Above is the spirit of the God of Life. He is the ruler and parent of all things in the universe; not a single particle of the six directions of the universe, nor a single second of all time, is hidden from the light of His omniscience. But all particular things in the universe partake of just one virtue, and do not combine all of the virtues of the Supreme Being. The sun and the moon shine only at certain periods, and cannot match the everlasting splendor of the Supreme Lord. The sun and moon are dimmed at times, yet He shines on; heaven and earth may come to an end, yet His life is infinite. Trace back, and you cannot tell where He has arisen; stretch forward, and you cannot tell where He reaches to. Stop Him, and His organs will continue to operate. Start Him, and He will leave no trace of His activity. There is nothing He does not know, nothing He cannot do. His body fills all space. Without noise, without scent, His mysterious activity pervades all space. Most miraculous, most spiritual, reaching to where there is no circumference, penetrating to where there is no center, He alone is worthy of devotion and without peer. His virtues are exquisite and unfathomable. Nameless Himself, He has been called by the sages "The Supreme Heavenly God of Life," in order to let men know that He is the source of all creation so that they may pay homage to Him. [pp. 137-38]

Filial Piety

As pointed out in the case of Yamazaki Ansai, it was the practice among Confucian philosophers to single out some particular virtue or expression from the Classics as the focal point of their teaching. For Nakae Tōju this was "filial piety," which he regarded as the underlying moral power in the universe.

[From *Tōju sensei zenshū*, I, 215-17]

Filial piety is the root of man. When it is lost from one's heart, then one's life becomes like a rootless plant, and if one does not expire instantly, it is nothing but sheer luck. . . .

¹ A Chinese Deity, *Daijitsu-Sonshin*, incorporated into medieval Shinto as *Ō-kinoto no Ō-mikoto*.

Filial piety is what distinguishes men from birds and beasts. When men are not filial, Heaven will visit upon them the six major punishments. It was said in ancient times that a man without filial piety turned into a man with a dog's head, clearly indicating that he was a beast. Reflect upon this and take heed!

An orphan would seem to have no obligations to look after parents. Yet I say that one's own moral endowment is the true inheritance from one's parents, and to care for one's own moral endowment is to care for one's parents, to respect one's own moral nature is to respect one's parents. That is the essence of filial piety in a larger sense. To be with them in person does not matter much. . . .

Filial piety is the summit of virtue and the essence of the Way in the three realms of heaven, earth, and man. What brings life to heaven, life to earth, life to man, and life to all things, is filial piety. Therefore those who pursue learning need study only this. Where is filial piety to be found? In one's own person! Apart from one's own person, there is no filial piety to be found; and without filial piety, there is no person who can practice the Way that illumines the four seas and communes with the Divine Light.

KUMAZAWA BANZAN, A SAMURAI REFORMER

A characteristic of Wang Yang-ming's teaching concerning "the unity of knowledge and action," as exemplified by the master himself, had been its dual emphasis on self-understanding and self-discipline in action. Wang, the philosopher and moralist, had been at the same time a soldier and statesman. In Japan the character of Nakae Tōju and his personal circumstances lent themselves better to carrying out this same teaching in the more limited sphere of personal conduct and private instruction. It was left to his ablest pupil, Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691), to apply Wang's principles in the wider field of political action.

Like many other intellectual figures of his time, Kumazawa was a low-ranking samurai with the status of *rōnin*, that is, having no allegiance to a specific feudal lord nor any support from one. During his youth Kumazawa's family lived in difficult circumstances, and he was fortunate at the age of fifteen to gain employment with Ikeda Mitsumasa,

lord of Okayama (Bizen). During five years of such service, including visits with his master to the Tokugawa capital at Edo, Kumazawa pursued an intensive program of training in the military arts to achieve his ideal of the model samurai. He was already twenty-one when, for the first time, he read the famous Four Books of the Confucian school and resolved to make up for his deficiencies in the liberal arts. A free agent again, he determined to pursue his education under the guidance of Nakae Tōju, to whose personal character and teachings he is said to have been attracted by chance contact with a student of Nakae remarkable for his integrity. It is typical of the antischolastic bent of the Wang Yang-ming school, however, and its distaste for much book learning, that Nakae confined his instruction to just three short texts: the *Book of Filial Piety*, the *Great Learning*, and the *Mean*. Apart from this, Kumazawa was largely self-taught and became known more for his personal knowledge of practical matters than for wide learning.

In 1647 Kumazawa re-entered the service of Lord Ikeda, and soon rose to become chief minister of Okayama. The reform program which he then launched upon was such a signal success that his fame spread across the land. When he visited Edo in 1651 and 1653 high dignitaries and officials of the shogunate came to pay their respects to him; indeed the third shogun is said to have arranged an audience with him, though the shogun fell sick and died before the appointed day. But in feudal times fame was as often the cause of personal downfall as of advancement. Kumazawa became the target of a concerted attack by a conservative group in the Ikeda fief, which led to his resignation in 1656. His remaining years were spent largely in study and writing, but he still found himself harassed for his unorthodox and independent views. Though his counsel was sometimes still sought by persons in positions of power, a program of reform which he submitted to the shogun in 1687 caused such a furor that he was kept in custody or under surveillance the rest of his life. A year before his own death in 1691, he was preceded by his devoted wife. Their marriage had been a union of free lovers, rather unusual in feudal Japan, and so romantic that it was dramatized in a play entitled *Diary of a Morning Glory* (*Asagao-nikkō*).

Kumazawa's views on political and economic questions are known chiefly through his dialogue on the *Great Learning*, which is less a discussion of the text itself than a dissertation that takes as its point of

departure the political principles of the Confucian school as set forth in this canonical work. This being so, Kumazawa's outlook often strikes the reader today as quite in keeping with earlier Confucian tradition, and it is indicative more of the shogunate's deep conservatism than of any extreme radicalism or heterodoxy on Kumazawa's part that his ideas should have given so much offense. Thus his reassertion even of the traditional Confucian view supporting individual merit as against hereditary privilege in politics could not help but alarm a regime based so completely on hereditary position, though Kumazawa stopped well short of advocating the abolition of feudalism. At the same time Kumazawa's Confucianism was far from doctrinaire. He put great stress upon the adaptation of general principles to the particular time, place, and circumstances confronting the statesman, and many of the suggestions which Kumazawa made on the basis of his own experience and observations definitely ran counter to policies with which the shogunate had been identified from its inception. For instance, Kumazawa believed that no general economic improvement could be expected unless the shogunate relaxed the restrictions and lightened the financial burdens which it had imposed on the feudal lords. Specifically he opposed the system which required the lords to maintain residences in Edo and make regular visits there to pay their respects to the shogun. Yet the Tokugawa had good reason to fear for the maintenance of their own supremacy if greater freedom of action were granted the daimyō. On the other hand even when Kumazawa suggested that the shogunate itself take a stronger hand in directing the economic life of the country, he could not overcome the almost instinctive resistance of the Tokugawa to any change in their way of doing things. It is doubtful that the measures proposed by Kumazawa—such as the use of rice as a medium of exchange (returning to a "natural" or barter economy), the discouragement of cotton, tobacco, and tea raising in favor of rice production, greatly increased rice storage to provide against famine and national emergency, and similar measures—would have sufficed to cope with the grave problems posed by Japan's expanding population and money economy. Yet at least Kumazawa pointed to the urgent need for facing these problems and taking action to meet them. In doing so he set an example for later reformers whom the Tokugawa could not shrug off or silence.

KUMAZAWA BANZAN

The Model Samurai

Kumazawa was concerned that years of peace and indolence might have a debilitating effect on the samurai class. Believing that the Manchus, who had just completed the conquest of China, might repeat the Mongols' attempted invasion of Japan in the thirteenth century, he warned his countrymen of the danger of foreign invasion and of the need for maintaining a constant state of physical readiness. In this passage from his memoirs, Kumazawa tells how as a young man he disciplined himself to that end. His ideas and example were an inspiration to leaders of the Restoration of 1868, who likewise feared a foreign invasion and were disturbed over the ineffectuality of the Tokugawa aristocracy.

[From Fisher, "Kumazawa Banzan," pp. 230-31]

When I was about sixteen I had a tendency toward corpulence. I had noticed a lack of agility in other fleshy persons and thought a heavy man would not make a first class samurai. So I tried every means to keep myself agile and lean. I slept with my girdle drawn tight and stopped eating rice. I took no wine and abstained from sexual intercourse for the next ten years. While on duty at Edo, there were no hills or fields at hand where I could hunt and climb, so I exercised with spear and sword. When I was on the night watch at my master's residence in Edo, I kept a wooden sword and a pair of straw sandals in my bamboo hamper, and with these I used to put myself through military drill in the darkened court after every one was asleep. I also practiced running about over the roofs of the out-buildings far removed from the sleeping rooms. This I did so as to be able to handle myself nimbly if a fire should break out. There were a few who noticed me at these exercises and they were reported to have said that I was probably possessed by a hobgoblin. This was before I was twenty years old. After that I hardened myself by going into the fields on hot summer days and shooting skylarks with a gun, since I did not own a falcon for hawking. In the winter months I often spent several days in the mountains taking no night clothes or bed quilt with me, and wearing only a lined jacket of cotton over a thin cotton shirt. My little hamper was almost filled by my inkstand, paper, and books, and two wadded silk kimonos. I stayed overnight in any house

I came across in my rambles. In such a way I disciplined myself until I was thirty-seven or -eight years old and avoided becoming fleshy. I was fully aware of my want of talent and believed I could never hope to be of any great service to my country, so I was all the more resolved to do my best as a common *samurai*.

The Development and Distribution of Wealth

[From *Kumazawa Banzan shū*, pp. 13-16, 17, 44. Revised from Fisher, "Daigaku Wakumon," pp. 277-80, 282, 317]

Question: Should something be done to develop our "material wealth"? ¹

Answer: Benevolent rule cannot be extended throughout the land without first developing our material wealth. In recent times there have been a great many people with no one to turn to: that is, with no one to depend upon, no place to go for help, and no work by which to support their parents, wives, and children. The benevolent rulers of the past attended first to the needs of such persons with no one to turn to. Today the worst off of these people are the *rōnin*. There are innumerable cases of their starving to death during the frequent famines. Even rich harvests and the consequent lowering of the price of rice would not give much relief to those who are already hard up. Every year there are many cases of starvation which are unknown to the general public. This is due to the impoverished condition of the feudal lords who are thus forced to stop giving allowances to some of their retainers. The retainers in turn cut off their dependents.

The other causes which produce so many *rōnin* are evident to all. When daimyō and their retainers suffer from debts which are out of proportion to their incomes, they tax the people more and more heavily, even though they know the taxes are excessive. This leads the common people to increase their indebtedness far beyond their resources. Thus all classes of society come to be saddled with crushing debts. When samurai and farmers are hard up, merchants and artisans are soon reduced to poverty, and society at large is reduced to indigence. The public treasure of the shogunate would not suffice to pay so much as one percent of the people's

¹ As spoken of in the *Book of Changes* (*Chi tzu*, 5) where material wellbeing is linked to social and moral order. [Ed.]

debts, even if all the stored up money and grain were devoted to the purpose. For the aggregate debt of the people would be more than one hundred times as much as all the money now in circulation. Nevertheless it would be quite easy to relieve the situation if benevolent rule were adopted, for there is a Great Principle² which can be applied in the present better than ever in the remote or recent past.

Question: What is that kind of government?

Answer: It has to do with wealth. To the ordinary mind, wealth is one man's gain and another man's loss, gratifying to the possessor, but displeasing to others. If the feudal lords are rich the people resent it, and if the shogun is rich the people are envious—for this is wealth in a small sense. However, if the lord of a province had wealth according to the Great Principle, the entire province would be happy, and if the shogun had such wealth, the whole country would be happy—for this is wealth in peace and good fortune. Their descendants would enjoy every felicity, and their good reputation would be passed on to their posterity. During the more than five hundred years since the establishment of the military regency at Kamakura there have been many shoguns naturally fitted for the task, but I deeply regret that they seem never to have heard of the principle. And just as a good carpenter cannot build a house without following proper rules, so even an eminent ruler cannot govern a whole country in lasting peace, unless he follows the example of the ancient sage-kings.

Question: The laws of the sage-kings are recorded in the Chinese Classics. Why cannot rulers naturally fitted for the task avail themselves of such examples?

Answer: The ideal examples involved a combination of the most favorable circumstances, including the right time, place and political position. It is hard to reduce them to writing. There may be exceptional rulers who succeed on account of inborn wisdom, but as a rule, it is well-nigh impossible for men of such high rank as the shoguns or the feudal lords to attain the ideal combination by their own efforts alone. The ideal can only be comprehended by those who, while of lowly extraction, still have deep insight into events and into the workings of the human heart, and who at the same time have learning, administrative talent, and true

²As set forth in the *Record of Rites* (*Li-yün*, 1), this principle or Way involves the exercise of power and the use of the world's goods for the benefit of all. [Ed.]

loyalty. Only men of such character are qualified to be the teachers of kings.

Question: Never before has there been such a high rate of tax remissions, or have the people been in such dire straits as they are now. How can wealth be developed under such conditions?

Answer: There is a mode of government by which the remission can be allowed as it is now and yet the samurai in the various provinces may become well-to-do; and by which the rice granaries of both the shogun and the daimyō may be filled to overflowing with the harvest. At present there is an immense quantity of rice wasted to no one's profit. But in the present social situation, people manage to support themselves not in spite of but simply because of such waste. After the farmers have paid their annual taxes and the samurai have taken in their regular share, the greater the waste of the rice crop, the easier do all classes of people find it to get on. If the present social situation should continue, but all waste were prevented, it would be harder for the people to get along. If there were no waste of rice, the price would fall lower and lower. Witness the rich harvests of recent years, because of which both the samurai and the common people have been made poorer and poorer. When these two classes are hard up, business transactions in general become sluggish in consequence. And this in turn causes trade to languish and the artisans to suffer more than ever. Cheap rice may appear to be an advantage to *rōnin*, but the contrary is the case. As the whole class of samurai is hard up, there is almost no one to give assistance to *rōnin*, and they stand less chance of being engaged by the provincial lords. Cheap rice would seem to be beneficial to day laborers, but the contrary is the case. When samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants are all hard up, there is no one to hire the laborers. This general distress among the people is caused by there being a little too much rice.

Question: Do the people, then, find rich harvests undesirable?

Answer: The people too have heavier debts and are all the worse off because of the rich harvests of recent years. The money they borrowed when a *koku* of rice was worth seventy or eighty *me* they must pay back when the price has fallen to thirty or forty *me*, so that the principle alone will double, and adding the interest in too, will more than double. And since a bumper crop never amounts to twice an average harvest, the poor farmer is the loser. . . . The common people will suffer from the high

price of rice in a year of bad harvest, for they will have no rice to sell; and when there is a bumper crop they will find it very hard to get on, for rice will be too cheap. Hence it is not advisable, so long as the present mode of government lasts, either to prevent the crop from being wasted or to cultivate new fields for rice. . . .

Question: What kind of government will make both the upper and lower classes happy, without wasting rice or reducing its value?

Answer: Since only gold and silver are legal tender, neither imposts nor tribute can be paid without selling one's rice [to obtain money]. But while there is an abundance of rice waiting to be sold in the harbors of Osaka and Edo, there are few merchants to buy it. This causes the price to go lower and lower, to the distress of the people at large. In fact, the amount of rice stored in the provinces is even smaller than one would expect. If the price of rice were fixed in relation to currency, all sorts of rice could be used in buying and selling cloth and other articles at Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo, as well as in the provinces; and wages to working men could also be paid with rice. Men in the eastern provinces could give bills of rice exchange to those of the western provinces for goods from the capital. Some inconvenience might occur in the practical execution of the system, but in time it could easily be overcome. We must first make it unnecessary for the people to sell all their rice in exchange for money just to support themselves. Then the great quantity of rice, which is now so largely wasted, could be stored unhulled in the different provinces, to be given out to famine sufferers and to be eaten by the soldiers in time of invasion by the northern barbarians [Manchus]. . . .

Question: Since I understand that there is no place to store the material wealth thus obtained, are there not still likely to be shortages?

Answer: Wealth here means wealth for the whole country. If grain for which there is no storage space is used for the civil government and military preparedness, there will be no shortage, and poverty will be reduced everywhere. When all things are set in order, wealth will not be wasted. When the old system of farmer-soldiers³ is restored and a tribute of only one tenth is paid, wealth will be widely distributed and the people's hearts will be won. When it has become the custom generously to share wealth with those in need, then the people will know no lack. When the samurai become farmer-soldiers, the martial spirit of the nation will be greatly

³ Believed to have prevailed in ancient China and adopted in seventh-century Japan. [Ed.]

strengthened and it will deserve to be called a martial country. Ever since the samurai and farmers became separate classes, the samurai have become sickly and their hands and feet have grown weak. It avails nothing to boast of a brave spirit if the warrior plays out when he confronts an enemy or if he dies of disease. His young retainers of lower rank will lose all respect for such a samurai and want to quit the service in a year. This will surely weaken the military forces. On the whole, a noble and lasting social order can only be built on a farmer-samurai basis. Now is the time to restore the farmer-soldier of olden times.

古學

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REDISCOVERY OF CONFUCIANISM

Neo-Confucianism in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japan, as represented by Chu Hsi's synthesis of speculative thought in the Sung school, was only the culmination of a movement begun much earlier in the Sung period to revive the original Confucian tradition and reassert its validity for later times. One feature of this movement had been a strong reaction against Buddhism as being antithetical to the Confucian belief in an enduring moral order and the value of social action. Another feature had been a reaction against the kind of Confucian scholarship which during the intervening centuries had become increasingly antiquarian or else a mere accessory to bureaucratic rule. Tokugawa scholars, for their part, fully appreciated the role which Sung thinkers had played in reasserting and revitalizing the basic teachings of the Confucian school. More belatedly they came to appreciate the extent to which these teachings, admittedly much amplified by the Neo-Confucianists, had also been subject to considerable reinterpretation by them.

As we have seen, even among those who upheld the orthodoxy of Chu Hsi's philosophy in Japan, there was a tendency to disregard certain aspects of this vast system of thought while emphasizing others that seemed more especially to meet Japanese needs at that time. Neo-Confucian metaphysics, for example, though much admired for its systematic and all-embracing character, seems to have been less congenial a subject for discussion among orthodox Japanese scholars than ethics and history. In pursuing the latter, moreover, there was a natural tendency to apply or adapt them to specifically Japanese problems or traditions. In this way Hayashi Razan and the Mito school were drawn to the study and reinterpretation of Japanese history, Yamazaki Ansai and Kaibara Ekken to the codification of Japanese feudal ethics, and virtually all of them—but Hayashi and Yamazaki in particular—to the re-examination of Shinto.

Thus even within the limits of orthodoxy as upheld by the shogunate, Japanese scholars from the outset had imitated their Chinese masters most closely in adapting the Confucian tradition to their own requirements. Pursuing this same line of development, only one further step had to be taken to dispense with Sung philosophy itself. It was a big step indeed—involving as it did a break with the official orthodoxy and an implied repudiation of Tokugawa authority in intellectual matters—yet it was one for which the Sung Neo-Confucianists themselves had set a precedent by insisting upon a return to the classical sources of their own tradition.

YAMAGA SOKŌ AND THE ORIGINS OF BUSHIDŌ

The first important thinker to take this bold step was Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), a figure celebrated in Japanese history for his intellectual powers and fierce independence of mind. Among other things he became known as one of the “three great *rōnin*” of the Tokugawa period, the other two being Yui Shōsetsu, who had to commit suicide in 1651 after the exposure of his part in a plot against the shogunate, and Kumazawa Banzan, who died in exile after his reform program had incurred the shogunate’s ire. Though the influence of these two in their own time was comparatively limited, Yamaga acquired an enormous following, and this, as much as his refusal to conform in intellectual matters, proved a cause of his misfortunes. A brilliant student of Hayashi Razan, while still a young man he had established a wide reputation for his mastery of Shinto, Buddhism, and Taoism as well as Neo-Confucianism. It was especially as a student of military science, however, and one with very decided convictions about the role of the warrior class in peacetime, that Yamaga attracted attention from numerous samurai eager to employ their leisure time in self-improvement. Among those he taught, while serving as military instructor under the lord of Akō, was the future leader of the famous “Forty-seven *Rōnin*,” who later won fame for themselves and their teacher by the spectacular manner in which they avenged the death of their lord.

Like Kumazawa Banzan, Yamaga was concerned over the prolonged inactivity of the warrior class under peaceful Tokugawa rule. Even in

these circumstances he believed that the samurai had an important function to perform which justified his special status—something more than simply keeping himself fit for possible military service, important as that was. If the samurai was provided with a stipend by his lord, it was not so that he could enjoy a parasitic existence at the expense of the other social classes, eating the food of the peasant and using the goods of the artisan or merchant, but so that he would be free to cultivate those arts and virtues which would enable him to serve as a model and leader for all others. Above all he should set a high example of devotion to duty (*gi*, or righteousness). If this sense of duty required the other classes to perform their respective functions conscientiously, it required the samurai specifically to serve his lord with the utmost loyalty and in general to put devotion to moral principle (righteousness) ahead of personal gain. The achievement of this high ideal involved a life of austerity, temperance, constant self-discipline, and a readiness to meet death at any time—qualities long honored in the Japanese feudal tradition but now given a systematic form by Yamaga in terms of Confucian ethical philosophy. To set forth the lofty mission of the warrior class and its attendant obligations he wrote a series of works dealing with "the warrior's creed" (*bukyō*) and "the way of the samurai" (*shidō*) in extremely detailed fashion. This series, it is generally conceded today, represents the first systematic exposition of what later came to be known as the Way of the Warrior (*bushidō*).

It is well to remember, however, that for Yamaga the way of the warrior was not all moral indoctrination and martial discipline, and his contribution to it lay in more than simply codifying and providing a philosophical basis for Japanese feudal traditions. Yamaga stressed also the so-called peaceful arts, letters and history, as essential to the intellectual discipline of the samurai. In this he reflects one of the most characteristic features of the age: the union of military power, as represented by the shogunate, with the civil arts, as the Tokugawa encouraged them through humanistic studies of the Confucian type. At the same time Yamaga symbolizes a historical trend of momentous significance: the conversion of the samurai class during the long Tokugawa peace from a purely military aristocracy to one of increasing political and intellectual leadership. This development helps to explain why the samurai, instead of becoming a wholly idle and effete class relying on its hereditary privileges, could serve as the brains of the Restoration movement, take the initiative in dis-

mantling feudalism itself, and play an important role in Japan's subsequent modernization.

Significantly, however, Yamaga's intellectual interests did not conform exactly to the Confucian pattern of civil arts and peaceful pursuits. He had an intense concern for military science, devoting himself to the study of strategy and tactics, weapons, and the obtaining of military intelligence—subjects for which the average Chinese Confucianist would have expressed a lofty disdain. On the other hand, considering the great stress which he and other Japanese Confucianists placed upon moral indoctrination as the essence of *bushidō*, Yamaga's affirmation that intelligence too was one of the martial virtues had important implications. He himself drew attention to the need for studying and adopting Western weapons and tactics as introduced by the Dutch, and it is a striking fact that his heirs in the nineteenth century, antforeign though they were, quickly realized the necessity for "knowing the enemy" and thus for learning more about the West. Yoshida Shōin, the fiery hero of the Restoration era who was arrested for stowing away on one of Perry's ships in order to visit the West, was from a family that conducted a military school based on the teachings of Yamaga Sokō.

Considering the purpose to which he wished to put his Confucianism in a feudal age, it is not surprising that Yamaga should have chosen as his teacher Confucius himself, who had lived in a period of feudal transition, rather than the Neo-Confucianists, whose social concerns were those of a highly developed civil bureaucracy in a centralized state and whose philosophical outlook reflected the greater urbanity, sophistication, and cultural maturity of the Sung. In 1665, however, no such allowances could be made in mitigation of Yamaga's offense when he publicly avowed his antipathy for Neo-Confucianism in the *Essence of Confucianism* and was arrested the following year at the instigation of Hoshina Masayuki, Lord of Aizu. In this work Yamaga proclaimed his belief that the unadulterated truth could only be found in the ethical teachings of Confucius, and that subsequent developments within the Confucian tradition—especially the metaphysical theories of the Sung Neo-Confucianists—represented perversions of the original doctrine. Confucius, the common-sense sage who taught men about their everyday duties in life, was a far better guide for the samurai than all the abstract thinkers of later times. Actually, Yamaga was much less severe in his strictures on

Chu Hsi than on the Sung school in general, but this did not serve to lessen the author's crime in the eyes of Hoshina, a staunch upholder of the Neo-Confucian synthesis who saw in this attack upon it a potential challenge to Tokugawa authority itself.

After Yamaga went into exile, in the custody of the lord of Akō, his studies and writing turned more toward the Japanese tradition than to the Chinese. He became convinced that Japanese civilization was even more glorious than that of its neighbor, and wrote *The True Facts Concerning the Central Kingdom* (*Chūchō jijitsu*) to show that his own country, not China, was the center and zenith of all culture. This claim he based on the fact that Japan was divinely created and ruled over by an imperial line coeval with heaven and earth. The truths which Confucius taught had already been revealed by the divine ancestors of the imperial house and of course were no less true on that account. But the Japanese alone had been true to the highest concept of duty as set forth by Emperor Jimmu and Confucius; they alone had set an example of unswerving loyalty to the dynasty. In China, on the other hand, dynasties had come and gone and Confucian teaching itself had been corrupted almost beyond recognition.

In thus pointing to the emperor as the focus of all loyalties, Yamaga had no intention of undermining the authority of the shogunate. He contended, indeed, that the recognition by Japan's successive military rulers of the imperial sovereignty was proof both of the continuity of imperial rule and the legitimate exercise of power by the shoguns as deputies of the emperors. Loyal service to the shogunate was therefore one more manifestation of that hierarchy of loyalties so uniquely upheld by the Japanese. Also, since Yamaga's teaching had so greatly emphasized the samurai's duty to his own lord, his conception of *bushidō* had direct application for everyone in the existing feudal structure without calling for a change in the status of the emperor himself. Nevertheless much later, as hostility to the shogunate grew, Yamaga's devotion to the imperial house became of increasing significance and enhanced his stature greatly among those who sought to put *bushidō* to the service of the emperor as opposed to the shogun.

YAMAGA SOKŌ

The Way of the Samurai

The opening passage to *The Way of the Samurai* (*Shidō*), which follows, lays the groundwork for Yamaga's exhaustive discussion of this subject as recorded by his disciples. Reflecting the general Neo-Confucian approach to ethics (compare, for example, Yamazaki Ansai's discussion of the guiding principles of Chu Hsi's own school), it is entitled "Establishing One's Fundamental Aim: Knowledge of One's Own Function." Here Yamaga stresses a correct understanding of one's place and function in a feudal society, and the application to it of Confucian ethics based on personal relationships.

[From *Yamaga Sokō bunshū*, pp. 45-48]

The master once said: The generation of all men and of all things in the universe is accomplished by means of the marvelous interaction of the two forces [yin and yang]. Man is the most highly endowed of all creatures, and all things culminate in man. Generation after generation men have taken their livelihood from tilling the soil, or devised and manufactured tools, or produced profit from mutual trade, so that peoples' needs were satisfied. Thus the occupations of farmer, artisan, and merchant necessarily grew up as complementary to one another. However, the samurai eats food without growing it, uses utensils without manufacturing them, and profits without buying or selling. What is the justification for this? When I reflect today on my pursuit in life [I realize that] I was born into a family whose ancestors for generations have been warriors, and whose pursuit is service at court. The samurai is one who does not cultivate, does not manufacture, and does not engage in trade, but it cannot be that he has no function at all as a samurai. He who satisfied his needs without performing any function at all would more properly be called an idler. Therefore one must devote all one's mind to the detailed examination of one's calling.

Human beings aside, does any creature in the land—bird or animal, lowly fish or insect, or insentient plant or tree—fulfill its nature by being idle? Birds and beasts fly and run to find their own food; fish and insects seek their food as they go about with one another; plants and trees put their roots ever deeper into the earth. None of them has any respite from seeking food, and none neglects for a day or an instant in a year its flying, running, or going about [for food]. All things are thus. Among

men, the farmers, artisans, and merchants also do the same. One who lives his whole life without working should be called a rebel against heaven. Hence we ask ourselves how it can be that the samurai should have no occupation; and it is only then as we inquire into the function of the samurai, that [the nature of] his calling becomes apparent. If one does not apprehend this by himself, one will depend on what others say or [understand] only what is shown in books. Since one will not then truly comprehend it with one's heart, one's purpose will not be firmly grounded. When one's purpose is not firmly grounded, owing to the long engrained bad habits of lethargy and vacillation hidden within, one will be inconstant and shallow. [In this condition] can the purpose of the samurai by any means mature? For this reason one must first establish the basic principle of the samurai. If one follows the suggestion of someone else or leaves matters to the shifting dictates of one's own heart, though one may, for example, achieve what one is about in a given instance, it is difficult for one to accomplish his purpose in any true sense.

If one deeply fixes his attention on what I have said and examines closely one's own function, it will become clear what the business of the samurai is. The business of the samurai consists in reflecting on his own station in life, in discharging loyal service to his master if he has one, in deepening his fidelity in associations with friends, and, with due consideration of his own position, in devoting himself to duty above all. However, in one's own life, one becomes unavoidably involved in obligations between father and child, older and younger brother, and husband and wife. Though these are also the fundamental moral obligations of everyone in the land, the farmers, artisans, and merchants have no leisure from their occupations, and so they cannot constantly act in accordance with them and fully exemplify the Way. The samurai dispenses with the business of the farmer, artisan, and merchant and confines himself to practicing this Way; should there be someone in the three classes of the common people who transgresses against these moral principles, the samurai summarily punishes him and thus upholds proper moral principles in the land. It would not do for the samurai to know the martial and civil virtues without manifesting them. Since this is the case, outwardly he stands in physical readiness for any call to service and inwardly he strives to fulfill the Way of the lord and subject, friend and friend, father and son, older and younger brother, and husband and wife.

Within his heart he keeps to the ways of peace, but without he keeps his weapons ready for use. The three classes of the common people make him their teacher and respect him. By following his teachings, they are enabled to understand what is fundamental and what is secondary.

Herein lies the Way of the samurai, the means by which he earns his clothing, food, and shelter; and by which his heart is put at ease, and he is enabled to pay back at length his obligation to his lord and the kindness of his parents. Were there no such duty, it would be as though one were to steal the kindness of one's parents, greedily devour the income of one's master, and make one's whole life a career of robbery and brigandage. This would be very grievous. Thus I say that one must first study in detail the duties of one's own station in life. Those who have no such understanding should immediately join one of the three classes of the common people; some should make their living by cultivating the fields, some should pass their lives as artisans, and some should devote themselves to buying and selling. Then the retribution of heaven will be light. But if perchance one should wish public service and desire to remain a samurai, he should sustain his life by performing menial functions, he should accept a small income, he should limit his obligation to his master, and he should do easy tasks [such as] gate-keeping and night-watch duty. This then is [the samurai's] calling. The man who takes or seeks the pay of a samurai and is covetous of salary without in the slightest degree comprehending his function must feel shame in his heart. Therefore I say that that which the samurai should take as his fundamental aim is to know his own function.

Short Preface to *The Essence of Confucianism*

In this preface to the *Seikyō yōroku* [lit. "The Essential Teachings of the Sages"] Yamaga's pupils explain the risks involved in publishing his work and the reasons why Yamaga nevertheless insisted on going ahead with it.

[From *Yamaga Sokō shū*, VI, 167-68]

The Sages lived far in the past and their precise teachings have gradually sunk into oblivion. The scholars of the Han, T'ang, Sung, and Ming dynasties have misled the world, piling confusion upon confusion. And if this has been true in China, how much the more has it been true in Japan.

Our teacher has made his appearance in this country when it is already

2,000 years since the time of the Sages. He has held high the way of the Duke of Chou and Confucius, and been the first to set forth their essential teachings. Whatever the problem—of the individual, of the family, the state, or the world—and whether it has concerned the arts of peace or the arts of war, his teaching has never failed to solve it and deal with it effectively. Truly the presence of such a teacher among us is a sign of the beneficial influences which emanate from our good government.

In order to keep his teaching in book form for posterity, but not knowing whether the general public would be allowed to share in its benefits, we, his disciples, made a collection of his sayings and then made this request of our master: "These writings should be kept secret and sacred to us; they should not be spread abroad among men. Your criticisms of Confucian scholarship in the Han, T'ang, Sung, and Ming dynasties run contrary to the prevailing view among scholars. Some readers might complain to the authorities about it."

The master answered, "Ah, you young men should know better. The Way is the Way of all the world; it cannot be kept to oneself. Instead, it should be made to permeate the whole world and to be practiced in all ages. If this book can help even a single man to stand on his own convictions, that will be a contribution to the moral uplift of our times. The noble man must sometimes give his life in the fulfillment of Humanity. Why should my writings be kept secret?"

"Moreover, to talk about the Way and mislead people concerning it is the greatest crime in the world. The textual commentators of the Han and T'ang, the metaphysicians of the Sung and Ming, who were so clever of speech and full of talk, wanted to clear up the confusion but only ended by making it worse. The Sages were left sitting in filth and mud—a dreadful spectacle!

"The Sages' scriptures are self-evident to all the world; there is no need for lengthy comment. And I, deficient in scholarship and no master of letters—how could I aspire to write a new commentary on these sacred texts, or engage in controversy with other scholars over them? And yet unless this is done, the filth and defilement of these other scholars cannot be cleansed away and the texts restored to their original purity.

"I am mindful of future generations and aware of my own shortcomings. Once my sayings are out in public, all the world will publicize them, condemn them, and criticize them. Should these reports, accusa-

tions, and criticisms contribute to the correction of my mistakes, it will be a great blessing to the Way. They say, 'A pig of a barbarian invites ridicule, the boastful ass is apt to fall on his own knee.' The weakness of us all lies in seeing only our own side and not seeing that of others—in the lack of openmindedness.

"Let me state again that I look up to the Duke of Chou and Confucius for guidance, but not to the Confucianists of the Han, T'ang, Sung, or Ming. What I aim to master is the teaching of the Sages, not the aberrant views of deviationists; in my work I occupy myself with everyday affairs, not with things fanciful and transcendental. In the pursuit of knowledge I want to be thoroughgoing; in action I want to leave no stone unturned. Even so, I am afraid that I am quick in speech but slow in action. The Way of the Sages is not one person's private possession. That which can be practiced by one individual, but not by all the world, is not the Way. My sole aim is to reveal it to the world and await the judgment of true gentlemen in the future."

We, his disciples, respectfully carrying out his wishes, have taken steps to print and publish this work. As for his basic discourses on the relationships between the lord and retainer, parent and child, husband and wife, older and younger brothers, and between friends, as well as concerning personal moral cultivation and the teachings of the Sages, readers are referred to the Master's *Classified Discourses* (*Gorui*).

The Sage as the Moral Man

In this passage from Yamaga's *Takkyō dōmon* his view of Confucianism as essentially an ethical teaching is revealed in his conception of the sage, who possesses no supernatural powers or transcendent wisdom but simply fulfills the moral nature common to all men.

[From *Yamaga Sokō shū*, VI, 240-42]

In order to know what the real master of the Way is like, you should first have a very clear understanding of what the sage is like. The sage, according to the prevailing notion among conventional scholars, is one who has a mien of moral superiority—a distinctive personality, remarkably conspicuous in a crowd of men. His inner excellence being so eloquent of itself, the fact that he is no ordinary man is sensed immediately. Endowed as he is with supernatural and superhuman qualities,

his speech and conduct are anything but human. Amidst whatever sensations of sound or sight, his emotions remain unmoved just as if he were a dead tree or burnt ashes. To him personal gain and a fat salary are more fleeting attractions than a snowflake on a red-hot stove. And in scholarship, he is versed in almost everything. Therefore, when entrusted with the government of the land, he will sweep away in an instant evils that have festered and bred for years; sweet dewdrops will gather on earth, while [such lucky omens as] giraffes and phoenixes will be constant visitors; all the people will follow the Way, practicing humanity and righteousness. Just one interview with the sage, and a man of plain mediocrity will shine with intelligence; overnight he will become unselfish and pure in body and mind—or so it is thought.

Now this indicates a lack of real knowledge concerning the sages. Upon studying the utterances, the actions, and the political ordinances of the Duke of Chou and Confucius we find that they were not at all like this. The sage represents only the best of humankind and is not a bit different from other men. He is fully accomplished in those things which make a man a Man, is well-informed of things and affairs, and is not perplexed by them at all. As to his personality and character, he is warm, amicable, humble, frugal, and self-sacrificing. Toward the ruler he is a model of decorum; to parents he is filially pious in a wholesome measure. In liberal arts he can express himself well when writing; in military affairs he is preparedness itself, being warm-hearted but not hot-headed, commanding respect without being violent, working hard when at work but relaxing fully when at rest. He takes what is due to him, gives to others what is due them, is generous when liberality is called for, and sparing when to be sparing is in order. His sayings and actions are hard to characterize in simple terms. Those who do not know him well call him unselfish at the sight of his charity; but take him for a miser when he is sparing. They think him flattering when he is merely being polite, and consider him arrogant when he is not flattering. Their judgments fail because they are ignorant of what the sage is really like.

The sage is fully aware of Heaven's will, so he seeks that which ought to be sought, he plans for that which ought to be planned for, saves when it is proper to save, and is not concerned over personal success or failure. Contented with his own lot, he never deviates from the course of duty. Managing things well in the sphere which it is his responsibility

to administer, he never lets his plans or proposals overreach his own position. If questioned concerning the formalities to be observed in a given matter, he explains them in terms of basic principles. If questioned concerning the highest principles of duty to the state, he does not neglect their detailed application.

As to his everyday living, in clothing, in housing, utensils, and implements, he will spend when the expense is justified; he will be simple when simplicity is in order. Sometimes he will strive for the utmost in beauty, going to the limit of his resources, and at other times he will not so strain his resources. Thus, in all that he does, there is nothing strikingly different from what others do. If you get close to him, and try to live up to his teachings, you will undergo a change for the better day-by-day. If you do not live up to his teachings, he will not constrain you to adopt his ways. Only when an opportunity is presented for him to serve mankind and the world will he exert himself to the utmost.

From *An Autobiography in Exile*

In *An Autobiography in Exile* (*Haisho zampitsu*), the last of Yamaga's important works, he traces his own intellectual development from Neo-Confucianism through Taoism and Buddhism to his "rediscovery" of the authentic traditions of Confucianism and Shinto.

[From *Yamaga Sokō bunshū*, pp. 481-88]

I am taking this occasion to write down some of my views about learning. For a long time I have been fond of the study of foreign books. Though I am not acquainted with those writings which have reached this country only in recent years, still I have gone through all the books received from China a decade or more ago. I feel, therefore, that with things Chinese at least I am quite well acquainted.

I once thought that Japan was small and thus inferior in every way to China—that "only in China could a sage arise." This was not my idea alone; scholars of every age have thought so and devoted themselves to the study of Chinese. Only recently have I become aware of the serious errors in this view. We have "believed too much in what we heard and not enough in what our own eyes could see; we have ignored what is near at hand in our search for the distant." Truly this is without doubt the chronic weakness of our scholars. This point I tried to make clear in

my *True Facts Concerning the Central Kingdom* (*Chûchō Jijitsu*). The following is a short summary of what I said there:

In Japan the one true imperial line, legitimate descendants of the Sun Goddess, has ruled from the divine ages down to the present time without the interruption of a single generation. The Fujiwara too, loyal vassals and supporters of the Throne, have survived, with men of every generation serving as premier or minister. Such unbroken succession has no doubt been due to the inability of rebels and traitors to succeed in treachery and intrigue; but has not this in turn been due to the wide prevalence in Japan of the cardinal virtues of humanity and righteousness?

From the divine ages on for seventeen generations there have been on the throne sovereigns of supreme virtue, supported by wise and eminent ministers, who have upheld the way of heaven-and-earth, who have set up the court administration and control over the provinces, who have laid down formal regulations for the four classes of people regarding the necessities of life—clothing, food, and dwelling, as well as the proper procedures for initiations, marriages, funerals, and festivals—so that in all these things the mean was achieved; and who have pointed out the respective paths of ruler and ruled, setting an example for all ages so that the people were at ease and the country at peace. Is not all this a manifestation of their heavenly virtues of supreme intelligence and holy wisdom?

No less deserving of mention is Japan's pursuit of the way of martial valor. The three kingdoms of Han¹ were conquered and made to bring tribute to the court. Korea was subjugated and its royal castle made to surrender.² Japanese military headquarters was established on foreign soil and Japanese military prestige was supreme over the four seas from the earliest times down to the present day. Our valor in war inspired fear in foreigners. As for invasion from abroad, foreigners never conquered us or even occupied or forced cession of our land. In fact, in the making of armor for man and horse, in the making and use of sword and spear, and again in military science, strategy and tactics, no other

¹ Three kingdoms of Han; means Korea. The name derives from three early kingdoms in South Korea known to Japanese as Ma-han, Mu-han, and Shin-han. The conquest of Korea referred to here is that of the Empress Jingō (r. c. 362–380). At the time of this invasion the three Kingdoms of Korea were Silla, Koguryo, and Paekche.

² Refers to the invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi in 1592.

country can equal us. Within the four seas, then, are we not supreme in military valor?

Wisdom, humanity, and valor are the three cardinal virtues of a sage. When even one of these three is lacking, a man falls short of being a sage. When we compare China and Japan with these virtues as criteria, we see that Japan greatly excels China in each of them and undoubtedly merits the name of Middle Kingdom far more than does China. This is no mere fancy of mine but a just estimate made by the world.

Prince Shōtoku was the only one throughout our history who did not esteem China too highly. He was aware of the fact that it was enough for Japan to be Japan. But the records were destroyed by fire at the time of the Iruka incident³ and all of his writings have been lost to later times.

Many paths to learning have existed in the past and present. Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism each has its own basic principle. In my own case from boyhood to manhood I devoted myself to study of the Ch'eng-Chu system, and consequently my writings in those days were generally in accord with the Ch'eng-Chu system. Then in middle age I became interested in Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu and accepted as basic such mystical concepts as emptiness and nothingness. At the same time I developed a particular esteem also for Buddhism and visited the eminent masters of the five Zen monasteries, including even the Abbot Ingen, because of my eagerness to pursue the path to enlightenment.

While I was engaged in the study of the Ch'eng-Chu system, perhaps owing to my own ineptitude, I was too much given to the practice of sustained reverence and silent sitting and found myself becoming too taciturn and grave. In comparison with the Ch'eng-Chu system, however, the approach of Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, and Zen proved far more full of life and freedom. The identification of human mental activity with the mystic activity of nature produced deep insight. From that point on I followed the impulse of my own nature; all was spontaneous. Heaven and earth might fail but as to the eternal and unchanging principle remaining in itself active and untrammelled, there would be no doubt.

³ Iruka incident: in 645 Nakatomi Kamatari and Prince Naka-No-Ōe (later Tenchi Tennō) brought about the death of Soga no Iruka and his father, Soga no Emishi, in a struggle over the imperial succession. Before his death Emishi is said to have burned most of the historical records compiled by his father Soga no Umako and Shōtoku Taishi in A.D. 620—probably the first histories written in Japan.

Nevertheless, when it came to everyday matters, there was still much that I did not comprehend. Thinking that this might again be due to my own ineptitude, I pursued this method all the more assiduously in the hope that I might improve. It might be, I thought, that daily affairs are of such slight importance that it is as well to let them take their own course. Still we find ourselves bound by the five obligations of human relationship and are so much involved in everyday affairs that we cannot go on thus—we are held in their grip. If we should make our abode under the trees or upon some rock in lonely solitude, scorning worldly honor and fame, we might be able to attain to an inexpressible state of unselfish purity and mystical freedom. But when it comes to the affairs of the world, of the state, and of the four classes of the people, needless to say we should be able to accomplish nothing in that manner. Even in minor matters, we should have less comprehension of things than the uneducated man in the street.

Some say that if the perfection of virtue (*jin*) could be fully realized in one's mind, all the things of this world and all the affairs of men would be taken care of; others say that if the compassion of Buddha were made the basic principle, all would work out for good in the three existences—past, present and future. All these ideas, however, serve only to keep learning apart from the real world. Whatever others may think, I myself cannot believe otherwise or accept that kind of learning as satisfactory. I have consulted both Confucianists and Buddhists on this question, made inquiry of persons reputed to be of eminent virtue, and carefully observed their methods and actions, only to find that they are not in accord with the real world. Their teaching goes one way and life another.

Shinto is the way of our own country but the early records of it are lost: what we know is fragmentary and incomplete. From it we might have obtained the guiding truths concerning the affairs of men and of the state, but after the Iruka incident the old records ceased to exist. I began to wonder about those studies and proceeded to read more widely and to ponder on what earlier scholars had left behind them; but on many points my doubts were not clarified. I thought that this might be due to misunderstanding on my part but for many years those doubts still remained unresolved. Then, early in the Kambun era [1661–1672], it occurred to me that my failure to comprehend might be due to the fact that I had been reading the scholars of the Han, T'ang, Sung, and

Ming. By going directly to the writings of the Duke of Chou and Confucius, and taking them as my model, the guiding lines of thought and study could be correctly ascertained. After that I ceased to make use of later writings, but day and night applied myself to the works of the sages. Then for the first time I understood clearly the guiding teachings of the sages and their underlying principle became firmly fixed in my mind.

When you try to cut paper straight without a ruler to guide your hand, try as you will, you cannot get it accurate. Even if you should manage to do it well yourself, you could not expect others to do so. But with the use of a ruler even a child can cut along the guiding line. Even though one person may be considerably less skilled than another, he can almost always follow the guiding line. In the system of the sages, likewise, if one acquires by careful reading a sort of guiding rule, one can understand the way of the sages in all things according to the degree of one's individual scholarship.

Now to learn the guiding principles of the sages neither language nor scholarship is needed, because [the thing is so simple that] if I am told about it today, I can understand what I am to do today. Neither the "moral training" nor the "sustained reverence" nor the "silent sitting" [of the Neo-Confucianists] is required. Even if one goes through strict discipline of both speech and act and carries in memory almost all the sayings of the sages, it is clear that these are merely digressive pursuits and do not follow the guiding principle of the sages. I can tell at once, when someone even so much as utters a word or a phrase, whether he understands the guiding principle of the sages, simply because I measure him by the use of my guiding rule. Even when it comes to things out of reach of sight and hearing, with this approach one can understand in at least five or seven cases out of ten; whereas those who pursue conventional or digressive studies may be unable to understand in even three cases out of ten. Of this I am certain. This is the reason why men of wide scholarship often become the laughingstock of the less educated. One cannot shape a bullet without a cast; one cannot cut paper without a ruler. Those who try labor in vain and struggle long and painfully to no avail. The more they pursue their studies, the more they become involved in ignorance.

Among the paths to learning there is one which exalts personal virtue

and cultivates benevolence through the intensive practice of moral training and silent sitting. There is another which involves personal cultivation, the guidance of others, and maintaining of peace and order in the world, and the winning of honor and fame. There is also that which arises from a love of books and stresses the writing of poetry or prose. Into these three classes scholars may be divided, each having his own attitude or approach.

As far as I can observe, however, it is difficult in our times for men to attain the degree of righteousness which prevailed in the days of the Yellow Emperor and the sage-kings Yao and Shun, such that rule by virtue alone was sufficient through its beneficent influence to keep the country under control without a word of command being given, or to make peace reign supreme within the four seas without any action from above, or to enable cultivation of the arts of peace so as to win without coercion the willing submission of any enemy. Even though we should take them as our model, no good result would come of it. Scholars who advocate such a course are lofty in their aims, but in the end they turn their backs upon the world and retire in solitude to commune only with the birds and the beasts. On the other hand, the love of books and the pursuit of writing are merely scholarly diversions; they are not matters of everyday concern. Writing is a corollary of learning and I do not cast any aspersions upon it. The writing of poetry and prose is something that should not be neglected "if one has spare time for them."⁴

To me, therefore, the guiding path to the teaching of the Sages is that which involves personal cultivation, the guidance of others, the maintaining of peace and order in the world, and the winning of honor and fame. I come from a samurai family and have the five obligations of human relationship which attach to my person and station. My own thought and conduct, as well as my five obligations in relations with others, are what I as a samurai must give first attention to. In addition, however, there are both major and minor matters to which the samurai must give his attention. In minor matters, such as dress, food, dwelling, and all implements and their uses, he must live up to the best samurai traditions of good form. This is particularly true in connection with training in the arts of war and with the manufacture and use of armor and horse trappings. Among major matters there are the maintenance of

⁴ Paraphrasing *Analects*, I, 6.

peace and order in the world; rites and festivals; the control of feudal states and districts; mountains and forests, seas and rivers, farms and rice fields, temples and shrines; and the disposition of suits and appeals among the four classes of people. In addition, there is military command and organization, strategy in war and tactics in battle, the quartering and provisioning of troops, and the building of fortifications—all those preparations for war which are the daily concern of generals and officers.

No matter how much training he undergoes, if the studies pursued by a samurai do not enable him to get results in all these fields, then they serve no useful purpose and fail to follow the guiding principle of the sages' teaching. For this reason thought and study will have to be given to these matters, and some research done into the records of history and of court procedure. Thus there will be less time for meditation, silent contemplation and quiet sitting. I do not mean, however, that we must have an exhaustive knowledge of all these numberless things. As I have pointed out elsewhere, we need only have a good understanding of the guide-rule provided by the sages' teaching and use it as a measure and standard. Then, whatever we see or hear can be comprehended in its true light. No matter what task presents itself, it may be clearly understood in terms of these aforementioned categories, and therefore no matter what befalls, we need not falter—we are on safe ground. Truly we find ourselves "with mind open and body free."⁵

If one follows this approach to learning, intelligence will renew itself, and virtue will of itself be heightened; humanity will be deepened and courage strengthened. Finally, one will attain to a state of mind in which success and fame are of no account, in which unselfishness and self-forgetfulness will be the rule. Thus one starts out with the idea of success and honor, but comes to the stage in which success and honor have no meaning and one simply goes on fulfilling the way by which man becomes truly man. The Book of Filial Piety says: "Cultivate yourself and follow the way; fame will be the natural outcome of filial piety."

ITÔ JINSAI'S DEVOTION TO CONFUCIUS

The tendency to break with Neo-Confucianism and return to the classical sources of Confucian teaching was given added impetus by a

⁵ *Great Learning*, VI, 4.

very different type of Japanese from Yamaga Sokō, the gentle but persuasive Itō Jinsai (1627-1705). Where Yamaga stands for the basic Confucian virtues as exemplified in the true samurai, Itō, the son of a Kyoto merchant, represents the best in Confucian scholarship and dedication to humanistic ideals. What they had in common was a staunch independence of mind, which Itō demonstrated not only in his thinking but also by making study and teaching a profession in itself and refusing all offers of lucrative employment from powerful feudal lords. In this respect he followed the example of Confucius himself, who was probably the first to establish teaching as an independent profession in ancient China rather than as an official function. Itō himself enjoyed great success as a teacher, attracting students in even larger numbers than Yamaga. The private school which he set up with the able assistance of his son, Tōgai, was devoted to the study of the original classics, known as the "Kogi-dō," or roughly, "School for Study of the Ancient Meaning." Here the *Analects* of Confucius and the book of Mencius were the basic texts. In subjecting them to the most careful and critical scrutiny, however, Itō was less concerned with the niceties of conventional scholarship than with discerning the underlying truths of Confucius' teaching. The measure of his exclusive devotion to the latter is reflected not only in the superlative terms in which he described Confucius as the "supreme sage of the universe," but also in the fact that he did not hesitate to attack even the Great Learning as spurious, though the Neo-Confucianists had elevated it to a position of the first importance as a Confucian classic.

Itō also took issue with the Neo-Confucianists on metaphysical grounds, rejecting Chu Hsi's dualism of principle (*ri*) and material force (*ki*) in favor of a monism which denied any standing to *ri* as a first principle. It was *ki*, conceived as the vital force, which underlay all three realms of existence—heaven, earth, and mankind. In contrast to Chu Hsi's more static view of the universe in terms of ultimate and immutable law, Itō saw it as dynamic in character. The universe is the progression of the life force, and the only reality in life, death being nothing but the absence of life and purely negative. By conserving and developing the life force within him, man achieves the fullness of manhood in the virtue of humanity (*jin*), which for Itō means "love"—love as expressed in the four great virtues of loyalty, good faith, reverence and forgiveness.

In contrast to Yamaga Sokō, whose studies and thinking turned in the direction of Shinto later in life, Itō consistently devoted himself to the

rediscovery of Confucianism in its original Chinese sources, and there is in him little of the nationalistic type of thinking which increasingly characterized Japanese Confucianism in the later Tokugawa Period. Like Arai Hakuseki he represents the concern for universal human values which remained a significant, though less widely appreciated, aspect of Confucian thought into modern times. At the same time, Itō's rediscovery and systematic exposition of the classics partake of much the same character as earlier Neo-Confucian writing: that is, they present the "original" teaching of Confucius in new terms which reflect to some extent the metaphysical temper of the Sung School, as well as the reaffirmation of life and love found in so much of Japanese thought in this period, be it Confucian (as in Kaibara and Itō) or Neo-Shintoist.

ITŌ TŌGAI

The Devolution of Confucianism

Itō Jinsai was not a prolific writer; indeed, his teachings were not committed to writing until late in life and only published after his death. In this respect Itō's son, Tōgai (1670-1736), rendered his school a great service by editing his father's works and adding many more of his own to amplify their point of view. In this preface to *Changes in Confucian Teaching, Past and Present* (*Kōkon gakuhen*), Tōgai explains how Confucianism was radically altered by the metaphysical interpretations of Han and Sung scholars, and why it is necessary to return to the original teachings of Confucius.

[From Inoue, *Rinri ihen*, V, 216-17]

The change from the Way of the Sages in the Three Dynasties to the Confucian teaching of today has been a gradual one and not something that happened overnight. There was one great change during the Han dynasty and a second during the Sung dynasty. Quietly and surreptitiously the teaching has been altered or done away with throughout ten centuries or more, with the result that present-day teaching is no longer identical with early Confucianism.

The rise and decline of good government from the age of the sage-kings T'ang and Yü to the Chou dynasty can be understood through the examination of history. Prior to the Duke of Chou, those who occupied the throne introduced rites and festivals, arms and punishments; they also established fiefs and farms, shrines and schools, so that all the people

would be brought under beneficent moral and cultural influences. Government was in accord with the Way, and political rule was exercised through moral virtue; the self-cultivation of the ruler was the means by which the country was governed. After the Duke of Chou, sages were unable to occupy the throne. Privately, therefore, they gathered together with men of accomplished virtue and sterling character for study in their own homes. They said that the Way of the early kings was perfect in every respect, either for general practice or for individual application. Therefore they formulated it in writing according to various topics and subtopics, which would help them to cultivate themselves and also to teach all the people. They did not accomplish what [the able ministers] I, Fu, Chou, and Chao had done [in earlier times], it is true, but inasmuch as they deemed everyday human relations to be their proper concern, considered the achievement of social order and the security of the people to be their supreme task, and wanted all the people of the world to follow the same way, there was no deviation whatever [from the ancient Way]. The four virtues of humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom they held to be the greatest and most important in life. More than this they did not say.

The decline of the Chou was followed by the Warring States period. Rites and music were allowed to deteriorate and were then abandoned. Warfare raged day after day. Steady decline led to the rise of the ruthless Ch'in, who burned the classics and had Confucian scholars killed. The Way of the early kings vanished from the earth completely.

With the rise of the Han dynasty the Books of Odes and History came into a certain vogue, and Confucian scholarship was favorably regarded. Still at that time the government adopted its own political system and its own regulations, while the surviving documents of the early kings were relegated to learned men dealing with the past. Thereupon the Confucianists of that day made the transmission of this heritage the private and exclusive business of their own schools. Thus the conduct of government and the teaching of the Way took separate paths.

In addition, the interpretation of portents in terms of the five elements theory became fashionable. Everything in heaven and earth was reckoned in fives. In this way the virtue of faith was joined to the four virtues of humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom, to make up the five norms corresponding to the five elements. Some looked upon them as part

of man's inherent nature which is not subject to increase and decrease, like the five organs hanging inside the body or the four limbs growing outside. Earlier it had been on the basis of actualities that the teaching concerning the four virtues had been formulated; now these virtues were taken as fixed and unchanging things within us. Thus the first great change took place in the ancient teaching. Thereafter Confucian scholarship was turned into the study of textual commentaries, the mastery of literary style, and the art of making rhetorical allusions. Thus the Way of the Sages was left in darkness and obscurity for more than a thousand years.

Nevertheless, even though their theories were superficial, still because of the [Han Confucianists'] proximity in time to the ancients, the essential truth concerning the Way and virtue, as well as of human nature and the Mandate of Heaven, survived from the ancient tradition. In no time, however, the teachings of Gautama Buddha and Lao Tzu threw the world into a commotion. Not only were their rituals enthralling, but also their doctrines concerning "consciousness of the mind" and "seeing one's own nature" were so lofty and dazzling that scholars and officials, upon hearing of them, eagerly followed after such teachings. So enthusiastic and enslaved were some that they considered Gautama Buddha and Lao Tzu to have surpassed Yao and Shun and advanced beyond Confucius. This was worse still than merely separating the conduct of government from the teaching of the Way!

In the Sung dynasty true Confucianists appeared to champion the Way of the Sages and denounce heretics. The profundity of their scholarship and the thoroughness of their research went far beyond that of the Han and T'ang Confucianists. Nevertheless, they considered man's true nature to be principle in its disembodied and unmanifested state, and believed that the eradication of physical desires was the method for attaining sagehood. As for the various works and undertakings of life, the Sung Neo-Confucianists did not go so far as to declare them nonessential or diversionary, but did in effect regard them as less than ideal pursuits. They insisted that man's true nature must be sought in an original unformed and undetermined state. So humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom could not be seen or heard any more than sound within a bell or fire within a stone [before they are struck]. Names they were, but not real things. Thus Confucianism underwent a second change.

Since then, because [Neo-Confucianism] has been accepted in the schools for so long and become so completely systematized, entwining and entangling everything, patching here and thatching there, its bonds could not be broken. While there has been some leeway in interpretation within the system, yet in the final analysis no one has been able to break outside its confines. Restricting themselves to the commentaries and interpretations of the Sung and Ming dynasties, scholars have tried to evaluate and criticize them without ever attempting to trace out the history of the past two thousand years or more in order to find out for themselves the source of these ideas. Unhesitatingly they accept present-day teaching as the teaching of the Three Dynasties of old. They do not realize that it has endured so many vicissitudes and changes that they could hardly be dealt with in a few words.

My father's belief in returning to the ancient source [of Confucianism] was not the blithe expression of a momentary personal fancy. He had been under the spell of the [Neo-Confucian] philosophy of "human nature and principle" for years. At first he was a reverent and wholehearted follower of this teaching, but then as he got further into it found himself involved in controversial questions requiring further research. A few doubtful points he studied from all angles, analyzing and classifying, comparing and contrasting them until at long last he became aware of the fact that present-day Confucianism was no longer the Way of the Three Dynasties.

The Neo-Confucianist's Erroneous View of Human Nature

These extracts from Itô Tōgai's *Critique of the Doctrine of Returning to One's Original Nature (Fukusei-ben)* argue that the Neo-Confucian philosophy of human nature is essentially Buddhist or Taoist in character and antithetical to the original ethical doctrines of Confucius.

[From Inoue, *Rinri ihen*, V, 210-11]

The teaching of the sages was not limited to a single method, but all of the methods used were intended without a single exception to achieve full development through cumulative achievement. . . . The teachings of Buddha and Lao Tzu have been expressed in different ways but all have been based without exception on the theory of returning to the original state of nature. Lao Tzu, for instance, wants to dispense with humanity and righteousness, and put an end to rites and music, in order

to return to so-called "vacuity." As for the Buddhists, they also want to extinguish human desires, dispel illusions, transcend transmigration, and through realization of what they call Enlightenment (Bodhi) or Suchness (Tathatā) attain to the Buddhaland. Here the return to Nirvāṇa and return to Suchness are being emphasized.

The Way as understood among Confucianists of later times has emphasized living according to moral standards and social norms; rites and music, justice and administration are taken seriously, and, of course, Buddhism and Taoism are considered by them inadequate to serve as the Way. In practice, however, these later Confucianists have also tried to eradicate physical desire and modify man's physical nature in order to return to the original state. As to what they consider the Way, they differ; but as to their methods, there is no difference at all.

Nevertheless, all living things have some root or basis for their existence, from which by tiny increments they attain full size or by imperceptible degrees manifest their full brilliance. There is not a single instance in which mere return to the original state has led to fulfillment or completion. Only such fixed things as a clean mirror or still water may return to their original state by getting rid of dirt and dust. But active, living things develop gradually; not only is this true of running water and sprouting plants, but of all human undertakings as well; and not merely of all human undertakings, but also of human progress in the Way and even the sage's achievement of virtue.

Confucius at fifteen had dedicated himself to study, but only at seventy was he able to say, "I follow my heart's desire without trespassing the rules of conduct." The Sage's gifts were of course extraordinary, but only with advancing age did his virtues shine more and more resplendently and his knowledge reach such a state that he knew what no other man did. If he had only had to return to the original state of nature, the excellence of non-trespassing the rules of conduct, which he achieved at seventy, should have been attained in his boyhood or infancy. With his proverbial genius both in knowledge and in conduct, what could possibly have prevented him from achieving that state of nontrespassing the rules of conduct until the age of seventy?

Consequently one can see that even the Sage's virtue attained its fullness only by dint of steady cultivation. All of the great men and heroes in history, who have set an example for all time either by the attainment

of virtue or through personal accomplishment, have done so by a steady husbanding of effort to bring their powers to maturity. Look at what they started with; and you will find that they did not have much in reserve then to fall back upon. See how the same principle applies to all the affairs of the world: all those whose artistry and craftsmanship have been acclaimed as "divine" or "wondrous," all those who have reached the very zenith of creative excellence, have been able to achieve their end only through sustained effort. When they started out in life they did not have much knowledge. Therefore men always say that "study progresses," but no one ever says that "study returns." This is what you call "checking a theory against the facts" and finding that it is not so. And it is for this reason that, even after the Sung school had completed its work, some questions still had to be reopened for discussion.

In this preface to *Boys' Questions (Dōji-mon)*, containing Jinsai's instructions to his students, Togai attempts to show how the Neo-Confucian view of human nature is in conflict with the correct view of Mencius.

[From Inoue, *Rinri ihen*, V, 74]

There is no part of the world in which the Way does not apply, and no time in which it ceases to be true. It does not owe its existence to the Sage, nor can petty men cause it to disappear. Immutable throughout the ages, normative all over the world, the Way operates every day in human relations—it is no abstract principle intangible to the senses. It has four aspects: humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom. Therefore Confucius said, "The Way prevails under Heaven, and I do not seek to alter it."¹

Now if we go to the root of things, it may be seen that any individual, insofar as he is a man, possesses four impulses,² just as he possesses four limbs. The sense of sympathy is the impulse from which humanity develops; the sense of shame and aversion is the impulse from which righteousness develops; the sense of humility and reverence is the impulse from which decorum develops; the sense of right and wrong is the impulse from which wisdom develops. These impulses are what con-

¹ *Analecets*, XVIII, 6. The passage is usually understood: "If the Way prevailed under Heaven, I should not seek to alter things"; which is just the opposite of what Itō seems to intend here.

² The doctrine of Mencius that human nature tends to the good, because it is characterized by four impulses which, if properly developed, become four cardinal virtues: humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom.

stitute the goodness of human nature and what distinguish man from all other things. If brought to fulfillment, they become the virtues of humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom. If, however, nothing is done to cultivate the impulses with which we are born, then they will remain weak rather than develop their full power, and when put to a test may be lost together with that into which they were born. The Sage was concerned about this, so he established moral training in order to let people expand and fulfill that which they were born with. Men cannot endure the suffering of others, so he brings them to where they can endure them; they do not dare to act, so he brings them to where they dare to act. Thus gradually but steadily they move towards good and reject evil, so as to attain the fulfillment of virtue. . . .

In later times, however, [Neo-Confucian] teaching has not been in accord with the original aim of the Sages. Humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom are considered to be complete in man's original nature. Only the waywardness of the life force and the beclouding effect of matter, they say, cause this natural brilliance to be obscured; so we must try to get rid of the beclouding screen and sweep away the dust in order to restore the original, as a mirror cleansed of dust regains its brightness, or as water when kept still becomes clear again. Therefore the virtues of humanity and righteousness do not need to be acquired through cultivation; they are there already. Thus the method of expansion and fulfillment has been turned into a discipline for extinguishing desires. Still, who can fail to realize that in the teaching of the Sages there was a method of fulfillment and cultivation, but no such thing as "returning to the original state of nature"? How could sagehood be attained by nothing more than a return to one's original nature? Therefore, while it is correct to say that the way of humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom is based on the goodness of nature, it is wrong to assert that these virtues are complete in nature from the start.

ITÔ JINSAI

The Primacy of Confucius and the Analects

The following extracts from Jinsai's two basic works *The Meaning of Terms in the Analects and Mencius* (*Gomô-jigi*) and *Boys' Questions* represent the main features of his own teaching.

[From Inoue, *Kogakuha no tetsugaku*, pp. 187-89]

Before Confucius' time, education was provided in a general sort of way; but true learning had not yet been established and the Way and virtue had not yet clearly been set forth. Only with the appearance of Confucius was true learning based on the Way and virtue fully brought into the light of day, so that scholars generation after generation could learn to walk on the single path of humanity and righteousness. Only then were the many kinds of superstitious and supernatural beliefs dealt with in the light of reason in order to avoid confusion with the Way and virtue. Thus true learning was inaugurated by Confucius on an entirely original and constructive basis. Mencius, citing statements by Ts'ai Yü, Tzu Kao, and Yo Jo, called Confucius wiser than Yao and Shun by far. He also said that "since man first appeared on earth no other man has ever achieved the greatness of Confucius."¹ Those gentlemen were fortunate enough to enjoy the personal guidance of Confucius; they became aware of Confucius' superiority to all other sages and gave testimony to it. That is the reason why I consider the *Analects* to be the highest, supreme, and foremost book of the universe.

Since the Han and T'ang dynasties, however, scholars have looked up to the Six Classics as the highest authority, without knowing that the *Analects* was the foremost book of all, rising high above the Six Classics. Some had an idea that the *Book of Changes* or the *Book of History* was to be revered above all others; some thought the *Great Learning* and the *Mean* stood ahead of all the rest. Never did they realize that it was the *Analects* alone which set forth the teaching that made the Way clear to all, penetrating everything from first to last as no other classic has done. That the Way of Confucius has come to be known throughout the world is mainly due to this book. [pp. 188-89]

.

The *Analects* alone is a book which can serve as the standard and guide for the teaching of the Way in all times. What it says is supremely right and supremely true, penetrating everything from first to last. Add one word to it and it is one word too long; take one word away and it is one word too short. In this book the Way finds its ultimate expression and learning discovers its highest realization. The *Analects* is like the boundless universe which men live in without comprehending its full magnitude. Enduring and immutable throughout the ages; in every part of the world it serves as an infallible guide. Is it not, indeed, great! [p. 187]

¹ A paraphrase of Mencius, II A, 2.

Mencius as a Guide to the Analects[From Inoue, *Kogakuha no tetsugaku*, pp. 189-90]

The *Book of Mencius* is the key that opens the gate of Confucianism at all times. Confucius' sayings are plain and direct. Seemingly simple and clear, they are really profound; seemingly easy to understand, they are actually difficult to grasp. They reach high into the sky and deep to the bottom of the earth, so unfathomable and immeasurable are they. Yet having Mencius to point out the meaning in so felicitous a manner, scholars can find their way through to the origin and trace the descent of Confucian teaching. So all discussion of human nature, the Mandate of Heaven, the Way and virtue, humanity and righteousness, decorum and wisdom, can be understood with Mencius' words as a commentary instead of trying to exhaust the significance of every character in the text of the *Analects* [as the later commentators have done]. For in Confucius' time the sun was still at its zenith and everyone with a pair of eyes was able to see where he was going; so in teaching it was enough to tell men what to do and there was no need to explain why in great detail. But Mencius' time was like a dark night when a lighted lantern is needed very badly; therefore reasons had to be clearly explained and directions had to be explicitly indicated. To try to understand the way of Confucius without the help of Mencius is like trying to go by water in a rudderless boat; the crossing will be thwarted. The *Book of Mencius* is for all of us of later times a magnet, a lantern in the dark.

Love as the Supreme Virtue[From Inoue, *Rinri ihen*, V, 95-97; Spae, *Itô Jinsai*, pp. 150-52]

Humanity is the virtue! It is great! But to extol it in one word, it is called love. For what is called righteousness [or duty] between sovereign and subject, paternal affection between father and son, distinction between husband and wife, precedence between elder and younger brothers, faith between friends, this all comes from love!

Because love originates from a genuine heart, these five feelings, when they come forth from love, are true; when not from love, they are feigned. Therefore, in the eyes of the gentleman, there is no virtue above compassionate love, and nothing more pitiable than a vicious, hardened,

and shallow heart. In Confucianism, humanity is considered the fountain-head of the virtues. That is the reason for it. [Inoue, p. 95; Spae, pp. 150-51]

.

A disciple asked: "About humanity being the perfect Virtue, may I beg to hear something?" Jinsai answered: "Yes! A compassionate and loving heart reaching everywhere, that is precisely called humanity. To keep it in this action and not to practice it in that one, this is not humanity; to bestow one's love on an individual and not on ten men, this is not humanity. That which exists in every moment of life, extending into one's sleep and dreams; a heart that does not relinquish love; love completely in that heart; both then forged into one whole: that is humanity. Therefore, among virtues, there is none greater than the love of man; and nothing is worse than the hatred of beings. This is the reason why in Confucianism humanity is believed to be the ultimate aim of learning." [Inoue, p. 97; Spae, p. 152]

The Life Force as the Ultimate Reality

[From Inoue, *Rinri ihen*, V, 12, 21]

The Buddhist takes emptiness (*śūnyatā*) as the Way, while Lao Tzu considers vacuity (*hsü*) the Way. The Buddhist thinks that mountains, rivers, and the great earth are all illusions, and Lao Tzu says all things are produced out of nothing. Still heaven overspreads us and earth upholds us throughout eternity; the sun and moon shine and shed their light on us throughout eternity.¹ The four seasons come and go in order, while mountains stand and rivers flow for eternity. Feathered creatures, furry creatures, scaly creatures, and naked creatures, as well as plants and vines, continue as they are for eternity. Those who propagate in definite form have always done so in definite form; that which exists in formless ether will always exist in formless ether. And thus they go on, life following life endlessly. Where do you find this so-called emptiness and vacuity? [p. 21]

.

The *Book of Changes* says, "The great virtue of Heaven and Earth is life." This means that life following life unendingly is the Way of

¹ That is, in contradiction to the Buddhist law of impermanence and insubstantiality, the natural world is real and enduring.

Heaven and Earth; or put another way, in the Way of Heaven and Earth there is life but not death; there is accumulation but not dissolution. Death is nothing but an end of life, and dissolution is just a conclusion of accumulation. This is because Heaven and Earth are just one life. Parents and grandparents may pass away, but their spirits are carried on by their sons and grandchildren, who will transmit them to their own sons and grandchildren. Thus life following life for eternity is in truth deathlessness. That is the case with everything. So in the Way of Heaven and Earth there is life but not death. Therefore it is all right to say that all living things die and all accumulations dissolve, but it is wrong to say that where there is life there must be death, and where there is accumulation there must be dissolution, because that makes life and death interdependent. [p. 12]

OGYŪ SORAI AND THE STUDY OF THE PAST

Umegaka ya

Tonari wa

Ogyū Soemon.

The scent of plum blossoms!

And close to it—

Ogyū Soemon.

Thus wrote the poet Bashō, who was at one time Ogyū's neighbor, associating this great Confucianist of the Tokugawa Period with the plum flower that thrives amidst the rigors of winter and early spring. Having spent fourteen years in the land of his father's exile, during which he kept working away at his studies, Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728) returned at the age of twenty-five to the metropolis of Edo, where he started a free, open-air lecture course beside the front entrance of the famous temple, Zōjō-ji. There he eventually attracted the attention not only of the prelate of that Buddhist center, but also of the shogun himself. Through the latter's special permission, equivalent to a recommendation, Ogyū was made private secretary to Premier Yanagisawa and thereafter rose rapidly to acquire an unusually large stipend.

At his school, which he later set up in the very stronghold of orthodox Chu Hsi teaching, Ogyū Sorai offered a radically new approach to Confucian studies. He had followed for a time both the orthodox school and Itō Jinsai, but concluded that they had equally failed to fulfill the basic aim of scholarship—to provide for the needs of the people and the general

social welfare. The Neo-Confucianists were too much given to metaphysics, philosophical idealism and personal cultivation. Itō, while correct in trying to rediscover the original basis of Confucian teaching, had likewise concerned himself with personal ethics to the neglect of social questions. In addition, Itō, by insisting upon the authority of the *Analects* alone, had failed to recognize that this work could be properly understood only in relation to its historical context. Taking a broader view of things, one could see that the Six Classics (including the Books of History, Odes, Rites, etc.) were the basic deposit of China's classical heritage, while the Four Books (including Confucius and Mencius) merely represented personal interpretations of these primary sources. In fact, from Ogyū's point of view, the classical philosopher Hsün Tzu was a much better guide in such matters. Hsün Tzu's realism in regard to the evil nature of man and the necessity for correcting it through social institutions was upheld by Ogyū against the more subjective, idealistic, and optimistic view of Mencius that social betterment could only be achieved in the last analysis through moral cultivation to fulfill the original goodness of human nature. Ogyū therefore stressed the importance of rites (understood broadly to include virtually all social institutions) and political administration, as against the virtues of humanity and righteousness narrowly conceived in terms of personal ethics. Indeed Ogyū is frankly utilitarian in asserting that morality, as embodied in the traditional Confucian "Way," has no other basis than the social function which the ancient sage-kings meant it to serve. In this respect he did not hesitate to take a stand very close to that of the foremost "realists" and utilitarians of ancient China, the Legalists, in giving primacy to law, its strict enforcement through a system of punishments and rewards, and the need to reform institutions as well as men.

One can hardly imagine a teaching more calculated to arouse the antagonism of orthodox Confucianists than this, and the fact that Ogyū was permitted to propagate it in open competition with the Hayashi family school suggests that the enforcement of Chu Hsi orthodoxy was much less strict than is commonly supposed. From the political point of view, however, Ogyū's nonconformism involved no great risks for the shogunate. His respect for the rule of law backed by superior force accorded well with the realities of the Tokugawa situation, seeming to justify the maintenance of a military government rather than reliance

on the virtue of the imperial house and its subjects to maintain order. Beyond this, too, a positive interest was taken in Ogyū's ideas by the eighth shogun, Yoshimune, who was greatly impressed by his breadth of scholarship and practical approach to political problems. Ogyū's *Discourses on Government* (*Seidan*), written expressly for Yoshimune, offered detailed suggestions on a wide variety of such problems, pointing to the need for stricter controls and more uniform policies to achieve a stable social order. Yoshimune, it is said, was about to give the author a high post in the government when Ogyū suddenly died at the age of sixty-three.

We might expect that the natural outcome of Ogyū's teaching, as well as of his associations with the Edo court, would have been to direct the attentions of his school to political and social institutions in contemporary Japan. It was, on the contrary, with the study of ancient China that his school continued to be identified. Ogyū's forte was scholarship, and from the start he had put a premium on a thorough knowledge of the Chinese language. Thus, as the Sinologist par excellence of his time, he communicated a love of all things Chinese to his disciples and perhaps also a touch of intellectual snobbery, which made the most of his own acknowledged mastery in the Sinological sphere, while deprecating the importance of things Japanese. It was this attitude which carried over to his leading disciple, Dazai Shundai (1680-1747), a thorough-going Sinophile, who represents probably the highwater mark of Chinese influence in Tokugawa thought. Thereafter the tide ran strongly in a nationalistic direction, as if in reaction to the excessive adulation of Sino-Confucian culture. But it is significant that here, too, Ogyū's teaching had its effect. One of his own students was the first to show that the study of antiquity and classical learning could be applied to Japan as well as to China. This led to the School of National Learning and the Shinto revival.

OGYŪ SORAI

The Confucian Way As a Way of Government

In this passage from Ogyū's *Distinguishing the Way* (*Bendō*), which is aimed at both Itō Jinsai and the Neo-Confucianists, he tells how the Way arose from

human efforts to meet social needs, and not from Confucius' unique discovery of a constant moral order or natural process.

[From Inoue, *Rinri ihen*, VI, 12-14]

The Way of Confucius is the Way of the early kings. The Way of the early kings was the way by which all under Heaven were brought peace and contentment. Confucius always wished to serve the Eastern Chou dynasty by training his disciples and perfecting their talents so that they could be employed in the government. In the end, however, failing to achieve a position of authority, he devoted himself to editing the Six Classics so that they might be handed down to posterity. Thus the Six Classics¹ embodied the way of the early kings, and they are quite wrong who say today that the way of Confucius is not the same as the way of the early kings.

The basis for bringing peace and contentment to all under Heaven was personal cultivation—but always with a mind to achieving peace in the world. This was what one called humanity. After the appearance of Tzu Ssu and Mencius, when the Confucianists became a separate school, they devoted themselves to the reverent following of their master's way and foolishly thought that through study alone they could achieve sagehood. Having once achieved sagehood, they could then set an example for all under Heaven and the world would govern itself. This was like the theory of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu concerning "sageliness within and kingliness without." But to deprecate the importance of what lies without [politics] and to attach all importance to what lies within [personal virtue] is quite contrary to the old way of Confucius and the early kings. Therefore in their schools the Confucianists have been unable to train students so as to develop their capacities, and outside of their schools they have been unable to mold the characters of the nation by perfecting its customs. This is why the Confucianists could not escape the charge that their learning was useless.

The Way is an all-embracing term. It takes rites, music, law enforcement, and political administration—everything the early kings established—and brings them together under one designation. There is no such thing as the Way apart from rites, music, law enforcement, and political

¹ The *Books of History*, of *Odes*, of *Changes*, of *Rites*, of *Music* (later lost) and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

administration. . . . The Way of the early kings was something the early kings themselves created; it was not the natural way of Heaven and Earth. The early kings, by virtue of their high intelligence and perspicacity, received the mandate of Heaven and ruled over the world. They were of one mind in making it their duty to bring peace and contentment to the world. Thus by expending all of their spiritual resources and exerting to the utmost their mental capacities, they produced this Way so that all men in later generations might act in accordance with it. How could Heaven-and-earth of themselves have produced it? Fu Hsi [who first domesticated animals], Shen nung [who started agriculture], and the Yellow Emperor [who invented writing, etc.] were also sages, though what they produced only contributed to the Way in a utilitarian and material sense. After the intervening reigns of Chuan Hsü and 'Ti K'u, there came Yao and Shun who first inaugurated rites and music, and only after the Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties did rites and music become fully established. Thus it took several thousands of years, as well as the combined spiritual resources and mental capacities of several sages before the Way was fully developed. It was not something which could be put forth by the efforts of just one man in one lifetime.

Distortion of the Way through Ignorance of the Past

Ogyü's critique of the later Confucian tradition, which appears as a kind of prolegomenon to his *Distinguishing the Way*, points to the need for broader and more intensive study of the classical age and ancient Chinese writing in order to rescue Confucianism from the effects of historical change and excessive partisanship.

[From Inoue, *Rinri ihen*, VI, 11-12]

The Way is difficult to know and difficult to express because of its magnitude. What the Confucianists of later times saw of the Way was only one aspect of it. The true Way is the Way of the early kings of China, but after the appearance of Tzu Ssu and Mencius it degenerated into the Confucianist school which began to contend for supremacy among the "hundred philosophers" of the late Chou, and by so doing, itself demeaned the Way. Take the case of Tzu Ssu who wrote the *Mean* in opposition to Lao Tzu. Lao Tzu had called the Way of the Sages artificial. Tzu Ssu therefore said the Way was in conformity with nature,

in order to show that the Confucian Way was not artificial. This brought him in the end to his theory of absolute sincerity. . . . In ancient times an originator was considered a sage, but as Confucius was no originator, absolute sincerity was spoken of in the *Mean* as the virtue of the Sage, and the three-fold explanation [of the virtue of the Sage] was put forward in order to rescue Confucius from embarrassing criticism.² Sincerity, however, is only one virtue of the Sage. How could it be thought of as all-sufficing and all-inclusive?

Mencius' conception of human nature as good is an example of the same sort as Tzu Ssu. By likening human nature to the willow [which can be bent into any form], Kao Tzu had said all that could be said about it. Mencius' attempt at refutation went too far. Now what Tzu Ssu had really meant to say was that when the Sages established the Way, they did so in conformity with nature; he did not mean to say that every human being is in conformity with nature and that therefore all men are naturally in conformity with the Way. It is true that while other trees cannot be bent or twisted, the willow is by nature bendable and twistable; but this does not mean that to be bent and twisted is the natural state of the willow. The sense of sympathy and shame point to the fact that humanity and righteousness have their origin in nature, but the sense of sympathy is not all there is to humanity, and the sense of shame and aversion may not necessarily constitute righteousness. It is a case of a slight misstatement that leads to a tremendous error. The latter-day School of the Mind had its inception in this. Hsün Tzu's criticism of it was correct. So I say that Tzu Ssu and Mencius were defenders of the Confucian school while Hsün Tzu was a loyal minister to Tzu Ssu and Mencius.³

Nevertheless, this was not long after Mencius' time and things had not changed greatly, so that their world of discourse was essentially the same. By the time Han Yü made his appearance in the T'ang, however,

²That is, since Confucius had not been an "originator" (like the early kings Ogyü speaks of in the preceding selection), the Confucianist author of the *Mean* offered a new conception of the Sage which would fit Confucius even though he had failed to establish anything new. This three-fold conception is referred to in the *Mean*, ch. 29, and has been variously interpreted. Ogyü seems to have in mind a three-fold conception of sincerity such as is found in ch. 26, where the attributes of Heaven, Earth, and Infinity are ascribed to absolute sincerity.

³In Confucian parlance "loyal minister" is often used to signify a forthright critic devoted to his Master's best interests.

writing had undergone a great change. Thereafter came the two Ch'engs and Chu Hsi, admittedly scholars of great stature, yet nonetheless unacquainted with the ancient language. Unable to read and understand the Six Classics properly, they showed a preference for the *Mean* and *Mencius* because these texts were easy to read. Thus, the writings of philosophers contending with other philosophers came to be taken as the true expression of the Way of the Sages in its original form. In addition to that, they read the ancient style of writing as if it were the modern style and, since they were ignorant of what was actually referred to, a discrepancy arose between reality and discourse, whereupon sense and reasoning took separate paths. Thus the teaching of the early kings and Confucius was seen no more.

In recent years Mr. Itō Jinsai, also a scholar of great stature, has become aware of this general state of things. Nevertheless, in the interpretation of the *Analects* he has depended on *Mencius* and has read the ancient style of writing as if it were the modern, just as the Ch'eng and Chu schoolmen did. Moreover, he has openly divided the Way of the early kings and Confucius into two ways, and put the Six Classics aside in favor of the *Analects* alone. Also he has not succeeded in avoiding the errors of those who read Chinese in Japanese fashion. So when I read what he has put forth as the ancient meaning, I wonder indeed how it could ever be called "ancient"!

Alas, the Way of the early kings degenerated into the "Confucianist" school and there appeared Hsün Tzu and Mencius; then it degenerated again with the appearance of Chu Hsi and Lu Hsiang-shan. As if it were not enough to have them in opposition to one another, each spawned his own partisan following. The more the division, the greater grew the contention; and the greater the flow of words, the less the importance of what was said. Who could not but be saddened by all this?

Thanks to Heaven's special favor, this writer obtained access to the works of two eminent scholars, Wang and Li,⁴ and for the first time became acquainted with the ancient style of Chinese writing. Thus equipped, I painstakingly went through the Six Classics for a great many years. Gradually I arrived at an understanding of the terms and their corresponding realities, and thereupon the interpretation of the texts became

⁴ Wang Shih-cheng and Li P'an-lung, sixteenth-century Chinese scholars who advocated a return to the language and prose style of ancient times.

clear. Only then I felt I was able to discuss the Six Classics properly. The Six Classics contain facts while the *Book of Rites*⁵ and *Analects* offer interpretations. Interpretations must be supported by facts, however, before they can be accepted as definitive explanations of the Way. If facts are disregarded and interpretations are accepted of themselves, it will scarcely be possible to avoid generalization, exaggeration, and arbitrary judgment. These are the faults found among scholars following Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan, the Ch'engs and Chu Hsi.

I am already past fifty. If I do not exert myself before I die, what will be the judgment of Heaven? Mindful of this, whenever I have had time to spare, I have applied myself to writing in appreciation of Heaven's favor. The contents of this work include many tens of items, all intended for students who may come under my guidance.

Conclusion to *Discourses on Government*

Ogyü's *Discourses* take up a wide variety of problems affecting Japanese society at great length and in great detail. In this conclusion he sums up his general approach and principal recommendations. Note the great emphasis on strong legal controls and the comparative depreciation of the ruler's personal example (such as leading a life of austerity) as an influence on the people.

[From *Ogyü Sorai shû*, 214-15]

In my lengthy remarks contained in the foregoing four volumes, I have often gone into minor details in order to bring prevailing conditions to your attention.

Since the laws of today are not based on mature consideration, important matters are left entirely uncontrolled by law, while a tremendous amount of legislation is devoted to minor matters. Everyone lacks discipline, and customs are shifting constantly. Today laws are handed down as law, but people feel that it has no connection with them. Therefore I wanted to call to Your Highness' attention the fact that laws are becoming wholly ineffectual.

Current affairs have been discussed above, some out of my personal experience, some on the basis of information from other sources. There may be certain misunderstandings on my part; there may also be mistakes in judgment. The way of government, however, is not a series of

⁵ The compilation containing the *Great Learning* and the *Mean*.

disconnected affairs; a knowledge of the whole world and what goes on in it is essential for the ruler. The important thing to understand today is that present conditions all go back to two facts: first, that people all over are living like transients in a hotel, and second, that everything is out of legal control. Therefore, family registration should be instituted so that people would settle down in a fixed place of residence. Controls should be adopted to maintain the distinction between military households, merchants, and farmers. Controls should also be set up over the daimyō. Finally, it is necessary for the government to stop buying in the rice market.¹

For the most part these measures will help the nation to recover and become prosperous. Other measures will follow in natural sequence as things improve. The ruler himself may adopt economy and austerity measures to put his household on a sound basis, but it will do no good if the people continue to suffer from dire poverty. My fervent desire is to see that both ruler and ruled grow rich and prosperous together, so that Your Highness' reign will last forever.

In the third volume, I discussed the functions of office and the way to pick men for official employment. That is also a secret of the Sage. Laws may be as good as one could wish, but if the right man to administer them is lacking, the laws will prove of no use.

These are the main points of what I have written. It is said that "unless plans be kept secret, harm will follow." And since matters relating to your administration of the government may not be divulged to others, I have written out these discourses myself without asking the help of my students, though my eyes are weak and my handwriting poor. I trust therefore that when Your Highness has finished perusing it, my work will be thrown into the fire.

For a Merit System in Government

As we have seen, Ogyū not only favored the hereditary class system but advocated strict controls to preserve it. In the government, however, he believes that hereditary succession to high office inevitably results in power falling into the hands of incompetents. Though he advocates no general replacement of

¹ An attempt to control the price of rice by buying when the price was low and selling when the price was high. It also aimed at storing surpluses which could be used for relief in times of famine.

the hereditary system by a civil service, like many a Confucianist before him Ogyū must plead the case of the man of ability if he is to have any opportunity to put his own ideas into effect. No doubt Ogyū's criticisms are directed in part at the Hayashi family, whose hereditary monopoly over state education he attacks elsewhere in the *Discourses*.

[From *Ogyū Sorai shū*, pp. 124-28]

It is a general law of nature that old things gradually disappear and new things come into being. All things in heaven and earth are like this. We might like to keep old things forever, but that is beyond our power. Timber rots, grain varies in yield from year to year. So too with men: the old pass away and the young come in. In this they follow the law of nature, by which things from below rise gradually to the top and on reaching the top decline and disappear. This is an invariable rule, with which even the law of [the *Book of*] *Changes* accords. It is in keeping with the principles of good government that a family which has rendered distinguished service should be well treated so as to preserve it as long as possible. In a family with old people, prayers are said for great grandparents, grandparents, and parents in hopes of their living till the end of time. It is only human not to entertain the thought of their early death, but the law of the universe is one thing and human sentiment is another; the things of old, which you want to preserve so much, are destined to disappear. To say that things of the past might just as well disappear immediately is to go too far in the other direction and is not in accord with the Way of the Sages. Nonetheless, to attempt to preserve the things of the past forever is sheer stupidity and also not in accord with the Way of the Sages. The Way of the Sages gives due place to human sentiments so that human feelings will not be outraged, but at the same time the everlasting law is transparently clear and there is no way of ignoring it. Consequently not to keep dwelling foolishly on human sentiment is the key to fair treatment of all mankind.

Because of the law mentioned above, the descendants of Kings Yao and Shun, Yü and T'ang, Wen and Wu, have vanished without a trace in China. In Japan there is no longer any trace of the once great shoguns Yoritomo and Takauji. It is the same with all famous families. On the other hand, the powerful families we call daimyō today were in former days of little account. Because of their achievements in war they have risen to the top. Even so today there are few powerful families which have

maintained direct, legitimate succession. To try foolishly to preserve hereditary status by forever keeping those on top at the top and those below at the bottom is in violation of the law of the universe, for it helps to preserve from oblivion those at the top who have reached the point where they should give way. When men of talent and wisdom are no longer at the top, it signifies the end of a regime; confusion and disorder will open the way for men of talent and wisdom to rise up and overthrow the dynasty. Being profoundly aware of this truth and solicitous of preserving the dynasty, the sages instituted the system of punishments and rewards in order to raise up men of talent from below and at the same time leave to Heaven's will the elimination of those who have no legitimate heir to succeed them or whose wickedness has foredoomed them to destruction.

If this were adhered to, the wise would always be on top and the stupid would always stay at the bottom, in perfect accord with the universal law; and thus the reign would go on forever. To be unaware of this natural balance means ignorance of the law that prevails over heaven, earth and mankind. This means in turn lack of accord with Heaven's will; which again is not the true way of government. . . .

Why is it that during a period of prolonged peace men of ability are only found among the lower classes, while men of the upper class grow increasingly stupid? As far as I can see, men's abilities are developed only through hardship and tribulation. In the case of our bodies, use makes the members strong. Use the hands and the arms grow strong, use the legs and the feet become hardened. If one practices aiming as in archery or gunnery, one's eyesight will improve. Likewise, when the mind is used, intelligence develops. If hardship and tribulation are encountered in different forms, these experiences will bring out one's abilities; that is the natural law. So in Mencius it is noted that when Heaven has a great mission for a man to perform, it will first put him to an acid test. When he develops his ability through such an acid test, he is especially fit for the task of government because he is familiar with conditions among the people. Therefore, in the Way of the Sages too it is recommended that able men be advanced by bringing them up from below. Through the study of history also we may see, as clearly as in a mirror, that men of intelligence and talent have all come from below; rarely

have they come from hereditarily privileged families. Even those men of the hereditary nobility have come to that high estate because their forebears risked their lives during the Warring States period, developed their abilities the hard way through bitter experience, and rendered distinguished service in order to attain high office and large feudal grants. Their descendants, however, having held high office and large feudal grants for generations, find themselves on top from birth and suffer no hardship at all. How then can they develop their abilities? Set apart from those below by their high rank, they are uninformed of conditions among the people. Brought up amidst the constant flattery of those around them, they pride themselves on their wisdom without in truth having any. As they are recipients of respect by birthright, they take it so for granted that they accept even favors from the shogun without heartfelt appreciation, as if these were to be expected. Full of self-will, they look upon the people as so many insects; this feeling is natural to man in such circumstances and such conduct only follows the natural law. Even when gifted with talent, the highborn are likely to have such a weakness. Though they may be intelligent and clever enough, they live so far apart from the people that they are simply unaware of how the people feel. As they are inured to the formalities of polite society, their talents are well-developed in this direction. But common people are not inured to such formalities, so they often appear uncouth to the high-born, whose egotism is thereby further inflated. Such is human nature, the same in the present as in the past. For this reason, in the Way of the Sages, prime importance was placed on raising up wise and talented men of low station, while hereditary succession in high office from generation to generation was strongly disapproved.

MURO KYŪSŌ'S DEFENSE OF NEO-CONFUCIANISM

Muro Kyūsō (1658-1734), the son of a physician (like many other thinkers of his time), came to the defense of Chu Hsi's philosophy at a time when it was under heavy attack from such able men as Yamaga, Itō, and Ogyū. Having acquired his belief in the rightness of Chu Hsi only

after a long intellectual struggle, it was a matter of intense personal conviction with him and not just a passive acceptance of the established teaching. Therefore, although he did not seek to formulate any new philosophy of his own, he was far more effective in revitalizing the teaching of the old doctrine than its official defenders in the Hayashi school. In this role he strongly reinforced the ethical attitudes by which the Tokugawa had originally hoped, through their sponsorship of Neo-Confucianism, to secure the bases of their own rule. Among these was the sense of duty (or "righteousness," *gi*) as manifested in personal relationships, especially in loyalty to one's lord or ruler which was regarded as the highest duty. Related to this was a deep sense of one's indebtedness or obligation (*on*) to one's parents for the original gift of life and to one's ruler for sustaining and protecting it.

In contrast to Yamaga, however, whose sense of loyalty was increasingly directed to the imperial house, Muro became a staunch supporter of the shogunate, for which he found a justification in Mencius' theory of the Mandate of Heaven being conferred on those who best serve the interests of the people. On this basis, for instance, he regarded Ieyasu as virtually heaven-sent to bring order out of chaos and establish a benevolent regime after centuries of bloodshed and disorganization. Indeed, he contributed in no small measure to the hero-worshipping cult of Ieyasu, which persisted to the end of the Tokugawa Period, and to the general buttressing of the shogunate's position and authority. By thus identifying himself so wholeheartedly with the existing regime and Chu Hsi orthodoxy, however, Muro stood squarely in the face of two powerful currents of thought which eventually swept all before them: nationalism (particularly as embodied in the revival of Shinto, which he considered unworthy of association with Neo-Confucianism) and the growing sense of loyalty to the imperial house.

MURO KYŪSO

In Defense of Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy

In his prefatory remarks to the *Conversations at Suruga-dai* (*Shundai zatsuwā*) Muro, identified as the "Old Man," describes how he became a convinced Neo-Confucianist only after many years of study. Now, with the Ch'eng-Chu school

under attack from many quarters, he feels that he has a mission to defend it similar to that of the great Han Yü in T'ang dynasty China, who turned the tide against Buddhism and Taoism and led the way to the later revival of Confucianism.

[From Inoue, *Rinri ihen*, VII, 82-84; cf. Knox, "A Japanese Philosopher," in *TAS*, XX, 28-31]

One day as the Old Man was talking with his students, the discussion turned to developments in Confucian thought since the Sung school, and one of those present expressed doubts as to the Ch'eng-Chu philosophy. The Old Man said to him:

"When I was young I pursued conventional Chinese studies, memorizing and reciting the classics and studying composition. I had devoted many years and months to this when suddenly I realized the folly of it and thought of devoting myself to that teaching of the ancients which was concerned with one's true self. Unhappily, however, I had neither able teachers nor worthy friends to guide me, and was simply bewildered by the many theories of the different philosophers. I half believed in the Ch'eng-Chu system, and half doubted it. Unable to arrive at any settled view of things, I saw the years and months pass by without anything having been gained. Then at about the age of forty I came to the deep realization that nothing could take the place of the Ch'eng-Chu teaching. Now for thirty years I have studied the writings of the Ch'eng-Chu school, considering them deep in my heart and reflecting upon them in my mind. I find that the higher one gazes the loftier they seem; the more carefully one analyzes them the more impervious they are to criticism. Neither too abstruse nor too superficial, these teachings would undoubtedly obtain the full assent of even a sage, if one arose again. For the Way of Heaven-and-earth is the Way of Yao and Shun; the Way of Yao and Shun is the Way of Confucius and Mencius; the Way of Confucius and Mencius is the Way of Ch'eng and Chu. If we refuse to follow the Way of Ch'eng and Chu, we cannot attain the Way of Confucius and Mencius; if we refuse to follow the Way of Confucius and Mencius, we cannot attain the Way of Yao and Shun; and if we refuse to follow the Way of Yao and Shun, we cannot attain the Way of Heaven-and-earth. I do not expect that my teaching should be accepted implicitly, but this much I know to be true from my own knowledge, and

I should take upon myself the punishment of Heaven-and-earth if I spoke not from my own knowledge and uttered what was perhaps not true—such is my solemn oath!”

At this everyone seemed to listen all the more intently, and the Old Man went on:

“What I say has already been confirmed by five centuries of scholarly opinion and consequently stands in no need of an oath from me to affirm it today. After the time of Chu Hsi, beginning with such eminent scholars as Chen Hsi-shan and Wei Hao-shan in the Sung dynasty, Hsü Lu-chai and Wu Ts’ao-lu in the Yüan dynasty, and Hsüeh Ching-hsüan and Hu Ching-chai in the Ming dynasty, there were many others devoted to the study of the True Way and all of them believed in Ch’eng and Chu. . . . Thus until the middle of the Ming period, scholarship was conducted on the correct lines and the true teaching suffered no decline. But when Wang Yang-ming appeared he proclaimed the doctrine of innate knowledge [“good knowledge”] and attacked Chu Hsi. Thus the temper of thought in the Ming underwent a change, and after Yang-ming’s death such followers of his as Wang Lung-ch’i turned in the direction of Zen Buddhism. Thereafter scholars became intoxicated with intuitive knowledge and grew tired of pursuing first principles. By the end of the Ming the deleterious effects of this were such that scholars throughout the land became Confucianists by day and Buddhists by night. . . . Men with only a particle of the learning of Ch’eng and Chu criticized them in the most flippant manner, like the wren who mocked at the [wider knowledge of the far-flying] roc and the caterpillar who presumed to measure the expanse of the sea. As Han Yü said, ‘They sit in a well and, looking up at the sky, pronounce it small.’ Nevertheless there are countless numbers of men, shallow and deficient in knowledge, who eagerly take to new and strange teachings and love to echo the opinions of others.

“In our state peace has endured for a hundred years and learning has flourished, so that scholars have appeared in great numbers. Their scholarship may not always have been of the best, but at least they held firmly to the Ch’eng-Chu philosophy and preserved what was worthy of imitation from the past—which must be counted a blessing. More recently, however, there have been some who misled men into new and dangerous paths, trying to set up their own schools of thought and gathering fol-

lowers about them, so that they might enjoy some kind of ascendancy in the company of scholars long used to prostituting themselves, and make much of their own wild ideas—without the least sense of shame. All the dogs join in when one starts barking, and that is the reason why vile teachings and outrageous doctrines abound in the world today. Truly the Way is in a critical phase. Therefore, just as Han Yü rose up when Buddhism and Taoism were flourishing and attacked them single-handedly, likening himself to Mencius and swearing an oath by the gods of Heaven-and-earth, so this old man swears too, that though his merits may not equal those of Mencius, still he dares not fail to answer the call of Han Yü. And you, too, see that my words are not listened to in vain!"

Economics and the Traditional Virtues

The next two selections from Muro's *Conversations* are typical of the official attitude toward the rising merchant class and the spreading influence of bourgeois life and values. It springs from concern over the deterioration of samurai standards and from a feeling that the prosperity of the merchant was gained at the expense of the peasant and tended to discourage agriculture. Muro is obviously guided by the traditional Chinese policy, which became established as early as the Han dynasty (second century B.C.), of discrimination against the merchant class and at least nominal support for agriculture. His reflections on the contemporary scene are a striking commentary on the rapid social and economic changes Japan was undergoing despite the shogunate's attempt to preserve the status quo.

[From Inoue, *Rinri ihen*, VII, 294-97; cf. Knox, "A Japanese Philosopher," *TAS*, XX, 129-30]

Nothing is more important to the samurai than duty. Second in importance comes life, and then money. Since both life and money are also of value, a man is likely when confronted by a life-or-death situation or when faced with money matters to depreciate the precious thing called duty. Hence, only if the samurai is careful not to think nor speak of greed for life or greed for money can he remove himself entirely from avaricious desires. What I call avaricious desires is not limited to love of money, for concern with one's own life is also avarice. Is one's life not more precious than money? When faced with however unpleasant a duty, the way of the samurai consists in regarding his own wishes—even his life itself—as

of less value than rubbish. How much less should he value money? Since [life and money] are of intrinsic value, it is good to take care of one's health and avoid spending money wantonly. Even so, to cherish in one's heart or even to speak of overfondness for one's life or the worship of money may be suitable for the merchants, but it is hardly so for the samurai. I have seen in a book of old tales that in the T'ang dynasty there was a servant woman who had been employed for a long time in the household of Liu Kung-ch'üan.¹ Leaving the Liu household, she went to work for Yang Ch'ü-yüan.² There she saw the mistress of the house selling silk and haggling with wholesalers over prices. Suddenly dismayed, she made her apologies and left the Yang household. . . . As one might expect from a family of hereditary office-holders of the T'ang, the Liu family retained unsullied customs and were distinguished from families which had arisen recently. This story is preserved simply because [such customs] were exceptional in the middle of the T'ang dynasty.

In ancient Japan, in keeping with its name of "the country of the sages," manners were pure and simple, and not perverted by [consideration for] prices and profits. Even where duty was not rigorously defended, there was an inbred sense of honor which had not entirely disappeared. Though manners changed greatly with the coming of military government, the samurai still knew nothing at all of money matters, and they were frugal and direct, and not the slightest bit given to extravagance. This was true until recent times. . . .

As I remember my youth, young men of that time never mentioned prices, and there were some who blushed when they heard erotic stories. Most of them delighted in listening to stories about old battles and loved to discuss duty to one's lord or father and the samurai's resolute will. I hear that when young men nowadays get together, they often amuse each other by telling stories of profit and loss or talking about sexual pleasures. Thus have social standards changed since fifty or sixty years ago. At about that time there was a samurai in Kaga named Aochi Uneme. His son, named Kurando,³ was a friend of mine. Uneme said to his sons and disciples: "Though the attainment of prosperity by exchanging goods with others is practiced freely in the world, you should have nothing to

¹ T'ang official, poet, and calligrapher (778-865).

² Poet (eighth-ninth century).

³ Aochi Saiken, praised by Muro as a model samurai.

do with it. In buying at a loss, it is all right for the gain to be on the other side. However, winning in trade differs from winning at chess, for when one buys at a profit and the gain is to oneself, there is no satisfaction, but on the contrary the heart becomes spiteful. To rejoice when one makes a profitable transaction or buys valuable merchandise cheaply is part of the merchant's trade, but it is unpardonable in a samurai."

Some years ago, when Arai Chikugo-no-kami [i.e., Arai Hakuseki] was attendant lecturer in the Confucian temple, I heard him say: "Never say, in reporting of another man, that he is greedy, for if he is greedy of money, then you can be sure that he will ultimately be greedy of life. In that case, you should use the blunter word, and say that he is cowardly." This is quite true.

The People Should Be As Heaven to the King

[From Inoue, *Rinri ihen*, VII, 155-59; cf. Knox, "A Japanese Philosopher," in *TAS*, XX, 81-84]

Once, at the end of his exposition of the tenth book of the *Analects*, concerning the passage, "He bowed to those who bore the tables of the census" (X, 16), the Old Man asked his guests: "What is the meaning of the phrase, 'The king takes the people to be Heaven, while the people take food to be Heaven'?"

"The people," replied one, "are the foundation of the state; when they are obedient the state remains, but when they rebel it is destroyed. As its preservation or destruction is up to the people, the king must always honor them as Heaven. Food is the people's life. With it they live, but without it they die. . . . Therefore, the people honor food as Heaven."

"You have explained both of them correctly," continued the Old Man. "Both phrases refer to the idea that agriculture should be highly valued. When Heaven begets man it brings forth grain for his food. If there are men there is grain and if there is grain there are men; if there is no grain there are no men. Nothing on earth is more important than food. The farmers produce it and are entrusted by Heaven to the king, who must honor them as he honors Heaven itself. He should not despise even one of them. This is why the census in ancient times was received with honor by the king, and Confucius bowed when he met those who bore it. The

people too should remember that they are entrusted with the production of the most essential thing in the land, given by Heaven for the continuance of human life, and should honor it as Heaven itself. They must not be idle, for their industry is the basis of social standards and customs, and has a bearing on the tranquility of the state. . . .

"Under the Three Dynasties the rulers regarded the people as Heaven. Therefore they lightened taxes and aided the people in times of distress, so that the people were not reduced to fleeing elsewhere and wandering about the country. They lived at home without anxiety and gave their produce to the king and no one failed to 'take food to be Heaven.' Their spirit carried over to the capital, from the officials down to the tradesmen, and all were frugal and none lazy or extravagant. But later, in the time of the Ch'in dynasty, there no longer existed the feeling that the people were as Heaven, and cruel taxes were imposed until provinces broke away or rebelled. The country crumbled like earth, and bands of ruffians appeared everywhere. Again from the time of the Han dynasty, though there was peace and safety, yet many were intent on gain and the great merchants lived like princes . . . and in imitation the country folk too fell into extravagance and competed in costly amusements. Chia I complained to the government, and as something of the spirit that takes the people to be Heaven remained, the emperor repeatedly proclaimed that agriculture is the foundation of the empire, remitted the taxes and warned the local officials against greed. He exhorted to filial obedience, brotherly respect, and industry. . . . So in the time of [the emperors] Wen and Ching, lord and servant were frugal and the land grew rich. At no time since the Three Dynasties had there been such good government. The study of the past and the present shows that ancient times were unique. In later ages, when the social standards of the countryside extended to the capital, times were good; but when the social standards of the capital extended to the countryside, times were bad. This is because the custom of the capital was to value luxury, while the provinces had not lost their simplicity.

"From what I have heard about the recent state of the capital, the provinces are full of avaricious officials, and the towns are full of money-grubbers. Many of them, while they seem outwardly to obey the law and be above bribery, work privately for profit and love luxury. Furthermore, they flaunt their cunning and hide their faults; they deceive the govern-

ment, slander others, and plot shrewdly. From what I hear of their intercourse with one another, they strive for sumptuousness in their banquets, they vie with one another in the elegance of songs and dances, and spend immense sums in a day. They take all this to be in refined taste. It staggers the imagination. When they see a man who is frugal and honest they ridicule him as rustic and unaccustomed to the ways of the world. Since an individual can do nothing against the multitude, these fashions become universal, and even the remote regions are extravagant and false. Alas! All the world praises extravagance and all the world desires money without which these lusts cannot be gratified. So those who are strong seize the wealth of the empire, and its circulation is stopped. Gold and silver are scarce. But food is produced every year, so money grows dear, while grain grows cheap. The samurai who are paid in rice must exchange cheap grain for dear cash and have not enough, while the money-grubbers buy cheap grain with dear coin and increase their goods. But with limited coin their extravagance is unlimited and useful money goes for useless things. . . .

"This has not come about in a day. Until sixty or seventy years ago there was greater prosperity than there is today. Some vulgar people liked luxury, but the majority were frugal, for many old men of the former age still remained, men who . . . had endured hardship as soldiers and had known no luxury even in their dreams. They trained their sons and grandsons too in the family traditions. Though we would speak of them today as having rustic ways, they were naturally without ostentation, and were rich in character. They were lacking in falseness and full of genuineness. They were earnest, dependable, hardworking, and kind. Later, such men disappeared. Samurai and officials now wallow in their hereditary pensions. In times of peace, they know nothing of hardships. All they want is comfort. They are unaware of its poisons. Extravagant and vain and profligate—no wonder we are in such a condition! Still worse are the money-grubbers and the providers of great entertainments. And the evil spreads to the provinces. In the country there is still some of the old spirit which has already disappeared from the capital. Of course country folk are often foolish and profligate, and some commit great crimes; moreover, having for the most part little discretion, they become angry when faced with hard times, and sometimes rise against the government. Still they are not cunning like the towns-

people. They are naturally honest, simple, easily moved by blessings, quick to follow reason and satisfied with their daily food. When the officials of a province remember the spirit that takes the people to be as Heaven, modify the taxes according to circumstances and so treat the people that they may nourish parents and children without fear of death from cold and hunger, then the people will be contented and will not abandon their land to escape suffering. When the laws are made known, showing the punishments that will be meted out to criminals, forbidding extravagance, and reproofing the idle and dissolute, then the people of that province will respectfully obey, and thus their customs will be improved. As customs improve in one province after another their influence will naturally be felt in the capital. The townspeople are not one tenth so numerous as the country folk; yet whatever is in fashion at the capital soon spreads to the provinces. Were the farmers content and prosperous, still more readily then would their fashions go throughout the empire conquering extravagance and evil. Without doubt extravagance would give way gradually to frugality."



CHAPTER XIX

THE VOCABULARY OF JAPANESE AESTHETICS III

The student of Tokugawa Japan is everywhere faced with seeming contradictions. He finds first of all a military dictatorship which ruled the country for more than two hundred and fifty years virtually without warfare, and which sacrificed the chance of an overseas empire in favor of peace. He finds also a society which subscribed to strict Confucian principles but which distinguished itself especially by its devotion to sensual pleasures. And when he considers the aesthetic vocabulary of the period he discovers no less curious contradictions.

Part of the difficulty in attempting to establish the typical words used by Tokugawa writers in making aesthetic judgments stems from the fact that there was no uniformity. That is, we have no reason to suppose that the touchstone of taste in 1650 remained such in 1850, or that the ideals which guided a chronicler of the glories of the gay quarters were the same as for a poet living in a tranquil hermitage. Nevertheless, certain words and ideas can be mentioned as having possessed especial significance during much of the period.

The most brilliant part of the Tokugawa Period was undoubtedly the Genroku era (1688-1703), which lent its name to much of the culture of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One term which first came into prominence about this time was *ukiyo*, a word which in another meaning was much older. In Heian literature the word was used to mean "sorrowful world," and was a typical Buddhist description of the world of dust and grief. However, about 1680 the same sounds acquired a new meaning, by making a pun between *uki* meaning "sorrowful" and *uki* meaning "floating." The new term, the "floating world," was quickly taken up, probably because it gave so vivid a picture of the unstable volatile society which had succeeded the medieval world of sorrow and gloom. One typical expression of the "floating world" may be found in

the numerous Genroku paintings of waves—the most changeable and exciting of natural forms. The word *ukiyo* itself came to be applied to many products of Genroku culture, including the *ukiyo-e*, the woodblock prints which were the most famous if not the best works of Tokugawa art. *Ukiyo* was used especially of the licensed quarters—the brothels and other places of amusement which were the center of urban society at the time. The Genroku literary figure par excellence, the hero of the novel *The Man Who Spent His Life at Love-making* (1683), was named Ukiyonosuke, and his complete familiarity with the denizens and arts of the “floating world” made him the envy and the object of emulation of many lesser men. This book (an outstanding example of *ukiyo-zōshi*, or demi-monde fiction) was written by Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693), the leading Genroku novelist, who portrayed in a fascinating manner the two great interests of the “floating world”—sex and money. He who gained a full mastery of these two disciplines was entitled to be known as a *tsūjin*, or expert. Saikaku himself was a great *tsūjin* and could boast of many and varied experiences in the *ukiyo*. His description of the ideal woman of Genroku times proves, among other things, how careful a study he made of his chosen field:

When I asked what type of woman he was hoping to get, the old man took from a scroll-case of paulownia wood a picture of a beautiful woman, saying that he would like to hold in his arms a living replica made from this model. When I examined it I saw that the woman in the picture was from fifteen to eighteen years of age. Her face, which had an up-to-date look, was roundish and of the color of pale cherry blossoms. Her features were flawless: the eyes, by his wish, were not narrow; the thick brows did not grow too close together; the nose was straight; the mouth was small with regular, white teeth; and the long ears, which had delicate rims, stood away from the head so that one could see through to the roots. Her hair at the forehead grew naturally and with no trace of artificiality. The back hair fell over her downless slender neck. Her fingers were pliant and long with thin nails. Her feet could not have had the breadth of eight copper coins; the big toes curled upwards and the soles were translucently delicate. Her body was above average in size. The hips were firm and not fleshy, the buttocks full. Elegant in movement and in dress, her bearing possessed both dignity and gentleness. She excelled in the arts required of women, and was ignorant of nothing. There was not a single mole on her entire body.¹

¹ *Kōshoku ichidasu onna* 1, in *Saikaku zenshū*, I, 320.

Saikaku's ideal woman differed greatly from the one described in *The Tale of Genji*. The Heian beauty was distinguished primarily by her accomplishments and her tastes, and her genealogy was never overlooked. She was, of course, ravishingly beautiful too, but no Heian writer would have entered into the precision of details to which Saikaku treats us. It was obviously more important for him that his ideal woman's toes curl up than that she write with exquisite brush strokes. And, since Saikaku does not even mention what moral qualities she should possess to complement her physical charms, there is no reason to suppose that he sought any in this paragon of women.

In the plays of Chikamatsu (1653-1725), however, we find depicted quite a different type of woman—which serves to show how far from uniform the aesthetic ideals of the Tokugawa Period were. Chikamatsu's heroines were usually either figures from Japanese history or else women from the same *ukiyo* milieu that Saikaku so lovingly treated. But unlike Saikaku's heroines, who surrendered themselves entirely to their passions, Chikamatsu's were also influenced by *giri*, a concept of great importance in Tokugawa Japan. *Giri* had both Buddhist and Confucian antecedents, developing equally from the awareness of the law of causality and the concern for moral justice. The word may be translated as "duty" or "moral obligation," but its implications extended far beyond the usual sphere of the English words. To control the passions (*ninjō*) one had to exercise *giri*; when the passions were too strong to be controlled there was likely to be tragedy, as Chikamatsu demonstrated.

The *ukiyo* world of the passions and the stern dictates of *giri* remained dominant themes in Tokugawa literature. Well into the nineteenth century we find books with such titles as *The Ukiyo Bath-house* or *The Ukiyo Barbershop*, as well as numerous works with the avowed intention of "encouraging virtue and chastising vice" (*kanzen chōaku*). The *ukiyo* books usually consisted of gay (and even pornographic) material; the other type of literature which enjoyed great popularity was the didactic romance, in which the author attempted painlessly to inculcate moral teachings. The outstanding work in the latter category was Bakin's monumental *Hakken-den* ("Biographies of Eight Heroes"), written between 1814 and 1841. Each of Bakin's eight heroes represents one of the Confucian cardinal virtues, a device similar to that employed by Spenser

in *The Faerie Queene*. In the course of the thousands of pages of the *Hakken-den*, the various heroes are often sorely tempted and tried, but their Buddhist conviction that good brings only good while evil leads only to evil enables them to surmount all difficulties. In its time the *Hakken-den* enjoyed immense popularity because of its combination of exciting incidents with sage admonitions. And, even though most modern readers prefer Saikaku's *ukiyo* to Bakin's *giri*, the *Hakken-den*, both by its magnitude and its summary of ways of thought developed during the preceding two hundred years, may be considered to represent the grand culmination of the Tokugawa culture and aesthetic ideals.

CHIKAMATSU MONZAEMON

On Realism in Art

(From the preface to *Naniwa Miyage* by Hozumi Ikan)

[From Keene, *The Battles of Coxinga*, pp. 93-96]

This is what Chikamatsu told me when I visited him many years ago. "*Jōruri* differs from other forms of fiction in that, since it is primarily concerned with puppets, the words should all be living things in which action is the most important feature. Because *jōruri* is performed in theatres that operate in close competition with those of the *kabuki*, which is the art of living actors, the author must impart to lifeless wooden puppets a variety of emotions, and attempt in this way to capture the interest of the audience. It is thus generally very difficult to write a work of great distinction.

"Once, when I was young and reading a story about the court, I came across a passage which told how, on the occasion of a festival, the snow had fallen heavily and piled up. An order was then given to a guard to clear away the snow from an orange tree. When this happened, the pine tree next to it, apparently resentful that its boughs were bent with snow, recoiled its branches. This was a stroke of the pen which gave life to the inanimate tree. It did so because the spectacle of the pine tree, resentful that the snow has been cleared from the orange tree, recoiling its branches itself and shaking off the snow which bends it down, is one which creates the feeling of a living, moving thing. Is that not so?

"From this model I learned how to put life into my *jōruri*. Thus, even

descriptive passages like the *michiyuki*, to say nothing of the narrative phrases and dialogue, must be charged with feeling or they will be greeted with scant applause. This is the same thing as is called evocative power in poets. For example, if a poet should fail to bring emotion to his praise of even the superb scenery of Matsushima or Miyajima in his poem, it would be like looking at the carelessly drawn picture of a beautiful woman. For this reason, it should be borne in mind that feeling is the basis of writing. . . .

"The old *jōruri* was just like our modern street story-telling and was without either flower or fruit. From the time that I began to write *jōruru* . . . I have used care in my writing, which was not true of the old *jōruri*. As a result, the medium was raised one level. For example, inasmuch as the nobility, the samurai, and the lower classes all have different social stations, it is essential that they be distinguished in their representation from their appearance down to their speech. Similarly, even within the same samurai class, there are both daimyō and retainers, as well as others of lower rank, each rank possessed of distinct qualities; such differences must be established. This is because it is essential that they be well pictured in the emotions of the reader.

"In writing *jōruri*, one attempts first to describe facts as they really are, but in so doing one writes things which are not true, in the interest of art. To be precise, many things are said by the female characters which real women could not utter. Such things fall under the heading of art; it is because they say what could not come from a real woman's lips that their true emotions are disclosed. If in such cases the author were to model his character on the ways of a real woman and conceal her feelings, such realism, far from being admired, would permit no pleasure in the work. Thus, if one examines a play without paying attention to the question of art, one will probably criticize it on the grounds that it contains many unpleasant words which are not suitable for women. But such things should be considered as art. In addition, there are numerous instances in the portrayal of a villain as excessively cowardly, or of a clown as being funny, which are outside the truth and which must be regarded as art. The spectator must bear this consideration in mind.

"There are some who, thinking that pathos is essential to a *jōruri*, make frequent use of such expressions as 'it was touching' in their writing, or who when chanting do so in voices thick with tears, in the man-

ner of the *Bunyabushi*.¹ This is foreign to my style. I take pathos to be entirely a matter of restraint.² Since it is moving when all parts of the art are controlled by restraint, the stronger and firmer the melody and words are, the sadder will be the impression created. For this reason, when one says of something which is sad that it is sad, one loses the implications, and in the end, even the impression of sadness is slight. It is essential that one not say of a thing that 'it is sad,' but that it be sad of itself. For example, when one praises a place renowned for its scenery such as Matsushima by saying, 'Ah, what a fine view!' one has said in one phrase all that one can about the sight, but without effect. If one wishes to praise the view, and one says numerous things indirectly about its appearance, the quality of the view may be known of itself, without one's having to say, 'It is a fine view.' This is true of everything of its kind."

Someone said, "People nowadays will not accept plays unless they are realistic and well reasoned out. There are many things in the old stories which people will not now tolerate. It is thus that such people as *kabuki* actors are considered skillful to the degree that their acting resembles reality. The first consideration is to have the chief retainer in the play resemble a real chief retainer, and to have the daimyō look like a real daimyō. People will not stand for the childish nonsense they did in the past."

Chikamatsu answered, "Your view seems like a plausible one, but it is a theory which does not take into account the real methods of art. Art is something which lies in the slender margin between the real and the unreal. Of course it seems desirable, in view of the current taste for realism, to have the chief retainer in the play copy the gestures and speech of a real retainer, but in that case should a real chief retainer of a daimyō put rouge and powder on his face like an actor? Or, would it prove entertaining if an actor, on the grounds that real chief retainers do not make up their faces, were to appear on the stage and perform, with his beard growing wild and his head shaven? This is what I mean by the slender margin between the real and the unreal. It is unreal, and yet it is not unreal; it is real, and yet it is not real. Entertainment lies between the two.

¹ The style of Okamoto Bunya, noted for its sentimentality.

² The word here translated as "restraint" is *giri*, which normally means "propriety" or "duty." If one acts in accordance with propriety one will not gush over into uncontrolled emotion but will be restrained.

"In this connection, there is the story of a certain court lady who had a lover. The two loved each other very passionately, but the lady lived far deep in the women's palace, and the man could not visit her quarters. She could see him therefore only very rarely, from between the cracks of her screen of state at the court. She longed for him so desperately that she had a wooden image carved of the man. Its appearance was not like that of any ordinary doll, but did not differ in any particle from the man. It goes without saying that the color of his complexion was perfectly rendered; even the pores of his skin were delineated. The openings in his ears and nostrils were fashioned, and there was no discrepancy even in the number of teeth in the mouth. Since it was made with the man posing beside it, the only difference between the man and this doll was the presence in one, and the absence in the other, of a soul. However, when the lady drew the doll close to her and looked at it, the exactness of the reproduction of the living man chilled her, and she felt unpleasant and rather frightened. Court lady that she was, her love was also chilled, and as she found it distressing to have the doll by her side, she soon threw it away.

"In view of this we can see that if one makes an exact copy of a living being, even if it happened to be Yang Kuei-fei,³ one will become disgusted with it. Thus, if when one paints an image or carves it of wood there are, in the name of artistic license, some stylized parts in a work otherwise resembling the real form; this is, after all, what people love in art. The same is true of literary composition. While bearing resemblance to the original, it should have stylization; this makes it art, and is what delights men's minds. Theatrical dialogue written with this in mind is apt to be worthwhile."

³The most celebrated of Chinese beauties, concubine of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 712-755).



CHAPTER XX

THE HAIKU AND THE DEMOCRACY OF POETRY IN JAPAN

The *haiku*, quite possibly the shortest of all verse-forms, represents a distinct Japanese contribution to the poetic literature of the world, if only because it proves how great an effect can be obtained with the barest minimum of words. In spite of its extreme brevity—a *haiku* consists of only 17 syllables—the Japanese have often considered *haiku* poetry the greatest produced in their country, and it has attracted wide attention and even imitation in the West. Like the Japanese wood-block prints, it possesses universal appeal, largely perhaps because of its unpretentiousness.

The *haiku* has another importance in the history of Japanese literature and society: it is a verse-form evolved for the ordinary man, in contrast to most other Japanese poetry, which is aristocratic in form and tradition.

There must, of course, always have been poetry composed by unlettered people in Japan. We may find examples of such crude, almost meaningless verse in the earliest surviving book, the *Records of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*, A.D. 712). Some of it may have been composed in connection with ritual observances like the following one (which, however, is apparently of a later date):

Ajime o o o o

Oke ajime o o o o

Ajime! O! O! O! O!

Go to it! Ajime! O! O! O! O!

The anthropologist would find more of interest in such verses than the student of poetry, but even among the songs of the *Records of Ancient Matters* we can find some here and there of literary quality, and by the end of the eighth century the first and possibly the greatest anthology of Japanese poetry was compiled—the *Manyōshū*. There is an amazing difference in quality between the poetry of the *Manyōshū* and the songs preserved in the *Records*. Even the poems attributed to antiquity have an

elegance usually lacking in those songs, and the poetry composed in the eighth century itself has a power and a nobility seldom again to be equaled in Japan. It is not very difficult to see how this came about. With the establishment of a permanent capital in Nara (in 710) court life of complexity and refinement became possible in Japan as never before. Among the necessary accomplishments of the courtiers, perhaps in imitation of Chinese usage, was the ability to write verse. The preponderant part of the poetry in the *Manyōshū* was in fact composed by sovereigns and members of their courts, although poems by unknown authors, some of them apparently peasants, were also included.

It was not long, however, before the composition of poetry fitted for the court-sponsored anthologies became far too difficult for casual amateurs. This was not because the rules of prosody were too demanding: the standard verse-form, the *waka*, consists of only 31 syllables, arranged in five lines of 5, 7, 5, 7, and 7 syllables, without rhyme or quantity. Anyone could compose a *waka*, but it was deemed unworthy of attention unless it showed a mastery of the poetic traditions of the past. A technique was evolved which may be characterized as "virtuoso." Only a restricted number of themes was recognized as being suited to poetry, and this meant that there were innumerable poems composed on such popular subjects as the cherry blossoms or the autumnal moon, often with only a slight change in wording or imagery between one poem and its much appreciated imitation of a century later. The poetry in the *Manyōshū* covered a wide variety of subjects, including some obviously of the common people:

My hands so chapped from rice-pounding—
To-night again, he will hold them, sighing,
My young lord of the mansion! ¹

In later times such subjects as "chapped hands" were considered indecorous and rather vulgar by the poets, who far preferred to write their love-poetry about tear-drenched sleeves. Although lip service continued to be paid to originality of sentiment, this in general meant little more than a new twist to some familiar poetic formula. According to Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241), the celebrated arbiter of poetic excellence, poets must imitate the masterpieces of their predecessors and restrict themselves to the same vocabulary. He enjoined a constant study of the

¹ *Manyōshū*, No. 850, Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai edition.

old poetry, and the members of the court actually appear to have spent much of their time in this pursuit. It was not only for use in composing new poetry worthy of the anthologies that a knowledge of old poetry was indispensable: the courtier who missed an allusion or who failed to respond with an impromptu verse in an appropriate mood was likely to be disgraced.

It may be seen that this type of poetry could thrive best in a society preoccupied with few other tasks. Little time for the arduous study Teika recommended could be spared by soldiers, farmers and villagers, and from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries onwards, poets from these classes began to express themselves not in the classical *waka*, but in linked-verse (*renga*). As far back as the *Records of Ancient Matters* occurs an elementary form of linked-verse, one *waka* composed by two people. That is, one man gave the first three lines (or 5, 7, and 5 syllables) and the other man "linked" on the two remaining lines (of 7 and 7 syllables) to make up a normal *waka*. In time this type of poetry became quite popular at the court, where it gradually developed into long poems in many "links" composed by three or more poets at a special meeting.

When samurai returned to their provinces after service in the capital they must have aroused widespread interest with their accounts of linked-verse gatherings. The special appeal of linked-verse to such people was probably its communal quality—it could furnish an evening's entertainment to small groups of samurai, merchants, or farmers living a lonely country life. The rules of linked-verse drawn up at the court and transmitted to the provinces were extremely complicated, but they were essentially the rules of a game and not abstract poetic dicta based on purely aesthetic considerations. Thus, one can imagine a group of people shouting down a man who attempted to mention cherry blossoms before the proper "link" for them, as stated in the book of rules. This was quite a different matter from knowing by heart a dozen anthologies of poetry so as to be able to spot an allusion, and it is easy to see why linked-verse gained such popularity with people in the provinces.

Between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries two main varieties of linked-verse flourished. The first was the linked-verse of the court—refined, melodious, and melancholy, in the aristocratic tradition; the second was the linked-verse of the provinces—gay, simple, and often so crude that only their obedience to the codes of linked-verse preserved a

semblance of poetic form about them. Linked-verse of the first type became a great art, and at times possessed a unique beauty that resulted from the fusion of the imagery of several poets' minds. Although the form was different, the substance of the linked-verse became essentially one with that of the *waka* especially after the victory of the "serious" over the "humorous" faction.

The countrified linked-verse, however, had a special importance in the medieval period with its decentralized culture. An account written in 1470, for example, relates that even in the most wretched village the sound of people making verse of 1,000 or even 10,000 "links" filled the ears of passing travelers, indicating how popular a pastime it was. At many temples and shrines, which were the centers of local culture, linked-verse meetings were regularly held in which samurai, farmers, and villagers alike participated. Sometimes such meetings served other purposes than the mere composition of verse; that at least was the view of the Muromachi Shogunate which occasionally attempted to prohibit linked-verse meetings because it was feared they might actually be gatherings of dissident factions.

The greatest master of linked-verse, Sōgi (1421-1502), came from the lowest class of society. Though he ultimately rose to be an arbiter of poetic taste almost comparable to Teika before him, and he enjoyed the patronage of the aristocracy, there always remained a strong contact between Sōgi's art and the linked-verse of the common people. Sōgi's chief works were not composed at the court, but in different parts of the country, where he was welcomed by all ranks of people.

The popular linked-verse did not represent a conscious revolt against the aristocratic traditions of poetry. Rather, it was a form which ordinary, untutored people enjoyed because it gave them the chance to compose verse together as a kind of game governed by clearly stated rules. The level of poetic quality tended to remain very low, but this did not dampen the enthusiasm of the participants, and the popular linked-verse, largely through its use of a modern, colloquial vocabulary, retained a vitality that the court linked-verse lost. It was almost in spite of its elegance and purity of diction that Sōgi's linked-verse achieved greatness; most poets could say very little of permanent value within the stereotyped framework of the court linked-verse. With the shift in cultural supremacy from the aristocrats and the great samurai (who absorbed the aristocratic cul-

ture through widely circulated textbooks) to the merchant class in the seventeenth century, a real revolt occurred in linked-verse stemming from the active desire of the newly risen class to have its own forms of all types of literary activity.

The kind of poetry which best suited the exuberant, volatile, rather vulgar society dominated by the merchant class was called *haikai*. This word may be translated "comic," "light-hearted," or "free," and was used in opposition to the serious, formal *waka* and linked-verse. Already in the sixteenth century Yamazaki Sōkan (1465?-1553?) had pioneered in the use of the familiar language and ideas of the popular linked-verse in compositions of a more artistic nature. Sōkan compiled an anthology called the *Collection of Canine Linked-Verse*, "canine" to indicate the lowly and sometimes crude nature of the verse. A famous pair of "links" from this collection, one which was denounced by later advocates of refined *haikai* as the negation of filial piety, ran:

Niganigashiku mo

Bitter, bitter it was

Okashikarikeri.

And yet somehow funny.

To which was added:

Ware oya no

Even when

Shinuru toki ni mo

My father lay dying

He wo kokite.

I went on farting.

This "link" is certainly in very poor taste, but it cleverly captures the mixed emotions of the previous link, and in some ways embodies the genius of *haikai* poetry by showing the contrast between the most solemn moment of a man's life and the coarse actions which may involuntarily accompany it.

The new *haikai* linked-verse was immediately popular with poets tired of the stale vocabulary and images of the court linked-verse, but it did not take long for a reaction to set in against the excessive liberty of expression found in Sōkan's collection. Matsunaga Teitoku (1571-1653) led a new movement in *haikai* poetry which attempted to lift its artistic level while retaining its freedom of language. Teitoku compiled a *haikai* code which differed very little from the old linked-verse codes. What marked his linked-verse as being *haikai* was his use of words drawn from common speech or from Chinese, unlike the court linked-verse which restricted itself to old and pure Japanese words. Thus, according to Teitoku, if a verse contained such words as "slap" or "existence" instead

of "strike" or "life" (to use approximate English parallels) it was *haikai* even though the subject was as hackneyed as the moonlight and cherry blossoms of the court linked-verse.

It looked very much as if the fate of the new *haikai* poetry was to be that of the earlier linked-verse, with a great cleavage developing between the work of professional poets and that of ordinary people. *Haikai* was saved by the vigorous reaction of the Danrin school, and was made the glory of the Japanese people by the greatest of its poets, Bashō (1644-1694). The Danrin school insisted that it did not suffice for the language of *haikai* poetry to be modern; the ideas must also be new. The great attention paid by Danrin *haikai* to the humor of the details of daily living won its popularity with people of every class. The masters of Teitoku's school, finding their pupils deserting them for the new school, declared that Danrin *haikai* went against the sacred Way of Poetry, which enjoyed the blessings of the gods and Buddha, and even that Danrin's irreverence constituted a menace to the well-being of the nation. They could point, for example, to a Danrin verse in which Buddha was depicted in a privy, the victim of diarrhea. The Danrin poets, in demonstrating their emancipation from traditional ideas about linked-verse, often went to excess as in such an example. Danrin linked-verse could be composed very rapidly by several poets or even one talented man because it did not insist on any fixed number of syllables for a given link, thus removing virtually the last formal restriction. It may be imagined that the quality of much of the verse was very poor. The Danrin insistence on up-to-dateness also meant that their verse quickly became dated, if not quite unintelligible, in a few years' time. The allusions to contemporary life and literature which in its day won Danrin verse such popularity thus ultimately spelled its oblivion.

It was Bashō who saw the problem of rules versus freedom most clearly and solved it by his insistence that the poetry of his school embody both change and permanence. Change, or novelty, he felt to be the essence of *haikai* poetry, and the one thing which could keep it from becoming in time as stale as the conventional *waka* or linked-verse. For centuries the Japanese poets had been taught to imitate the writings of their predecessors; Bashō declared that in *haikai* there were no predecessors. His philosophy of poetry is perhaps best summarized in his advice to a pupil, "Do not seek to follow in the footsteps of the men of old; seek what they

sought!"² Here we have the most vivid example of the two principles of change and permanence. Bashō urged his pupil not to imitate, but at the same time to retain in mind the permanent objectives of poetry instead of frittering away his talents on the ephemeral subjects so dear to Danrin versifiers.

Bashō began life as a samurai, but renounced all privileges when he took up the career of a *haikai* master. He lived as a commoner and had nothing to do either with the emperor's court in Kyoto or the shogun's court in Edo (Tokyo). Nor did Bashō, like Sōgi and many other famous poets, become a Buddhist priest, although he dressed and in some ways acted like one. He likened himself to a bat, being "neither priest nor layman, bird nor rat, but something in between."³ His pupils included men of every walk of life from rich samurai and merchants down to poor farmers; the two for whom he showed the most affection were a criminal and a beggar. The democratic quality of his school was typical of the entire *haikai* movement, and explains in part why *haikai* poetry found adherents everywhere. Bashō's journeys around Japan, although usually made under difficult and even disagreeable circumstances, had something of the triumphal progress about them. Wherever he went Bashō found amateur poets who begged him to join in making a chain of *haikai* linked-verse. Even the man who led Bashō's horse across the fields surprised him by asking for a poem.

Bashō was famous both for his *haikai* linked-verse and for his *hokku*. The latter originally meant specifically the opening verse of a linked-verse series, and although it retained its potentiality of serving as the first link in a chain, it also developed into a complete and independent form, now usually called the *haiku*. Bashō's *haiku* covered a wide range of subjects. Nothing was too commonplace for him to treat, and nothing too sublime. Early in his career Bashō had mastered the Danrin techniques, and he remained capable of turning out a gay verse when he chose, but he is most renowned for the verses which show his warm sympathy and identification with the sights of nature and human life. The splash of a frog jumping into a pond, the sight of a monkey shivering in the wintry

² Bashō attributes this statement to Kūkai, who actually said, "In writing poetry, a study of the old forms is an excellent thing, but it is no mark of ability to copy old poems. In calligraphy too, it is good to imitate the old conceptions, but it is not a mark of skill to make one's writing resemble the old examples." *Shōryōshū* in *Kōhō Daishi zenshū*, III, 427.

³ *Kashima Kikō* in *Bashō Zenshū*, I.

rain, or of a grasshopper under the brazen helmet of some long dead warrior, or of a boatman smoking his pipe in the spring breeze—each became in his poetry a microcosm which suggested the macrocosm, a perception of universal truth from one essential detail. The connection between the art of Bashō's *haiku* and Zen Buddhism is particularly noteworthy.

Many of Bashō's best poems were composed while on a journey, the most important of which was the one to the northern part of Japan described in *The Narrow Road of Ōku*. Many poets before Bashō had traveled to see the cherry blossoms at Mt. Yoshino and other famous spots in the general area of Kyoto, but it remained for Bashō to celebrate the neglected northern half of the country. The lonely beauty of half-forgotten places attracted him far more than the gaiety of the cities, and he was constantly stirred by wanderlust. Bashō died on a journey, as he once had predicted. His last poem was:

Tabi ni yamite	Stricken on a journey
Yume wa karenō wo	My dreams through withered fields
Kakemawaru.	Go wandering still.

Among the many great successors of Bashō, Issa (1763–1828) was one of the most original and well-beloved. Unlike Sōgi, who rose from the lowest class to official recognition as the leading poet of the nation, or Bashō, who left the ranks of the samurai to lead the life he chose, Issa remained throughout his life a farmer. With Issa the many generations of anonymous peasant-poets at last found their authentic voice. Like them, but with genius, Issa wrote of sparrows, frogs, mosquitoes, fleas, spiders, and farmers, with extreme simplicity and great feeling. Everyone can understand Issa, and since his poetry comes from the two true sources, the heart and nature, it is no wonder that it is so loved by the Japanese people. With him the democracy of poetry attained universality.

Yasegaeru	Skinny frog,
Makeru na Issa	Don't give up!
Koko ni ari.	Issa is here.

Japanese peasants have not always been poets, by any means. There is a common saying among them: "It is better to work in the fields than to write poetry (*Shi o tsukuru yori, ta o tsukure*)."

But this homespun reminder that the bodily need for food comes ahead of aesthetic satisfactions would have little point among people with less of a flair for versi-

fication than the Japanese. Today at New Years thousands of humble folk still respond to the emperor's invitation to submit a poem (*waka*) on a theme he has selected for that year. During the Tanabata festival young girls still write poems on a thin streamer and attach them to a stalk of green bamboo, telling of their yearning for a lover. And virtually all daily newspapers have a section devoted to *haiku*. Japan is perhaps the only country in the world where poetry can be called a national pastime.

MATSUO BASHŌ

The Rustic Gate

Farewell words to Kyoroku, who was returning to his province¹
[From Ebara, *Bashō bunshū*, pp. 175-76]

It was just in the autumn of last year that, quite by chance, I met him, and already I am lamenting deeply our separation. One day, when the time of parting approached, he knocked at the door of my thatched hut, and we spent the whole day in quiet conversation.

Talented as he is, he loves both painting and *haikai* poetry. I asked him once as a test why he liked painting, and he said it was because of poetry. "And why do you love poetry?" "Because of painting." Two things he studied for one purpose. Indeed, since it is said that it is shameful for a gentleman to have many accomplishments,² it is admirable that he makes one use of the two arts.

In painting he was my teacher; in poetry I taught him and he was my disciple. My teacher's paintings are imbued with such profundity of spirit and executed with such marvelous dexterity that I could never approach their mysterious depths.

I said to him as we parted, "My poetry is like a stove in the summer or a fan in winter. It runs against the popular tastes and has no practical use. But there is much that is affecting even in the poems of Toshinari and Saigyō³ that were lightly tossed off. Did not the retired Emperor Go-

¹ Morikawa Kyoroku (1656-1715), a samurai from Hikone, was one of Bashō's favorite pupils.

² See *Analects*, IX, 6. "Does it befit a gentleman to have many accomplishments? No, he is in no need of them at all." (Tr. by Waley.)

³ Fujiwara no Toshinari (or Shunzei) (1114-1204) and the priest Saigyō (1118-90). The latter poet, together with Sōgi, were the earlier poets whom Bashō most admired.

Toba⁴ say of their poetry that it contained truth tinged with sorrow? Take strength from his words and follow unswervingly the narrow thread of the Way of Poetry. Do not seek to follow in the footsteps of the men of old; seek what they sought. That is what Kūkai wrote,⁵ and it is true of *haikai* poetry as well." Saying these words I lifted my lantern and showed him outside the rustic gate, where we parted.
Summer [1693]

KYORAI

Conversations with Bashō

The brevity and apparent simplicity of the 17-syllabled *haiku* led to its wide popularity in Japan, where only a very inarticulate person remained incapable of an extemporaneous verse. However, in the hands of its masters, the *haiku*, far from representing an impromptu reaction to the sights of nature, was usually a highly conscious form of verse, demanding compliance with exacting aesthetic principles. Bashō was famous not only as the supreme *haiku* poet, but as the foremost interpreter of its theories. His conversations with his pupil Kyorai (1651-1704) contain a fair sample of his critical views. Some of them are translated below.

The method employed by Kyorai in demonstrating various facets of the "Master's" opinions was to give a verse, either a *haiku* or a 14-syllabled "second-verse" (*waki*), and then report what the "Master" said about it. The editorial comments are intended to help elucidate special points.

[From Iwata, *Kyoraishō hyōkai*, pp. 14-67]

One of the ideals of the *haiku* was to have each word indispensable and inalterable. This was no doubt a product of the brevity of the form. In the following a critic suggests that the wording of a poem by Bashō might have been changed.

Yuku haru wo
Ōmi no hito to
Oshimikeru

The departing spring
With the men of Ōmi
Have I lamented.

Bashō

The Master said, "Shōhaku criticized this poem on the grounds that I might just as well have said 'Tamba' instead of 'Ōmi' or 'departing year'

⁴ The Emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239) was one of the best poets among the sovereigns of Japan.

⁵ See note 2, page 456.

instead of 'departing spring.' How does this criticism strike you?" Kyorai replied, "Shōhaku's criticism misses the mark completely. What could be more natural than to regret the passing of the spring, when the waters of the Lake of Ōmi are veiled so enchantingly in mist? Besides, it is especially fitting a poem for one who lives by the lake to have written." The Master said, "Yes, the poets of old loved spring in this province almost as much as in the capital." Kyorai, deeply struck by these words, continued, "If you were in Ōmi at the close of the year, why should you regret its passing? Or, if you were in Tamba at the end of spring, you would not be likely to have such a feeling. What truth there is in the poetry of a man who has genuinely been stirred by some sight of Nature!" The Master said, "Kyorai, you are a person with whom I can talk about poetry." He was very pleased. [p. 14]

. . . .

Haiku poets, particularly of the schools before Bashō, often erred in the direction of excessive ingenuity in their choice of words. Kakei's verse, though here criticized by Bashō, may appeal to modern readers more than Kyorai's.

Kogarashi ni
Futsuka no tsuki no
Fukichiru ka

Will the two-day moon
Be blown from the sky
By the winter wind?

Kakei

Kogarashi no
Chi ni mo otosanu
Shigure ka na

Kept by the winter wind
From falling to earth—
The drizzling rain.

Kyorai

Kyorai said, "I feel that Kakei's verse is far superior to mine. By asking if it will be 'blown from the sky' he makes his mention of the two-day moon all the more clever." Bashō answered, "Kakei's verse is built around the words 'two-day moon.' Take away the 'two-day moon' and there is nothing left to the poem. It is not apparent on what you based your poem. It is good all around." [p. 19]

. . . .

Kiyotaki ya
Nami ni chiri naki
Natsu no tsuki

Clear cascades!
In the waves immaculate,
The summer moon.

Bashō

One day when the Master was lying on his sickbed in Osaka, he called me to him and said, "This verse resembles one I composed not long ago at Sonome's house:

Shiragiku no	The white chrysanthemum
Me ni tatete miru	Even when lifted to the eye
Chiri mo nashi	Remains immaculate.

Bashō

I have therefore changed the 'Clear cascades' verse to:

Kiyotaki ya	Clear cascades!
Nami ni chirikomu	Into the waves scatter
Aomatsuba	Blue pine-needles.

Bashō

The rough draft of the original version must be in Yamei's house. Please destroy it." But it was too late—the poem had already appeared in several collections.

This example demonstrates what pains Bashō took with every verse, master though he was. [p. 22]

. . . .

The Monkey's Cloak (*Sarumino*) was a collection of verse by Bashō and members of his school, published in 1691. In the following excerpt Bashō is struck by the words 'skylark of Akashi' because of the graceful allusion to another poem.

Omokaji ya	Port the helm!
Akashi no tomari	There, by Akashi harbor,
Hototogisu	A skylark!

Takei

This poem was being considered for inclusion in *The Monkey's Cloak*. Kyorai said, "It is just like the Master's

No wo yoko ni	Across the fields
Uma hikimuke yo	Turn the horse's head—
Hototogisu	A skylark!

Bashō

It should not be included." The Master said, "The 'skylark of Akashi' is not a bad image." Kyorai replied, "I don't know about the 'skylark of Akashi,' but the poem merely substitutes a boat for a horse. It shows no originality." The Master commented, "He hasn't made any advance in the

conception of the verse, but you may include it or not as you please on the basis of the Akashi skylark." We finally did not include it. [p. 25]

. . . .

Kyorai's poem has been interpreted as referring to himself, older but less talented than most of Bashō's pupils—"a back number." The question here treated is how openly emotional a poem may be.

Furumai ya	The attitudes they strike!
Shimoza ni naoru	I straighten on the lower shelf
Kozo no hina	Last year's dolls.

Kyorai

I wrote this verse because of the special meaning it had for me. For the first line I had at first tried "the old court cap" or else "the paper cloak," but they left nothing to the imagination, and mentioning the doll's costume obscured my underlying thought. On the other hand, an expression like "how pitiable!" or "how unfortunate!" was too feeble. When, having finally hit on the present opening line, I asked the Master about it, he replied, "If you really insist on putting your heart into the first line, you ought to say something like Shintoku's 'Ah, the world of men!' Your 'attitudes they strike' is not quite right, but it will do." [p. 28]

. . . .

Iga was Bashō's native place and he took a special interest in its poets.

Ta no heri no	Along the borders of the fields
Mame tsutai yuku	Following the bean plants
Hotaru ka na	Go the fireflies.

Banko

This verse was originally one by Bonchō which the Master had corrected. When we were compiling *The Monkey's Cloak*, Bonchō remarked, "This verse has nothing special to recommend it. Let's leave it out." Kyorai answered, "The lights of the fireflies following the bean plants at the edge of a field splendidly evoke a dark night." But Bonchō was not convinced by my words. The Master said, "If Bonchō throws it away, I'll pick it up! It fortunately happens that one of the Iga poets has a similar verse which I can modify into this one." Thus it finally appeared as Banko's poem. [p. 29]

The art of making a *haiku* from a trifling incident.

Kiraretaru
Yume wa makoto ka
Nomi no ato

Stabbed to death!
Was my dream true?
The marks of a flea.

Kikaku

Kyorai said, "Kikaku is really a clever writer. Who else would ever have thought of writing a poem merely about being bitten by a flea?" The Master said, "You're quite right. He's the Prince Teika of the *haiiku*. He deals with trifling matters in a most grandiloquent way." This criticism seemed to me to describe Kikaku's art completely. [p. 35]

Ototoi wa
Ano yama koetsu
Hanazakari

The day before yesterday
I crossed the mountain over there—
With the full bloom of the cherry.

Kyorai

I wrote this verse two or three years before *The Monkey's Cloak* was compiled. At the time the Master told me, "I doubt whether anyone will appreciate this verse now. You'll have to wait a year or two." Later he wrote me on his journey with Tokoku to Yoshino, "My mind has been so dominated now by one poem about the cherry blossoms of Yoshino and now by another, each of which so completely describes the scene, that I myself have not written a single verse at Yoshino. All I do every day as I go along is to recite your 'The day before yesterday I crossed the mountain over there.'" The poem was acclaimed when I later read it to other people. How did the Master know that it would be popular in a year or two? I for one never dreamt it. [p. 36]

Bashō likens himself to a wild duck stricken while in flight; a fisherman's hearth has not only crickets but shrimps.

Yamu kari no
Yosamu ni ochite
Tabine ka na

A sick wild duck
Falling in the evening cold—
These traveler's lodgings!

Bashō

Ama no ya wa
Koebi ni majiru
Itodo ka na

The fisherman's hut—
Mixed with little shrimps
Some crickets!

Bashō

When we were compiling *The Monkey's Cloak* we were asked to choose one of these two poems for inclusion. Bonchō said, "The verse about the sick wild duck is good, but the other about the crickets mixing with the little shrimps has a freshness which makes it truly outstanding." Kyorai answered, "The verse about the shrimps is unusual, but had I thought of the scene in the fisherman's hut I could have written it myself. The one about the wild duck, on the other hand, is so noble in tone, so subtly perceptive, that I wonder how anyone could have conceived it." After some discussion we finally asked permission to include both verses. The Master later said laughing, "You seem to have argued yourselves into thinking that a sick duck and a little shrimp have about equal value." [pp. 37-38]

. . . .

In the attempt to make the *haiku* as suggestive as possible, deliberately ambiguous language was often used. Here, however, Bashō discovers a meaning in Kyorai's poem which the author did not think of.

Iwahana ya
Koko ni mo hitori
Tsuki no kyaku

The tips of the crags—
Here too is someone,
Guest of the moon.

Kyorai

Kyorai said, "Shadō thinks that the last line should be 'monkey of the moon,' but I think that 'guest' is better." The Master asked, "How can he suggest such a word as 'monkey'? What had you in mind when you wrote the poem?" Kyorai answered, "One night, when I was walking in the mountains by the light of the harvest moon, composing poetry as I went along, I noticed another poet standing by the crags." The Master said, "How much more interesting a poem it would be if by the lines 'Here too is someone, guest of the moon' you meant yourself. You must be the subject of the verse." [pp. 39-40]

. . . .

Shimokyō was a very quiet district of Kyoto.

Shimokyō ya
Yuki tsumu ue no
Yo no ame

Shimokyōl
On the piled-up snow
The night rain.

Bonchō

This verse at first lacked an opening line, and everyone from the Master downwards tried to think of one. At length the Master settled on the above line. Bonchō said "yes" to it, but still didn't seem satisfied. The Master said, "Bonchō, why don't you think of a better opening line? If you do, I'll never write another *haiku*!" Kyorai said, "Anyone can see how good a line it is, but it's not so easy to appreciate that no other line would do. If members of some other school of poetry heard what you said, they would think that you were ridiculously self-assured, and they would make up any number of opening lines. But the ones which they considered to be good would seem laughably bad to us." [p. 43]

. . . .

The difference in subjects suited to the classical *waka* and the *haiku*.

Inoshishi no	Is that the path
Ne ni yuku kata ya	The wild boar travels to his lair?
Ake no tsuki	The moon at dawning.

Kyorai

When I asked the Master what he thought of this verse he pondered for a long time without saying whether it was good or bad. I mistakenly thought that, master though he was, he didn't know how hunters wait at night for a boar to return to his lair at dawn, and I explained it all to him in great detail. Then he remarked, "The interest of that sight was familiar even to the poets of former times. That is why we have the *waka*:

Akenu to te	Now that it has dawned
Nobe yori yama ni	A wind from the clover
Iru shika no	Wafts away the spoor
Ato fukiokuru	Of the deer returning
Ogi no uwakaze	From the fields to their mountains.

When a subject can be treated even within the elegant framework of the *waka*, there does not seem to be much point in giving within the freer compass of the *haiku* so prosy a description. The reason why I stopped to think for a while was that the verse seemed somehow interesting and I was wondering if something couldn't be done with it. But I fear it's hopeless." [pp. 44-45]

. . . .

Kyorai takes Bashō too literally.

Yūsuzumi
Senki okoshite
Kaerikeri

The evening cool—
I got lumbago
And went back home.

Kyorai

When I was first studying the *haiku* I asked the Master how to write an opening verse. He replied, "It must be written firmly and clearly." As a test of my abilities I composed the above verse. When I asked his opinion of it, he gave a great laugh and said, "You still haven't got the idea!" [p. 54]

* * * *

The importance of using words exactly appropriate to the season of *haiku*.

Ume ni suzume no
Eda no hyaku nari

In the plum tree the swallows
Form countless clusters on the
branches.

Kyorai

This was a "second-verse" composed at the New Year. The Master heard it while he was at his retreat in Fukagawa. He commented, "Plum blossoms are a sight of the second month. Kyorai, how ever did you make the mistake of using that image in a New Year's poem?" [p. 62]

* * * *

Detchi ga ninau
Mizu koboshikeri

The water the apprentice
Was carrying spilled over.

Bonchō

At first he used the word "nightsoil." Bonchō asked, "Is it permissible to mention urine and nightsoil in a poem?" The Master replied, "You need not avoid mentioning them. You should not do so more than twice in a hundred verses, and it is quite all right if they aren't mentioned at all." Bonchō changed it to "water." [p. 64]

* * * *

On the need for sharpness in the imagery of a *haiku*.

Tsuma yobu kiji no
Mi wo hosō suru

The pheasant calling his mate
Draws in his body.

Kyorai

At first it was "The pheasant calling his mate confusedly cries." The Master said, "Kyorai, don't you know even that much about poetry? A

poem should have shape. If you say the same thing in the way I suggest your poem will have shape." [p. 65]

. . . .

Bashō's techniques in linked-verse demonstrated: by evoking the excitement caused by the blossoming of the cherry tree he gives a most dramatic picture of the arrival of spring in a dark wood.

Kuromite takaki
Kashi no ki no mori

Somber and tall
The forest of oaks

Saku hana ni
Chiisaki mon wo
Detsu iritsu

In and out
Through the little gate
To the cherry blossoms.

Bashō

When the former verse was given, I thought how difficult it would be to add a verse about cherry blossoms without losing the image of the forest of oaks. When I asked the Master to add a verse, this was how he did it. [p. 67]



CHAPTER XXI

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RATIONALISM

As Japan moved into the eighteenth century the Tokugawa Shogunate was already a century old, with its power and prestige firmly established and its policy of peace enforcement a proven success. The country was entering a stage of economic and cultural prosperity which brought an outburst of intellectual activity and originality unprecedented in Japan's long history. Despite the shogunate's adherence to a seclusion policy, the events of the late sixteenth century leading up to its adoption had also left indelibly printed on many Japanese minds the vision of a new and larger world in which the West played so dynamic a part. At the same time the official program of instruction based upon Chu Hsi's philosophy, which for almost a century had been spreading its influence throughout the land, greatly stimulated scholarly study in general, sometimes along lines not anticipated by its Tokugawa sponsors. Furthermore in the port cities and towns around the feudal castles the growing merchant class, restricted by the lack of opportunities for overseas trade, tended to develop new outlets for their energies and talents at home. There, as patrons of men like the novelist Saikaku, the poet Bashō, and the playwright Chikamatsu, they assisted in giving birth to a variety of popular arts which richly displayed the increasing wealth and culture of the people. In some instances these merchants and their fast-growing towns also contributed materially to the development of independent thinkers and scholars.

One epoch-making development in peaceful eighteenth-century Japan was the successful construction of a new calendar by an official commission of scholars, working with new methods similar to those then in use in the West. It had been the fond dream of Yoshimune (1684-1751) to issue a calendar using the services of his newly built observatory, and great satisfaction was expressed in the proclamation of a new era name, Precious Calendar (*Hōreki*) in 1751. The satisfaction was doubly felt

because it meant that the Japanese no longer had to rely on the Chinese for what was considered to be the almost sacred duty of calendar making.

The newly awakened sense of cultural independence was far reaching in its effect. As the eighteenth century brought to full flower the needs of independent, and particularly scientific, thought sown in the preceding period, along with this there was a steady rise in both rationalistic and nationalistic thinking. The latter trend is dealt with in other sections. Here we can offer only a few examples of the growing rationalism in this period. One is Tominaga Nakamoto (1715-1746), the son of an Osaka merchant, whose name is associated with an original method of historical criticism. Another is Miura Baien (1723-1789), a rural physician in Kyushu, under no feudal bond, who carried on in the tradition of Kaibara Ekken. Ekken, another Kyushu man, had brought Chu Hsi's spirit of objective investigation into the open field of nature, regarding the study of man and nature as one. Baien went further to insist that man cannot be understood except in terms of nature, and that nature can only be understood if man divests himself of his anthropocentric point of view. The third representative is Kaiho Seiryō (1755-1817), who was born by the shores of the Japan Sea, and came from a warrior family of good standing but renounced his hereditary status to become a teacher among merchants and farmers. He argued in favor of the realistic study of the laws governing social and economic behavior as against the narrowly ethical approach of the traditional Confucianist.

None of these three figures had a wide influence in his own time and none can be considered representative of the eighteenth century as a whole. They are, rather, symptomatic of an intellectual ferment that threatened eventually to break down the narrow limits within which the Tokugawa and their Neo-Confucian advisers had sought to confine Japanese thinking. It is true that this trend toward greater independence in thought, which had risen steadily throughout the eighteenth century, was partly checked by a shogunal decree of 1790 known as the Prohibition of Heterodox Studies. Nevertheless the fact that such a prohibition was felt to be a matter of urgent necessity indicates in itself the extent to which independent minds were active and articulate by the end of the century.

Before turning to these more striking cases of independent thought, however, we shall do well to observe how, in the person of a far more

widely recognized scholar and statesman, Arai Hakuseki, the rationalistic tendency received great impetus from within the ranks of orthodox Confucianism. This will serve as a reminder of the fact, sometimes lost sight of in connection with the growing revolt against Chu Hsi orthodoxy, that this rationalistic temper of mind owes more to the Neo-Confucianism it sought to displace than to any other single influence in Japanese thought. Neo-Confucianism itself provided the instruments with which its disciples gained their intellectual freedom.

THE ENLIGHTENED CONFUCIANISM OF ARAI HAKUSEKI

A samurai whose family was greatly reduced in circumstances, Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725) was independent enough twice to decline offers of marriage into wealthy families and high-minded enough to decline a lucrative post in favor of a former classmate who needed it more. Endowed with a brilliant mind and striking appearance (he is described as having eyes that flashed like lightning and a mustache stiff as spears), Arai eventually rose high in the service of the shogunate court. First as mentor to the sixth shogun, Ienobu, and then as adviser to his successor, Ietsugu, Arai became the chief architect of government policy and temporarily deprived the Hayashi family of their function as top consultants to the Tokugawa in educational and cultural matters. Ietsugu, however, died prematurely in 1715 (at the age of eight). When Yoshimune came in as the eighth shogun, Arai was summarily dismissed in favor of the conservative Muro Kyūsō.

During his six years in power, from 1709 to 1715, Arai distinguished himself as a statesman who attempted to bring some kind of order and sense into the Tokugawa administration. One of his chief accomplishments was the systematic revision of the basic law of the shogunate, the Laws Governing the Military Households (*Buke Hatto*), to make them less rhetorical and more practical (See Chapter XV). Another was reform of the currency, which had been seriously debased in the previous administration of Tsunayoshi. Along with this he instituted for the first time a system of budgeting and accounting to bring order out of the chaos of Tokugawa finances. Finally, to stabilize the currency he tried

to stop the drain on gold and silver caused by what he considered the one-sided trade at Nagasaki. Arai's solution, however, was not to free Japan from the self-imposed limitations of the seclusion policy, so as to develop an export trade which would balance imports from the Chinese and Dutch. Rather he favored even more stringent controls over the Nagasaki trade to limit its volume and prevent bootlegging, adhering strictly to the traditional Sino-Confucian policy of discouraging, regulating, and monopolizing foreign trade.

Nevertheless among the growing number of Confucian scholars in a secluded Japan, Hakuseki was almost the only one who sensed that his country was now called upon to play a part in a larger world. Ahead of all other shogunal officials he realized that in its dealings with foreign countries, Japan must be represented as a sovereign state and that the unresolved conflict in authority between the shogunate at Edo and the imperial court at Kyoto must somehow be settled. At the same time, as a thoroughgoing Confucianist, he believed that social order and political authority rested upon a clearly defined hierarchy and a unified system of social and ceremonial observances reflecting that hierarchical order. To achieve such unity in Japan he proposed that the heir to the shogunate be married to an imperial princess, and that all ceremonial practices at Edo conform to the Kyoto model. Also, he settled for a time at least the delicate question: how are foreign embassies to address the shogun, in such a way as to indicate that he is the *de facto* ruler of Japan without challenging the nominal rule of the emperor? Hakuseki instructed them to use the term "king" (*ō*), which in Chinese usage signified an autonomous ruler who acknowledges the suzerainty of the emperor (and which often can best be translated "prince"), while it also connoted all of the moral authority associated with the ancient sage-kings.

It is one of the paradoxes of Neo-Confucianism in Japan that, much as it encouraged nationalism by its stress on loyalty to the ruler and hostility to barbarians, among its abler adherents this tendency was offset by the very fact of their appreciation of things Chinese (indeed this was held against them as proof of disloyalty by the more narrow-minded Shintoists). This circumstance set a limit to xenophobia among Japanese Confucianists and distinguished them from their Chinese confreres whose ethnocentrism was not similarly modified by an appreciation of another

culture such as the Japanese. Here the case of Arai Hakuseki is highly illustrative, for as a scholar he typifies this cosmopolitan spirit and breadth of mind. With the installation of Yoshimune, a staunch reactionary who had faith only in the traditional Tokugawa policy of a divided court and narrow isolationism, Arai was forced to retire and spend the rest of his life in political oblivion. For a man of his tremendous energy and industry such enforced idleness could have been a calamity, but for Arai it provided an opportunity for study and writing which established him as a scholar of the first rank. As his collected works indicate, he wrote voluminously on a wide range of subjects, such as language (treating Korean, Chinese, and even Dutch, as well as his own), historical archeology, geography (including the Ryukyus, the land of the Ainus, and also Europe), and sociological case studies on artisans, artists, stage actors, etc., as well as on political, legal, economic, and religious institutions. In the field of history, his major interest, he produced the first complete historical gazetteer of the feudal domains, the *Hankampu: Essays on Political History* (*Dokushi-yoron*), famous for its evolutionistic viewpoint; *The Understanding of Ancient History* (*Koshi-tsū*), a study of the so-called Divine Age of Japanese history in terms of rationalistic humanism; and his own incomparable autobiography *Oritaku shibanoki*.

As a letter to one of his disciples indicates, Arai's consuming interest in his old age was to write a new Japanese history, different from either Hayashi's *General History of Our State* (*Honchō-tsugan*) or Mitsukuni's history later known as the *History of Great Japan* (*Dai-Nihon-shi*). For Arai, Hayashi's work is no more than a chronological compilation of administrative records, akin to the Six National Chronicles of early Japan. It is conspicuously lacking in coordination of the social, economic, and cultural factors in history. Mitsukuni's history, not yet completed but widely heralded, conceived of Japanese history as autonomous, with the seclusion or isolation idea quite pronounced both in arrangement and content. To set forth his own conception of Japanese history Arai started a series of historical essays entitled *Problems of History* (*Shigi*) emphasizing the coordination of many different factors in the making of history, and also viewing Japan in the general frame of East Asia and to some extent of the world at large. Unfortunately these essays have been lost, except for a few that found shelter in his posthumously collected miscellaneous essays.

ARAI HAKUSEKI

A Critical Approach to Japanese History

In this letter to Sakuma Dōgan, Arai Hakuseki discusses his aims as a historian, his dissatisfaction with the Mito historians' uncritical acceptance of traditional accounts, and the need for objective research. He also reflects upon his public career and its aftermath.

[From *Arai Hakuseki zenshū*, V, 517-20]

You are very kind to inquire about my writings. . . . As to *The Understanding of Ancient History* (*Koshi-tsū*), it has little appeal for ordinary men; but it is likely to startle people and arouse suspicion. It is a modern interpretation of the Divine Age. Only one copy of it was made, and that was taken to Kaga. *The Manual of Government Precedents* (*Keisei-tenrei*) is a compilation which can be kept anywhere without any trouble arising over it. I will have the pages counted very soon; if I remember correctly, it consists of twelve volumes. The collected *Policies and Acts of Government* (*Hōsaku*) was written partly for my own amusement; its loss would not be serious. As I had finished most of what concerned my own self, I started last year to deal with debatable points in our national history under the title *Problems of History* (*Shigi*), putting it in the form of questions and answers. Early last winter I was able in three chapters to discuss the accounts in the *Nihongi*'s two chapters on the Age of the Gods, as well as the *Kujihongi* and *Kojiki*, insofar as they corroborated or conflicted with one another. Minor problems are left out and only major issues discussed. Of the three volumes, one is a general review of *Kujihongi*, *Kojiki*, and *Nihongi*, together with the six national chronicles; and in the other two volumes problems of the Divine Age are treated. My hope is that they will clarify the position I took when I wrote *The Understanding of Ancient History* (*Koshi-tsū*). . . . After the Age of the Gods was finished, I moved on to the reign of the emperors. Because of illness, however, I will need more time to finish it. If I survive the illness and become strong enough to resume work, I am hoping to finish the parts covered in the *Nihongi*, though the present state of my health does not warrant such optimism.

I have been expecting that the history of our country being undertaken at Mito would correct errors in the national chronicles, but through

contact with the staff of the Mito Historical Commission, I have found that all ancient events are to be left as described in the *Nihongi*, *Shoku Nihongi*, and other chronicles. If that is the case, the true history of Japan, as far as I can see and prejudiced as I may be in that, will be left unwritten.

Japanese sources on this period are scarce, it is true, but in the Chinese histories, starting with the *History of the Latter Han Dynasty*, there are accounts dealing with our country and much accurate information is given. This is regarded, however, as so much hearsay and prevarication coming from foreign sources, and is passed over without any scrutiny or study. Then again, the three Han States of Korea were overseas domains of our country for four hundred years, and their records often confirm or supplement our information, but they are similarly disregarded. Thus the Mito historians rely on the *Chronicles*, nothing but the *Chronicles*; and so the history of our country is turning into an account of dreams told in a dream. This old man's *Problems of History*, even if he only succeeds in completing the discussion to the end of the *Nihongi*, will serve as a reliable record of the facts. Its completion, however, is simply up to the will of Heaven. When young, I may have conceived a plan, but lacked the ability to execute it; in middle age, official responsibilities left me no time; and in old age, when I have had the leisure for it, my mind has lost its vigor and everything is running against my expectations.

Concerning Chinese history and Confucianism there are almost too many books to be studied. In Japan, however, there are no books that give a critical examination of historical facts and serve a practical purpose in government. So wretched has been the state of historical writing that I was roused to do something about it, but the circumstances are such as to preclude any hope of success. Something might be accomplished if other scholars were invited to join hands in the project, but in my old age I am not inclined to do this. Last year it so happened that Mito sent me a message encouraging me to launch this undertaking, but in my reply I discouraged them, adding that it would do no good to them and no good to myself. . . .

Men customarily wish to be known for their scholarship and good reputation, but since my reputation for scholarship reached China, Korea, the Ryukyus, and even Holland, visitors from those countries occasionally

asked how I was faring, and their interest in me was one cause of my misfortunes. In view of my advanced age, I have had to consider how my children and grandchildren might suffer from this. Now for seven or eight years I have tried to stay out of the limelight, and I am told that my critics are decreasing in number. For these reasons I am extremely reluctant to let my writings appear in public. Frankly, I am entrusting myself to the judgment of men a century or two after my death.

A Superstition Concerning Era Names

In East Asian countries great significance was attached to the choice of the names by which periods of imperial rule were identified, since these era names were regarded as "signs of the times." Hayashi Hōkō, minister of education by hereditary succession, cited Chinese authorities of the Ming dynasty in his successful attempt to have the Chinese character meaning "correct" or "true" declared taboo in era names, on the ground that it had brought bad luck to previous rulers who used it. This passage from Arai Hakuseki's autobiography argues in the name of Confucian rationalism against such a superstitious interpretation.

[From *Arai Hakuseki zenshū*, III, 127-30]

It is true that Chinese of the Ming dynasty have asserted, in connection with the choice of era names, that inasmuch as misfortune has been the lot of those eras which have had the ideograph *shō* [meaning "correct," "true"] in their designations, this ideograph should be debarred from use. Indeed, the same argument appears in works other than those cited by Nobuatsu (Hōkō). Nevertheless this does not represent the thinking of a true gentleman.¹ Whether a state rises or falls, whether a ruler enjoys long life or suffers untimely death, depends either upon the will of Heaven or on the actions of men. Fortune or misfortune does not come from the use of particular words in an era name. . . .

An era name does not differ from the designation for a month. . . . If the use of the ideograph *shō* in an era name augurs ill, its use in a month name must likewise augur ill. But from the days of the ancient sages to our own time, the first month of the year has always been known as the *shō* month. Confucius, speaking of the "four beginnings" in his *Spring and Autumn Annals*, refers to the *shō* month as the beginning of the year. If the ideograph *shō* is indeed an unlucky word, there has

¹ That is, a man with a sense of moral responsibility, who does not resort to superstition in explaining his failures and misfortunes.

never been an auspicious year, for every year of every dynasty since Confucius' time has started with a *shō* month. This should be obvious enough to all, but if anyone considers my argument to be trifling I should still like to be told why the ideograph *shō* is unlucky in era names and not so in month names. . . .

Ever since the adoption of era names in our country the events of era after era, if examined closely, may be seen to include both lucky and unlucky events, and no matter what the character used in era names, each has endured misfortunes. The reason is that for both China and Japan era names have been changed with the appearance of heavenly signs or earthly calamities, such as floods, droughts, and epidemics. Thus, none of the ideographs which have been adopted in era names has been entirely free of unfortunate associations. If names brought misfortune, it would be best to return to the ancient custom of using none. But even in remote antiquity when era names were not used either in China or Japan, states rose and fell and rulers enjoyed long life or suffered untimely death era after era. Further, I have met with men from Italy, Holland, and other lands who say that only two or three countries use era names, and that the rest do not, speaking rather in terms of so many thousands and hundreds of years since the creation of the world. Yet, few countries in Europe in the past twenty years have escaped upheavals caused by the death of rulers and struggles for succession. Last winter and this spring, they said, many have been killed in war. How do you account for such disasters? Even if era names are not used, decline and destruction are inevitable when heaven so decrees or men fail to conduct themselves properly.

On the Regulation of Shipping and Trade at Nagasaki

In his autobiography *Oritaku shibanoki* Arai gives the following account of the measures which he recommended for the strict control of shipping and cargoes at Nagasaki, in order to eliminate bootlegging and the steady drain of gold and silver from Japan. Here his restrictive policy is typical of the traditional Sino-Confucian concern for economic control at the expense of economic expansion.

[From *Arai Hakuseki zenshū*, III, 166-68]

During the spring of this year, in the second month, the opinions of the Port Commissioner and other local officials of Nagasaki were sought

regarding the shortage of copper coins for foreign trade. As there was nothing worthy of official adoption in the written reports submitted by them I was assigned to write out and submit a set of revised regulations along the lines suggested during the rule of the former shogun [Ienobu, d. 1712]. These regulations which I drafted contained 211 articles in approximately eight rolls. . . .

I am not going to say anything about the events which occurred before the present dynasty of shoguns. In 1601 there was no regulation on foreign ships coming here to trade. This was at a time when Ming China maintained strict prohibitions against overseas trade, especially during the Wan-li era (1573-1620). Thus, Chinese ships were not seen here as they are now.¹ Only Western ships cast their anchor at Nagasaki. At the beginning of the Kan'ei era (1624-1644) when the order was issued that foreign ships should come to Nagasaki to trade, Dutch ships continued to anchor at Hirado in the province of Hizen. Toward the end of the Kan'ei era the Dutch ships began to anchor at Nagasaki.² There were also some local lords and merchants who requested crimson seals³ and dispatched trading vessels abroad, but these ventures were stopped in 1634. During these days there was no regulation as to the number of foreign ships coming here or the volume of trade permitted. In 1685 the regulation was first made that trade with the Chinese should be limited to 6,000 *kan*⁴ in silver and with the Dutch to 50,000 *ryō*⁵ in gold. Then in 1688 the number of Chinese ships permitted to trade was set at 70. This was due to the fact that the number of Chinese ships arriving in Japan had reached 200, following the lifting of trade restrictions in China during the reign of the K'ang-hsi emperor. Since it was possible after 1695 to use copper as a medium of exchange in addition to silver, ten more Chinese ships were allowed to come to Japan after 1698, thus increasing the number of Chinese ships to 80 and the volume of Chinese trade by 2,000 *kan* in copper in addition to the amount per-

¹ The ban was not, in fact, wholly effective and some Chinese ships did come to Japanese ports. Arai is not too well informed concerning the situation in the early seventeenth century, and his statements are sometimes erroneous or misleading.

² Actually the Dutch had put in at Nagasaki before, but at this time were confined to the use of this port exclusively.

³ Those authorized to trade with foreign countries received a patent bearing the crimson seal of the Shogun.

⁴ One *kan* of silver was about 8¼ lbs.

⁵ At this time the *ryō* was roughly equal to a half ounce.

mitted in silver. As the number of Chinese ships permitted to trade was fixed, all ships in excess of the fixed number were called "cargoes to be sent home" and were not allowed to trade. Moreover, as ships even within the specified number were permitted to trade only to the extent of 160 *kan* per ship, in accordance with the regulations limiting trade, there have been ships which returned emptyhanded and without profit, notwithstanding the great bulk of cargo they had brought, the great distance they had traveled or the great dangers they had faced. Thus, they tried to dispose of their merchandise in any manner they could, even at the risk of violating the law. As for our merchants, they too sought to purchase in any manner possible the "cargoes to be sent home," for buying legal cargo entailed payment of high commissions and the incurring of heavy expenses with resulting low profits. Thus, the volume of illicit trade increased from year to year. (This trade and illegal cargo were known variously as "outside trade," "trading through brokers," "chance goods," and "chance trading.")

During the reign of the last shogun the Port Commissioner's Office in Nagasaki was ordered to find out the volume of gold, silver, and copper spent in Nagasaki for foreign trade. The records for the 46-year period from 1601 to 1647 are lacking. In the sixty years that followed—from 1648 to 1708—2,397,600 *ryō* of gold and 374,229 *kan* of silver flowed out of the country. As for copper there are no data for the 61-year period prior to 1662, but in the 44-year period from 1663 to 1707, the total reached 1,114,498,700 catties (*kin*). These figures, which come from the records of the Nagasaki Port Commissioner, represent only the trade of Nagasaki. But trade was not limited to Nagasaki. As stated elsewhere foreign ships stopped at various places to trade just as our ships go to various ports in foreign countries to trade. Thus, we cannot estimate the volume of export trade, as for example to Korea via Tsushima, or to the Ryukyu Islands via Satsuma.

If an estimate is made on the basis of reports submitted by the Nagasaki Commissioner as to the volume of gold and silver lost to foreign countries for the 107-year period since the *Keichō* era (1596-1615), and if that figure is compared with the amount of gold and silver coined in our country for the same period, it would indicate that one-fourth of the gold and three-fourths of the silver had been lost.⁶ At this rate half the

⁶ Arai's estimates have been strongly questioned by Yosaburo Takekoshi in his *Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, Vol. II, ch. LIV.

gold will be lost in another hundred years while the silver supply for use in our country will be completely lost before another century. As for copper, there is a shortage not only in meeting the present needs of foreign trade but also to meet our country's annual expenditures. Thus, treasures of permanent value which our country produces are being diverted in exchange for curios of momentary value which come from afar. It must be realized that such commercial dealings are against our national interest and prestige. If payment abroad is necessary for the purchase of medicines and books, an estimate should be made of the current need for them in our country and the annual production of them in other countries, and a limit fixed on the annual payment to be made for such products at Nagasaki, Tsushima and Satsuma. I cannot understand the purpose of only limiting the annual volume of gold, silver, and copper to be used for foreign trade at Nagasaki. Even if such a limit is set, private, illicit trade will continue unchecked unless the number of ships and the cargo of each ship are also regulated. Therefore, I suggest that an estimate be made of the annual production of gold, silver, and copper in our country as well as of their volume of flow into foreign countries; then fix an annual limit on their use for foreign trade. A record should also be kept of the number of foreign ships arriving here and of the volume of cargo which they carry, and a limit fixed as to their numbers and volume of cargo. If such cargoes are purchased in their entirety we shall neither lose our national treasures in illicit trade as in the past, nor will foreigners continue to defy our country's laws. Our national prestige will prevail far and wide and our national wealth will prove adequate for all time.

THE HISTORICAL RELATIVISM OF TOMINAGA NAKAMOTO

Osaka, where Tominaga Nakamoto (1715-1746) was born, had something of a reputation for independence and individual initiative. It was there, at the end of the Middle Ages, that a militant Buddhist organization had asserted its independence by resisting the attacks of Nobunaga for nearly a decade. Subsequently Osaka had been proud to serve as headquarters for the ambitious Hideyoshi in his heyday of power; and even after the triumph of Ieyasu, it was the first city to recoup its economic fortunes, win a measure of self-rule from its Tokugawa masters, and lead

in the development of a new bourgeois culture. Here Saikaku's novels were written, with sex and money as their leading themes, and here Chikamatsu's dramas, with their love triangles and suicides, filled theatres to capacity. At Osaka too, in 1726, the Shogun Yoshimune saw an opportunity to start a Confucian educational center, with financial support from the merchants of the town. And it was from this new center that the son of one such enterprising merchant struck out on his own, against formidable opposition from many quarters, to explore the past.

Tominaga, who passed away at the age of thirty-one after a protracted illness aggravated by persecution and penury, did not live to write the complete history of Japan that he had in mind. Apparently much of his writing was lost as a result of the Prohibition Act of 1790, according to which it would have been classed as non-conforming and dangerous. But fortunately two of his important works, the *Historical Survey of Buddhism* (*Shutsujō kōgo*) and the *Testament of an Old Man* (*Okina no fumi*) preserve for us something of his original historical method. Another work, now lost, *Failings of the Classical Philosophers* (*Seppai*), seems to have been a critical examination of Chinese thought in the pre-Ch'in period. That it was an outspoken and provocative piece is certain, for it started the stone of persecution rolling over him before he was twenty. Not only did it lead to his expulsion from the Confucian school his father had helped to establish, but it also forced the young man out of his father's home. Thereafter he managed to earn a meager living at the Zen Monastery of Uji, working as a proofreader of the newly edited *Tripitaka*. This afforded him an opportunity for testing his historical method and textual criticism in the field of Buddhism. The *Historical Survey* was a result. At that time there were thirteen Buddhist sects with sixty-three subdivisions established throughout the nation, and as Tominaga's historical analysis left none of them unscathed, a great furor arose over it. "The rise of the sects and denominations is due to everybody's striving for 'advancement,'" he writes in the second chapter of his *Historical Survey*. "It is an effort to promote a certain teaching by making an additional contribution of one's own, without which religion would never spread. In the past as in the present, it is the nature of religion to develop in this way. Students of later times, however, consider that all religions were the same originally as they are found to be

in later transmission, unaware that a great many innovations and reforms have taken place." Elsewhere (in paragraph 9 of the *Testament*) he says that in all historical religions the authority of the founders is appealed to by followers seeking to rise above or push beyond those who preceded them. That is the rule and not the exception, and it is the reason why, in the study of religion, historical criticism is indispensable. It is not difficult to see in this the logical extension to other schools of thought of the critical method Ogyū Sorai advocated for the study of Confucianism.

As criteria for textual criticism, Tominaga gives three "things" and five "categories." "My method of study emphasizes three things by which all human discourse can be properly understood," he writes. "As long as one's approach is made through these three things, there is no discourse which defies clear understanding." In the first place, discourse has man behind it, and as one man or one group of men differs from another, so does discourse. Tominaga illustrates this by showing how the terminology employed in the various Buddhist scriptures reflects the difference in language and outlook of various authors, and shows that they do not derive from one original source. Secondly, discourse is related to time, and as each age has its own characteristics so human discourse too partakes of them. Thirdly, discourse falls into different "categories." These types or categories are not fully explained by Tominaga, but they seem to have had particular reference to the ways in which different teachings or truths were further developed or modified in the hands of others. First there was assertion or expansion; second, generalization; third, collision or contradiction; fourth, reversion or inversion; and fifth, transformation or modification.

The terms Tominaga used to represent these categories are metaphorical and suggest the movement of water at the seashore as a wave swells up and lunges forward, spreads out, breaks against the shore, washes back and then turns away. The examples he gives, however, are drawn from Buddhist teaching and their exact significance is not always clear. First, when a Buddhist says that the historical personage Shākyamuni attained Buddhahood, it is a case of assertion or expansion. Second, to say that all creatures are potential Buddhas is a case of generalization. (The original meaning of Tathāgata as applied to the Buddha was "He who comes thus." As the storehouse of the Mind, however, it was described in the

Lañkāvatāra Sūtra as the source of good and evil, and in the *Prajñā Pāramitā Sūtra* all creatures from Heaven to Hell are seen as embraced in the storehouse of the Tathāgata.) Third, to say that the Buddha's Truth-body (Dharmakāya) does not exist apart from the world of passion, or, in other words, that in the storehouse of the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata is found amidst all the passions of the sentient world, is a case of collision or in this instance, perhaps, paradox. (That is, as absolute Truth the Tathāgata transcends good and evil, but as the perfection of virtue Tathāgatahood proceeds from the stilling of the passions.) Fourth, the use of the expression "to follow one's own bent" as a translation for the Sanskrit *pravāraṇa* is a case of inversion ("to follow one's own bent" originally had the bad connotation of lacking restraint; here it takes on the good one of acting spontaneously in accord with one's true nature). Fifth, that a member of the shūdra caste, originally considered to be lacking a Buddha-nature, should as a sentient creature capable of spiritual conversion possess the seeds of Buddhahood, is an example of modification or transformation (i.e., a modification or transformation of the idea of potentiality for Buddhahood as deriving from the possession of spiritual selfhood rather than from one's status among men).¹ Thus Tominaga goes on to show in detail how Buddhism evolved in the course of time into so many different schools, sects and denominations through individual contributions following the different possible lines of development.

In his *Testament*, Tominaga tried to synthesize his historical interpretations of the three existing religions—Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism—into a kind of ethical culture which he called *Makoto no oshie* or "the religion of true fact." It was long preserved in a manuscript from which only a few copies were made, and did not attract the attention it deserved until 1923 when Professor Naitō Konan of Kyoto Imperial University had reproductions made of it for distribution among his friends. To Dr. Anesaki Masaharu, an outstanding modern authority on the history of Japanese religion and the author of *Historical Criticism of the Buddhist Scriptures* (*Bukkyō seiten shiron*), Tominaga Nakamoto seemed like a lotus in the quagmire because of the critical

¹ As reconstructed from *Shutsujō Kōgo*, sec. 11, by Ishihama Juntarō in *Tominaga Nakamoto*, pp. 96-107.

powers and broad knowledge of cultural history which he displayed at a time when the historical sense was almost wholly lacking in the study of religion.

TOMINAGA NAKAMOTO

Testament of an Old Man

Having provoked great hostility from the established religions because of his unorthodox views, Tominaga found it prudent to represent this brief work as expressing the opinions of an anonymous old man rather than himself. It nevertheless provides a convenient summary of his own philosophy and his critique of established teachings.

[From *Nihon jurin sōsho*, VI, *Okina no fumi*, pp. 1-14]

This writing is the work of a certain Old Man, and was lent to me by a friend. In spite of the fact that this is a degenerate age, the author appears to be a wise old man. Departing from the three teachings of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto, he advocates what he calls the Way of Truth. Truly, it seemed to me that if one conducted oneself in accordance with what the Old Man said, one would make no mistakes in life. And having thus subscribed to his teaching, I asked my friend what the Old Man's name was, only to be told that he did not know and there was no way of finding out. The Old Man must have been like those personages in ancient times who chose to live in obscurity that they might be free to say what they thought. Wishing to preserve this as my own family teaching and also to pass it on to others, I have copied it all down from beginning to end.

Gemmon 3 [1738]: 11th Month, Ban no Nakamoto.

I. In the world today there are three religions: Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto. Some think they represent the three different countries, India, China and Japan; while others consider them essentially one, or else dispute with one another over the truth or falsity of each. However, the way which may be called the Way of all ways is different from these, and what each of these three teachings calls the Way is not in accord with the Way of Truth. The reason is that Buddhism is the Way of India, and Confucianism is the Way of China. Because they are

peculiar to these countries, they are not the Way of Japan. Shinto is the Way of Japan, but because of the difference in time, it is not the Way for the present generation. Some may think that the Way is always the Way despite differences in nationality and differences in time; but the Way is called the Way because of its practicality, and a Way which is not practical is not the true Way. Thus, the Way as taught by the three teachings mentioned above is not a Way practicable in present-day Japan.

VI. What is the Way of Truth, then, that will be practicable in present-day Japan? It is simply this: Be normal in everything you do. Consider today's work of primary importance. Keep your mind upright. Comport yourself properly. Be careful in speech. Be respectful in manner and bearing. Care for and honor your parents.

(The Old Man's footnote refers to the [Buddhist Sūtra] *Rokkōhai-kyō*, where the five human relationships are specially dealt with. Confucianists also consider these relationships important and the Shinto decrees likewise mention these five things. Therefore just as these three things are indispensable to the Three Teachings, so are they to the Way of Truth.)

If you have a master, serve him well. If you have children, educate them well. If you have retainers, manage them well. If you have an elder brother, show him every respect; if you have a younger brother, show him every sympathy. Toward old people, be thoughtful; toward young people, be loving. Do not forget your ancestors. Be mindful of preserving harmony in your household. When associating with men, be completely sincere. Do not indulge in evil pleasures. Revere those who are superior, while not despising the ignorant. What you would not have done to yourself, do not do to others. Be not harsh; be not rash. Be not obstinate or stubborn. Be not demanding or impatient. Even when you are angry, do not go too far. When you are happy, be so within bounds. You may take pleasure in life, but do not indulge in sensuality. Be not lost in sorrow; whether you have enough or not, accept your lot as good fortune and be content with it. Things which you ought not to take, even if they seem insignificant, do not take; when you ought to give, do not hesitate to do so even if it means giving up all, even your country. As to the quality of your food and clothing, let it conform to your station in life and avoid extravagance. Do not be stingy, do not steal, do not lie. Do not lose yourself in lust, be temperate in drinking. Do not kill anything that does

no harm to mankind. Be careful in the nourishment of your body; do not eat bad things; do not eat too much.

(The Old Man has a footnote saying: In the [Buddhist] Yoga Shāstra cases of untimely death are listed under nine types such as: 1) too much eating; 2) untimely eating; 3) eating again before food has digested; and so forth. The *Analects* too say that one should not eat in the wrong proportions or at the wrong time, or in excessive amounts. They all have insight into the Way of Truth.)

In your free time study the arts of self-improvement; try to be better informed.

(The Old Man's footnote says: The *Analects* has it that when one has energy to spare, one should study the polite arts. The [Buddhist] *Vinaya* also says that to understand order and gradation, history should be studied. Also the young bhikshus are permitted to study arithmetic. These too are in accord with the Way of Truth.)

To write with present-day script, to use present-day vernacular, to eat present-day food, to dress in present-day clothes, to use present-day utensils, to live in present-day houses, to follow present-day regulations, to mix with present-day people, to do nothing bad, to do all good things—that is the Way of Truth. That is the Way which is practicable in present-day Japan.

(All of these things are already mentioned in Confucian and Buddhist writings, and do not need to be made a special point of. But the Old Man is presenting these ideas as if they were something new of his own, so as to induce people to discard all that is useless and go straight to the Way of Truth. His aim is truly praiseworthy.)

. . . .

VIII. That it is difficult to invent any system of teaching which can do without the Way of Truth can be surmised from the fact that Buddha preached the Five Commandments and Ten Virtues; called greed, anger, and folly the Three Poisons; and declared filial piety to parents and loyal service to teachers to be one of the Three Blessings. "Not to do anything bad, but to do everything good and keep one's motive pure, is the essence of all the Buddha's teaching," it is said.

Confucius also talked about filial piety, brotherliness, loyalty, and tolerance. He taught fidelity and reverent devotion; Wisdom, Humanity, and Valor he called the Three Cardinal Virtues. Restraint of anger,

stifling of passion, correction of mistakes and conversion to goodness were also emphasized. "The superior man is always poised in action, while the inferior man is ill at ease," he said.

Shinto people also taught cleanliness, simplicity and honesty.

These are all in accord with the Way of Truth, well expressed and to the point, each resembling the other. As long as the followers of the Three Teachings abide by their respective beliefs, without bias or prejudice, not giving themselves over to the strange and exotic, but living in the society of men to the end of their lives—then they are also following the Way of Truth.

(In the foregoing the Old Man has expressed his main ideas. He does not mean to discard the Three Teachings in their entirety. He simply wants every one to act upon the Way of Truth.)

At this point, however, the Old Man has his own theory. Generally speaking it has been the rule that all those who have started teaching what they call the Way as handed down from ancient times, have inevitably appealed to the authority of a Founder, while at the same time trying to go further than any predecessor has gone. Posterity, however, has been ignorant of this fact and it has resulted in great confusion.

Tominaga proceeds to explain how the teaching of the Buddha and the various schools of Buddhism successively appealed to some earlier authority, while at the same time either reacting against or attempting to surpass their immediate predecessors. These teachings, instead of representing a pure and untouched revelation from the past, were actually the product of a considerable development in human hands. The same pattern of evolution is indicated for the Confucian tradition. Finally he takes up Shinto.

XII. As to Shinto, it is what certain medieval Japanese dressed up as ancient traditions of the Divine Ages and called the Way of Japan in an attempt to outdo Confucianism and Buddhism. In the time of Ābhāsvara in India, for instance, or of P'an Ku in China,¹ there were no such definite teachings as Buddhism and Confucianism. What later came to be known as Buddhism and Confucianism were wholly purposeful and conscious creations of men in later times. In exactly the same way there could be no such thing as Shinto in the Divine Ages. The first Shinto taught was the syncretism known as Dual Shinto, which was a combina-

¹ The first beings to appear in these countries.

tion of Confucianism and Buddhism arbitrarily put together to suit the occasion. Then followed the Shinto called *Honjaku Engi* which regarded Shinto deities as Japanese manifestations of Indian Gods and Buddhas. This was an attempt on the part of Buddhists envious over the rise in popularity of Shinto, who taught Shinto outwardly but inwardly wanted to capture it for Buddhism. Then came another form of Shinto known as *Yui-itsu Sōgen* [the One and Only Original Source]. It was an attempt to transcend Confucianism and Buddhism, and to proclaim Shinto as pure and unique. All three of these made their appearance in medieval times.² A new type of Shinto that has recently appeared is known as *Ōdō Shintō*, the Shinto of the Sovereign Way. It teaches that Shinto has no particular way of its own, and that the Way of the Sovereign is the Way of the Gods. There is also a form of Shinto which professes Shinto outwardly but inwardly identifies it with Confucianism.³ None of these things existed in Divine Antiquity; they have simply arisen from the struggle of each one to get ahead of the other. But ignorant people of the world, not realizing this, believe one of these to be the True Way, identify themselves as partisans of this teaching or that, and start violent controversies. It is at once pitiful and ridiculous, to this Old Man's way of thinking.

. . . .

XV. The vice of Confucianism is rhetoric. Rhetoric is what we call oratory. China is a country which greatly delights in this. In the teaching of the Way and in the education of men, if one lacks proficiency in speech, he will find no one to believe in or follow him. For example, take the word Rites (*ri*). It originally signified simply the ceremonies on the four great occasions in life: coming of age, marriage, mourning, and religious festivals. But as you know they talk now of what is the Rite of a man as the son of his father, what is the Rite of a man as the subject of his sovereign; they speak of it in connection with human relationships, they speak of it in regard to seeing, hearing, speaking, and acting. They also assert that Rites owes its inception to the division of heaven and earth, and embraces the whole universe. Take another example, that of music (*gaku*). The character *gaku* originally meant to be entertained by the music of bell and drum. But then they began to

² Concerning the foregoing types of Shinto, see Chapter XIII.

³ The *Suika Shintō* of Yamazaki Ansai.

say that music was not necessarily confined to bell and drum. Music, they said, was the harmony of heaven and earth. You can see the way they talk. Take again the character for "sage" which originally signified a man of intelligence. They have gradually stretched it to the point where a sage is the highest type of humanity, even capable of working miracles. Thus we know that when Confucius talked of humanity, Tseng Tzu of humanity and righteousness, Tzu Ssu of sincerity, Mencius of the Four Beginnings and the goodness of human nature, Hsün Tzu of the badness of human nature, the *Book of Filial Piety* of filial piety, and the Great Learning about [what the superior man] loves and hates, the *Book of Changes* about heaven and earth—all of these are just ways of presenting the plainest and simplest things in life with an oratorical flourish in order to arouse interest and make people follow them. Chinese rhetoric is like Indian magic, and neither of them is particularly needed in Japan.

(The Old Man speaks here of the "plainest and simplest things in life," but he also knew full well that the Way transcends all else, and that some things are extremely difficult to explain and transmit. So you must not be misled by what he says or fail to grasp his true meaning.)

XVI. The vice of Shinto is secrecy, divine secrets, secret and private transmission, such that everything is kept under the veil of secrecy. Hiding things leads to lying and theft. Magic and oratory are interesting to see or to listen to—they thus have some merit. But this vice of Shinto is of the lowest sort. In olden times people were simple, and so secrecy may have served certain educational purposes, but the world today is a corrupt world in which many people are addicted to lying and stealing, and it is a deplorable thing for Shinto teachers to act in such a way as to protect and preserve these evils. Even in such lowly things as the Nō drama and the Tea Ceremony, we find them all imitating Shinto, devising methods of secret transmission and authentication and attaching a fixed price to the transmission of these "secrets" for selfish gain and benefit. It is truly lamentable. If you ask the reason why they devise such practices, their answer is that their students are immature and untried, and must not be granted too ready an access to their teachings. It sounds plausible, but any teaching which is kept secret and difficult of access, and then is imparted for a price, cannot be considered in accord with the Way of Truth.

MIURA BAIEN'S SEARCH FOR OBJECTIVITY

Miura Baien (1723-1789) was the son of a village physician in the southern island province of Kyushu. He carried on in his father's profession and declined all invitations to take office in the service of a feudal lord. He nevertheless achieved wide recognition outside his own locality, first of all as a true gentleman and worthy successor of his father, then as a master of Chinese language and poetry, and finally as the bold advocate of a new rationalism. This new philosophy he set forth in three outstanding essays: *Discourse on Metaphysics* (*Gengo*, lit. "Abstruse Talk"); *Discourse on Corollaries* (*Zeigo*, lit. "Talking On and On"); and *Discourse on Morality* (*Kango*, lit. "Presumptuous Talk"). Miura also wrote a political guide known as *Heigo Hōji*, which is said to have been highly prized by its recipient, a feudal lord in Kyushu. Lastly he produced an essay on economics known as *The Origin of Price* (*Kagen*), which later attracted attention in Europe because of the similarity of Miura's views on currency with those of his contemporary, Adam Smith (born the same year), and also because of his analysis of the circulation of bad money, identical with Gresham's Law. Among Miura's other accomplishments was the creation of a cooperative plan for saving against emergencies in his village. It is related that when he finished his thirtieth revision of the *Discourse on Metaphysics* and was in a quandary because commercial publishers did not consider it a marketable book, his neighbors—mostly hard-working thrifty peasants—got together and collected money for its publication.

There is some reason to believe that before Miura died in 1789, the shogunal premier (Matsudaira Sadanobu [1758-1829]) entertained the idea of bringing Miura into the government service. A little later, however, in 1790, Sadanobu was a signer of the notorious Act of Prohibition, the adoption of which had been urged by staunch traditionalists, at court, who were determined to uphold Chu Hsi orthodoxy. Miura was not a direct object of persecution, since his death preceded the Act by a year. His new philosophy suffered, nonetheless, because the Act deprived students of opportunities to study this new system, which required long and careful examination owing to the utter originality of

Miura's ideas and his use of entirely new terminology. Also few students had a knowledge of mathematics and astronomy sufficient to follow Miura's thought.

A distinctive feature of Miura's philosophy is his radical departure from all traditional systems of thought. Even the long-accepted Confucian view of yin and yang he subjected to searching analysis:

"People say fire belongs to yang, and therefore it is hot; water belongs to yin, so it is cold. I ask myself, however, why that which belongs to yang is hot and why that which belongs to yin is cold. Again people say that which belongs to yang is light and goes upward, while that which belongs to yin is heavy and goes down. Most men's thinking stops right there, but my own doubts rise higher at that point. Why do a pair of dark things on the forehead see; why do a pair of holes in the head hear? Why don't eyes hear, why don't ears see? When most people come to these points they just leave them alone, but I simply can't leave them alone. . . . They refer the question to past authority, and when they find a book that deals with it, they accept whatever answer it gives. I can't convince myself entirely in that way. When they discuss the natural world, they do so in a wild, hit-or-miss manner; when they talk of life and death, they do so in an absurd or obscure manner. Though their evidence may be flimsy and their arguments preposterous, this does not disturb people at all. Yet I cannot content myself with this. I keep reconsidering such matters and probing further into them."¹

For Miura the final source of knowledge is neither tradition nor the writings of men, but nature and man himself. If one wants a true view of the universe, one must test in heaven what one believes true of heaven, and test in man what one believes true of man. Readers of books must therefore check what they read by looking into the book of nature; if nature confirms it, they may accept it, but otherwise they must set it aside.

As we have already seen, Kaibara Ekken, in his *Grave Doubts*, questioned Chu Hsi's basic dualism of principle and material force. Miura went on to question Chu Hsi's entire system. In the preface to his *Discourse on Metaphysics* he says, "From boyhood I have asked questions about whatever I laid my hands on. All around me there have been people noisily explaining things, but what they said was too absurd and

¹ *Baien Zenshū*, I, 2.

defied any test. . . . They were usually ready to condemn those who did not possess what they themselves possessed and to discriminate against those who did not act according to their own standards. Thus they easily arrived at some conclusion, while I still remained in doubt."²

Though a stout skeptic toward tradition, convention, book learning, and even scholarly authority, Miura was no nihilist. He was, instead, a thoroughgoing positivist, who rejected the traditional Buddhist view of the emptiness of things. He believed that the universe, including space, is one endless reality. For him there is no such thing as complete extinction; even death is nothing but an organic change. On this point Miura comes quite near to Itō Jinsai's position: for both of them the universe is dynamic energy or vitality, which has neither beginning nor end.

Being a native of Kyushu, Miura had come under the influence of Western science at the port of Nagasaki and devised an astronomical spheroid for his own use at the age of eighteen. He was also a steadfast friend and admirer of Asada Gōryū (1734-1799), much younger, but the foremost mathematician and astronomer of his time. There is reason to believe that his insistence on the priority of nature over man had its inception in the deep impression made upon him by Western astronomy. But his questioning mind carried him beyond the study of geography and astronomy to work out a system of metaphysics which he called the study of *jōri*, which can be understood as a system of natural order, or the "logic of things."

"The comprehensive way of understanding Heaven-and-earth [nature] is the study of the logic of things, and the essence of this logic is the dialectics of antithesis and synthesis, setting aside all bias or prejudice, and verifying everything by empirical evidence. Setting aside all bias or prejudice means freeing ourselves from preconceptions. In regard to empirical verification, however, we must recognize that empirical evidence is sometimes misleading. The sun and the moon look as if they are traveling westward, but in reality they travel east. Water appears as the foe of fire, but fire comes from water. The way of Heaven-and-earth is yin and yang; and yin and yang are antithetical. Because they are contradictory, together they constitute a unity or synthesis, and thus become Heaven-and-earth [nature]. Because they represent unity through

² *Baien Zenshū*, I, 2.

mutual contradiction, we must view them as deriving their identity from contradiction if we are to understand their true nature. Thus [in mathematical terms], the logical principle [*jōri*] may be stated: one has two in it, and two lead to one. As two, a difference exists which serves as the basis for a logical relationship [*jōri*]; as one, a combination exists which transcends difference. Antithesis and synthesis are the dialectical principles for our study of this logic of things [*jōri*] without which there would be no means of understanding yin and yang. With no means of understanding yin and yang, even though we possessed the broadest knowledge, the widest experience, the keenest intelligence and the deepest insight we should still be incapable of seeing inside the structure of the universe. So this logic [*jōri*] is the key for opening the gates of Heaven."³

As may be seen here, *jōri* is used by Miura in a number of related senses, but it is primarily botanical in conception, *jō* meaning "branch" and *ri* (principle) originally meaning "the grain of wood." According to Miura everything embodies reason and order, just as the external structure of the tree is manifested in its branches and the internal structure in the grain of the wood. Also, just as many branches grow from one trunk but the grain of each branch shows its unity with the whole, so the universe goes on dividing or multiplying, but even the manifold forms produced are identical in nature. For Miura philosophy is the study of the dialectics of the one becoming two (many) and the two becoming one in all realms of existence. Thus Miura's dialectic is not merely logical but also existential, as is Hegel's. It is the essential character of reality that everything has its antithesis. One does not remain one, and yet when there is two, the identity of the two is apparent. This logic of things is to be reasoned toward, on the one hand, and to be tested, on the other. That is why Miura felt he had to rewrite his *Discourse on Metaphysics* more than thirty times, checking and revising it throughout his life.

MIURA BAIEN

Man's Preconceptions

[From a letter to Taga Boku, *Zenshu*, II, 83-85]

I have your letter of inquiry on the dialectics of nature. As Heaven-and-earth [nature] are the permanent residence of humanity, they come

³ *Baien Zenshū*, II, 89.

first among the things to be studied by scholars. Astronomy, geography, and solar mathematics are steadily gaining in accuracy, thanks to the introduction of Western science; but that is about all. As to the logic (*jōri*) of Heaven-and-earth I have yet to see any scholar who could be considered an expert in it.

The world is wide enough, and time has been going on for eternity. Countless men have pondered and worked on this problem, yet even though Heaven-and-earth are in plain sight day and night, nobody has succeeded in viewing them aright. Why?

I think it is because our curiosity and wonder have ceased to be stirred. From the day of our birth, when we know nothing, we become so accustomed to seeing, hearing, and touching in such and such a way that in the course of time we have unconsciously developed habits which have become prejudices with us and have deadened our sense of curiosity about things. These prejudices represent a persistent attachment of the mind which the Buddhist calls *viññāna*. As long as this acquired habit is unbroken, the mind cannot be expected to function as it should.

That Ānanda was a monkey in his former existence and was unable to get rid of his apish habits,¹ is, I think, an interesting fable. As man thinks and judges with a human mind, he cannot help doing so with human predilections. Intelligent thinkers, ancient and modern, have been victims of this habit of mind (*viññāna*) and have painted everything in heaven and earth with the colors of humanity, thus failing to obtain a true picture of things.

Men walk with feet and work with hands; for them walking and working have the *viññāna* of being associated with feet and hands. When they see snakes without feet or fish without hands they are likely to think them somewhat ineffective beings. But there is Heaven, which has no feet, yet goes round and round on its way day and night; and there is the creativity of nature, which has no hands, yet makes flowers bloom, brings children into the world, and creates fish and birds. From an anthropomorphic point of view, the revolution of the sun and creativity of nature should be objects of curiosity, but no one watches them with wonder. Being accustomed to these sights every morning and evening, people simply pass them by with utter indifference.

From the objective point of view, nature is an object, as water and

¹ Ānanda was Buddha's nephew and disciple, who is said to have recited from memory what Buddha taught during his lifetime. All sūtras start with the expression "Thus I have heard." From this habit of verbatim recitation Ānanda became known as apish.

fire are. Grass and trees, birds and animals, are also each of them objects. Even we ourselves, all human beings, are just so many objects. Despite this fact, because of his anthropomorphic habits, man views other objects in terms of himself—that is an almost inescapable fixation with him.

Thus a human peculiarity is to view everything as human. Take, for example, children's picture books, *The Betrothal of Rats or Monsters and Goblins*. Rats are never kept as rats in their true shape; instead all of them are turned into human forms. The bridegroom appears in the book in ceremonial robes with a pair of swords, while the bride is shown with a flowing gown on and snowy cap of cotton, and is carried in a palanquin with an escort of footmen and young guards. In the book of *Monsters and Goblins*, no cases are found of an umbrella turning into a tea-mortar, or of a broom changing into a bucket. But all monsters and goblins are given eyes and noses and hands and feet, so as to look like members of the human family. A well-known picture of the *Parinirvāṇa*² represents the Dragon-King in a human form with regular royal garments on; the only suggestion of his being a dragon is a fireman-style hat he wears. It is such an imagination as this that populates heaven with a supreme God, and earth with gods of wind and thunder. Monstrous in form, they all move by foot, and do their work by hand. Wind is put in bags, thunder is beaten out on drums. If they are real bags, how were they made? And there must be skin to make a drum. If such imaginings are carried further, the sun will be unable to go on revolving unless it gets feet, and nature will be helpless in her work unless she has hands.

Let us take a more familiar example: Animals have sex, male and female; but plants do not. Without sex, animals as a rule will not procreate, while without sex, plants, as a rule, have no difficulty propagating. So the rule in one case will not apply to the other.

Take another example: if fire, imbued with a will, starts to think about water, asking how water will burn or dry, arguing mainly from what the former has to what the latter has not; or the other way round, if water, also imbued with a will, demands of fire what water itself has, it is obvious that nothing useful will result, even if a lifetime is spent working on the problem.

² Scene depicting the creatures of the world which assembled to witness the Buddha's final translation into Nirvāṇa.

The Disinterested Study of Nature[From a letter to Asada Gōryū, *Zenshu*, II, 752-54]

From the pavilion the evening haze could be seen floating between the azure sky and blue water. The sun was gradually setting, its golden hue changing into crimson, while its evanescent glory was cast upon the clouds and reflected in the waves. Suddenly a breeze blew up out of the duckweed and vanished into the pine grove yonder; it sounded like a passing shower or like a phoenix calling to its mate.

At home, my head against a pillow, I thought of the scene that had stirred me with joy and wonder. It was made up of real things, true enough, but it was at the same time far from being real. And I thought of the sayings of those philosophers and scholars whose writings are so bulky that oxen perspire pulling them and libraries are full to overflowing with them. Are they not inspired by so many evening scenes from pavilions which aroused and delighted the senses of these philosophers? We know that *sake*, *su*, *moro*, and *amasake* are all made of rice. They are not brewed by the rice itself, but in each case the nature of rice is adapted to suit the taste and flavor [the brewer has] in mind.

The Chinese sages were sovereigns in antiquity who ruled the people well. The Buddha was a recluse who was adept at mind-control. So the Classics of the sages contained the principles for ruling men and the Buddhist scriptures revealed the secret of controlling the mind. One derived from a concern for the world of men, which was going from bad to worse, and the other from compassion for the masses who were drowning themselves in passion. Out of a feeling of paternal solicitude they sought to save the people of their time from plunging to self-destruction. The ancient Chinese did use crystal orbs and jade measures for astronomical observation, it is true, but the purpose was only to give a calendar to the people. The *Bhājana-loka*³ was referred to by the Buddhists, but it was no more than their own mental creation. There were other schoolmen who also touched upon the problem [of the natural world] incidentally, but put it aside as a vague and remote problem, not an important one. Though occasionally skeptics have appeared, they have eventually become entangled in traditional notions; captives in

³ Buddhist term for the physical environment or inanimate world.

the human prison, they have not penetrated into the heart of things.

Now the universe shelters all things in it, and man is just one of those things. As all things come into existence, they are provided with innumerable distinct natures. Though afforded the same means, children cannot be just like their parents; fire cannot be like water. The landlord (nature) provides what the tenant (man) occupies, but the landlord is not the tenant, and the tenant is not the landlord, each being different in character and capacity. . . . To know the world of Heaven (nature), therefore, man must put his own interests aside in order to enter into the world of Heaven. In order to know objects, man must again put his own interests aside and enter into the world of objects; only in that way can his intellect hope to comprehend Heaven-and-earth and understand all things. All beings exist together with us, and we are just one of them. Realization that Heaven is universal, while man is individual, must be the starting point for all discussion of humanity. This is what I call opening the windows of the human sphere. The reason men have remained in the dark about the universe is that, remaining fixed in the human sphere, they have considered their own position to be of the highest dignity and their own intellect to be the most exalted. To view Heaven-and-earth in this way, or to study creation and its manifold objects with this attitude, is exactly the same as the brewers of *sake*, *su*, *moro*, and *amasake* who consider rice only in terms of taste and flavor.

In the comprehension of the universe, knowledge is most important. But as long as students approach creation without opening the windows of the human sphere, and persist in keeping a smug sense of their own importance and intelligence, their approach is certain to give rise to delusions, as a mote in the eye casts a shadow on what one sees. Concern for the world and compassion for the masses is benevolent in motive, but the study of creation in human terms is not conducive to true knowledge. Those whom the world acclaims as leaders in thought and action take humanity and human motives as the basis of their thinking and speculation in order to set up standards for what is to be believed and done. But human minds are like human faces; their preferences differ one from another. Each considers what he has arrived at to be right, a revelation from Heaven or a deposit of truth from antiquity, and thinks those who do not accept his standards should be exterminated. It is my conviction, therefore, that there is no systematic truth or logic

[*jōri*] except that which enables man to comprehend the universe without setting up standards conceived in terms of humanity or human motives. . . .

In a letter you wrote me last year, you said something to the effect that in the observation of an object, one's mind must be unfettered. If the mind is in bondage, it will drag the object into the confines of its own prejudices. Your friendly solicitude was so sincere that I was most profoundly moved. But I have an explanation for this in terms of my own method for understanding the logic of things [*jōri*]. Suppose that a thesis is available, but not its antithesis. At least for a while something will have to be hypothesized for it. If that is found unsatisfactory, then something else will have to be hypothesized; if it fails again, still another thing must be hypothesized. Thus one hypothesis after another will be tried till at long last true accord is reached. It is just as in the case of a circle; if its true antithesis, a straight line, is not hit upon, a square will be used until the time comes when a straight line is finally hit upon. Or as in the case of the sun: if its true antithesis, shadow, is not hit upon, the moon will be tried as a hypothesis, until at last shadow is hit upon. The logic of things [*jōri*] has never been studied before, and my lone efforts for fifty years have not sufficed to arrive at finding the true antithesis in every case. So in my *Discourse on Metaphysics* the true and the hypothetical will be found side by side. You will do me a great favor indeed by bringing the critical powers of your brilliant mind to bear on this book.

KAIHO SEIRYŌ AND THE LAWS OF ECONOMICS

Kaiho Seiryō (1755-1817) was born into a warrior-class family of some standing, an eldest son who waived his inheritance in favor of his younger brother. When called to serve as secretary and lecturer to one of the three Tokugawa families, he resigned this too on the ground of poor health. He was thus free of any allegiance or responsibilities and spent most of his life as a wayfarer, covering the length and breadth of the country. That he never married was due, not to any ascetic convictions on his part, but simply to his love of independence. In an autobiographical sketch at the end of his *Lessons of the Past* (*Keikōdan*), he writes:

"After I resigned from service, I visited Echigo for a year. The following year I made my way to Kaga, spending more than a year there and climbing Mt. Tate for the sake of my health. After that I visited Kyoto twice and traveled to the Eastern circuit (from Edo to Kyoto) back and forth, ten times. Twice I journeyed to remote Kiso; the northwestern coast, by the Sea of Japan, was also visited. Altogether the places I visited for longer or shorter stays numbered nearly forty and the mountains I climbed numbered a few hundred. I never had a wife, never spent money on concubines, and have no children. . . . Being fifty-nine years old, I have so far been fortunate enough not to have starved and free enough to keep on writing whatever I wanted to write. Without a guilty conscience, without obligation to any offspring, I have felt that my way of life was quite enjoyable."¹

As he traveled through Japan, Kaiho Seiryō went about talking with farmers, shopkeepers, and tradesmen, emphasizing that human society rests on two pillars: labor and the exchange of merchandise. Society is basically economic in character. And the first principle of government is the law of economic balance: unless both ends meet, distress and disaster are inevitable. In order to achieve this balance of goods and needs, unproductive classes such as Buddhist priests, Confucian scholars, and hereditary warriors should be strictly regulated as to size. The first two should never be allowed to increase in numbers; in fact, total elimination of them is desirable. As to the warrior class, handicrafts and home industries should be encouraged among them, for it is the law of Heaven that everybody should work. It is preposterous to assume that the ruling warrior class is exempt from this fundamental law of economics; for according to this economic rationalist, warriors themselves are only so much human merchandise sold into the hands of a feudal lord. Feudal service is basically a business transaction. The exchange of commodities is the primary mechanism for sustaining society. But unfortunately the ruling class is unwilling to recognize this basic mechanism of society, and its members are inevitably condemned to a life of poverty or utter destitution.

This rationalist and mercantilist also believed in the rule of law instead of the arbitrary rule of man. "To act in strict accordance with Heaven's law, completely restricting one's own arbitrary desires is the secret for

¹ *Kaiho Seiryō Shū, Keikōdan*, pp. 191-92.

bringing happiness and forestalling evil," he writes.² In respect to legal codes, however, Kaiho strongly advocated a minimum of laws with a maximum of enforcement. An extensive and detailed code with vague means of enforcement oftener than not defeats its own purpose. In this way Kaiho mediates between the traditionally opposed Confucian and Legalist positions; he agrees with the former that too much legal regulation is self-defeating, and with the latter that ultimate authority must rest in the law rather than in the individual ruler. His view of law as universal and transcending all personal considerations thus reflects this general belief in a system of natural law which prevails throughout the universe—in the political and economic sphere as well as in the physical or moral.

The fact that Kaiho conceives of this natural order in characteristically Neo-Confucian terms as the "principles [reason or law] of heaven-and-earth" suggests again how much even the most independent of Japanese rationalists owed to the conception of a rationally ordered universe which was part of their Neo-Confucian heritage. In Kaiho's case, however, as in that of Miura Baien, the moral aspect of things (or the moral order as understood in human terms) assumes much less importance than their intelligibility in scientific terms. For Kaiho "a sage is one who understands the law of nature, who keeps the ways of heaven and earth and all creatures in mind. Since he knows the quality of the soil and the nature of the tree, the trees planted by him have a better chance of taking root."³ Thus it is his intelligence, not his virtue, that really makes a man a sage or saint. For Kaiho, the great founders of Buddhist sects in Japan, such as Kūkai, Shinran, and Nichiren, were appreciated simply because their intelligence was far above that of contemporary Confucianists.

KAIHO SEIRYO

THE LAW OF THE UNIVERSE: COMMODITIES TRANSACTIONS

The following selections are from *Lessons of the Past (Keikōdan)*, a summation of Kaiho's economic thought written in 1813. The title, as he explains it in the opening lines of the work, means "comparing the past with the present, considering the outstanding excellences of the past, and making use of them."

² *Kaiho Seiryō shū, Yorozu-ya dan*, p. 294. ³ *Kaiho Seiryō shū, Yorozu-ya dan*, p. 299.

"Study should not be for the acquisition of detailed information concerning the past," he writes elsewhere. "It should seek detailed accounts of affairs today." Kaiho's use of his own classical learning is well illustrated in the references to Mencius in the following passage. Even the style demonstrates his freedom from conventional practices and independence of mind. Not content to quote verbatim from the words of the sage, he paraphrases them expansively, almost in the language of the market place.

[From *Kaiho Seiyō Shū*, *Keikōdan*, pp. 11-37]

It is a ridiculous thing that the aristocracy and military class in Japan should disdain profit, or that they should say that they disdain profit. When a man does not disdain profit, he is called a bad person. Such is the perverse practice of the times. In China it is the same. A man who is clever at making profits is called a sharp enterpriser or some such bad name. But if collecting taxes from those beneath you is to be a sharp enterpriser, then the *Rites of Chou* is a book for sharp enterprisers; and if lending rice and money to the people and exacting interest from them is to be a sharp enterpriser, then the Duke of Chou himself was a sharp enterpriser. Let us first make a general case of this, go to the root of it, and examine it close at hand.

What sort of thing was it when rice fields were originally handed over to the people and rice collected from them in return? By what logic was rice taken from the people? If we only recognize the natural principle by which this was done, we shall understand it completely. Rice fields, mountains, the sea, gold, rice, and everything between heaven and earth, are commodities. The natural principle is commodities and the realization of commodities. The realization of rice from rice fields is no different from the realization of profit from gold. The realization of timber from mountain land, the realization of fish and salt from the sea, and the realization of profit from gold and rice are the natural principle of heaven and earth. If one lets a field go uncultivated, nothing is grown on it; if one lets gold lie unused, nothing is produced from it. But if one lends a rice field to the people and exacts an annual tribute [tax] of one-tenth on it, then one makes a profit of 10 percent. . . . Of course, the realization of profit is fast or slow depending on the case, so the rate of interest should vary accordingly. Taxes on rice fields and taxes on mountain land are both alike forms of interest, levied on commodities that have been lent. Such commodities are things on which interest must

be levied. This is not sharp enterprise or anything of the sort; it is the natural principle of heaven and earth.

Po Kuei was an economist of ancient times. He said to Mencius: "I think I shall take a twentieth of the produce as a land tax." He boasted that since the state had become wealthy, even a tax of that little would be enough for its needs. Then Mencius said: "You had better exact a tax of one-tenth. A tax of one-twentieth would be the way of the barbarians, but the barbarians have no fortifications, no palaces, and no rites or music, so even that little is sufficient for the needs of the state. However, China has a splendid way of life, so a tax of one-tenth must be levied."¹ . . . From ancient times it has been said that the relations between lord and subject are according to the way of the market place.² A stipend is offered for the service of a retainer, and the retainer obtains rice by trading his ability to his lord. The lord is a buyer and the retainer is a seller. It is simply a business transaction, but business transactions are good, not bad. When it is said that business transactions are not things for a superior man to concern himself with, this is a misunderstanding which comes from everyone's having swallowed whole the idea that Confucius despised profit. Much parasitism and wasted labor have resulted from the notion that the relation between lord and subject is not a trade relationship. . . .

The universe is made up of Law [principle, *ti*]; buying, selling and paying interest are all parts of the Law of the universe. In order to make the nation wealthy, the ruling class should return to Law. . . . The ruling house is a great family which owns the commodity known as the country. The feudal houses are also rich families, owning the commodities called feudal states. They lend these commodities to the people and live on the interest therefrom. Ministers are those who sell their talents to the ruler and live on the wages he pays. Foot carriers are those who obtain wages for their labor on the roads, in order to get something to drink or a bite to eat. They all live in the same way. . . .

The unity of law and punishment is also a law of the universe. . . . In Chinese antiquity when a death sentence was passed, the sentence was

¹ *Mencius*, VI, B, 10.

² A reference to *Shih Chi*, Ch. 81: "Relationships in the nation are according to the way of the market place. If the lord is powerful, I shall follow him. If he is without power, I shall leave him."

reported to the sovereign; then the sovereign would request a reprieve three times, but the penal officer would not listen to the request and proceeded to execute the death sentence. To repay a capital crime offender with capital punishment is a matter of simple business arithmetic. That the death sentence had to be executed, even in spite of the sovereign's request for a reprieve, is proof that the law is higher than the will of the ruler and that business arithmetic is more important than the will of the sovereign. [pp. 11-14]

. . . .

The warrior laughs when told that the King of Holland engages in commerce. But he himself buys and sells commodities; it is a law of the universe that one must sell in order to buy, and hardly a thing to be laughed at. [p. 37]

THE PROHIBITION OF HETERODOX STUDIES

The Kansei Edict

This edict, issued in 1790 during the administration of Matsudaira Sadanobu, strongly reaffirmed support by the shogunate for the traditional Chu Hsi teaching. In form, however, it was merely a directive to the head of the Hayashi school, hereditarily entrusted with the supervision of education, to stamp out unorthodox teachings in his own and other official schools. Five years later another directive called for the enforcement of this ban in the official schools maintained by the other feudal lords. The main effect of these decrees was to discourage the open propagation of heterodox views, without actually suppressing the schools in which they were privately taught. To us these measures serve as a reminder of the restrictions which curbed the activity and influence of independent thinkers, as well as an indication of the alarm felt by shogunal leaders over the spread of nonconformist thought.

[From Inoue, *Shushi gakkuha*, pp. 522-23]

The teaching of Chu Hsi has had the full confidence of successive shoguns since the Keichō era [1596-1615, i.e., since the founding of the shogunate] and your family, generation after generation, has been entrusted with the duty of upholding and expounding this teaching. It has been expected, therefore, that orthodox studies would be pursued without remiss and

your students trained in accordance with it. Lately, however, various new theories have been put forward, heterodox teachings have become popular, and social standards have been broken down. Indeed, since it points to a complete decline in orthodox studies, this is a matter for the most profound regret and concern. Even among your own students, we have heard from time to time of those whose thinking is not pure and correct. Consequently in order to tighten discipline at the Confucian college, we are assigning Shibano Hikosuke and Okada Seisuke responsibility in these matters, and you are requested to consult with them upon this question, so as strictly to bar your students from heterodox teachings. Not only in your own school, but in all others as well, you are advised to see to it that the orthodox doctrine alone is taught as the basis for the training of men for public service.

The Justification for the Kansei Edict

(Letter of Nishiyama Sessai to Akamatsu Sōshū)

As the text of the edict indicates, two men were specially appointed to insure that the new ban would be complied with in the official school, probably because the eclectic views of Hayashi Kimpō, then head of the school, did not inspire confidence in his readiness to enforce the new policy wholeheartedly and vigorously. One of these men, Shibano Hikosuke, who was instrumental in having the edict promulgated, had himself been influenced by the views of Nishiyama Sessai, a convert from the school of Ogyū Sorai. When a friend of Shibano's sent him a letter protesting against this narrow view of Confucian orthodoxy, Nishiyama was eventually entrusted with formulating a reply. In this it becomes clear that the primary targets of the ban are followers of the Ancient Learning propounded by Ogyū and Itō Jinsai, as well as those identified with the Wang Ying-ming school. Quite evidently the popularity of these teachings had grown to the point where they threatened completely to overshadow the orthodox doctrine.

[From *Nihon Jurin sōsho*, III, *Kansei igaku-kin kankei monjo*, p. 6]

Since the fall of the Chou dynasty, the conduct of education has declined and heresies have sprung up. Yang Chu upheld self-interest and cast doubt on righteousness; Mo Ti upheld all-embracing love and cast doubt on humanity. Both of them talked about humanity and righteousness, but were mistaken in what they said. Mencius exposed them as perverters who, failing to acknowledge [the claims of the] sovereign and

[the peculiar affection due to a] father, thwarted humanity and righteousness. Han Yü paid tribute to Mencius, saying that his merit [in exposing these heretics] was no less than that of the [sage-king] Yü.

Lu Hsiang-shan with his "sudden enlightenment" and Wang Yang-ming with his "good knowledge" both talked about sage wisdom, but were mistaken about it. Wise men of the Sung and Ming dynasties exposed them as openly Confucianist and inwardly Buddhist, and as destroyers of the moral law. . . .

How much the more in recent times with Itō and Ogyū, who opposed the tradition of the *Great Learning* and the *Mean* as being contrary to the original [doctrine] of Confucius, and slandered Tzu Ssu, Mencius, Ch'eng, and Chu, saying that they contradicted the Way of the Sages! With sophistry and eloquence they seduced their followers; while pretending to speak for the "ancient learning" they simply peddled their own pernicious doctrines. What small men they were! . . . Since their time second-rate Confucian scholars have imitated them. Arrogant and conceited, each has insisted upon his own mistaken interpretation of the classics and slandered the Ch'eng-Chu school. Hundreds of them now vie with one another in setting up their own schools, in which they propound new teachings under the strange name of "ancient learning."

You have said: "There have been many different methods of reading the texts and studying the Way, but what all alike revere and believe in are the teachings of Confucius. These consist of nothing more than filial piety, duty toward elder brothers, loyalty, fidelity, [the study of] the *Odes* and the *Book of History*, rites and music, governing the country, and pacifying the people. If this be so, then why must one take as one's foundation the Sung Confucianists alone? Those who use the Han and T'ang commentaries, or follow Wang Yang-ming, or adopt the teachings of [Itō's] Horikawa school or of Ogyū Sorai, or choose at will from among the interpretations of many different schools do no injury to the Way as a consequence." If it were as you say, however, those who study the Way of the Sages would have no need of true guidance and the art of teaching would have nothing to do with the conduct of ordinary life. Your students, I believe, are well aware that Buddhism and Taoism are heretical and false doctrines, for the followers of Buddhism and Taoism state explicitly what each regards as the Way and the heretical nature of

their doctrines is immediately apparent. But these stupid Confucianists appeal to the authority of the classics and commentaries to advance their own false beliefs, so that what is false, yet appears true, utterly contaminates the eyes and ears of men and greatly confounds the world.



CHAPTER XXII

THE SHINTO REVIVAL

The Shinto revival, which took place in the eighteenth century, was in no sense a resurrection of a religion which had almost died out. True, during the long centuries of Buddhist and Confucian dominance Shinto had shown little intellectual vitality, and even its most ardent defenders, in contending with these more highly articulated systems of thought, had been forced to draw heavily upon them for ideas. Nevertheless on a more basic level the native cult continued to make itself felt in the lives of the people. In almost every community life was organized around two Shinto shrines, one representing the ancestor of the most important family in each locality, and the other the creator or early owner of the land itself. There were also shrines at scenic spots, atop hills and on the banks of rivers or lakes, in almost every region. Often they were surrounded by groves of tall trees, with enough ground for recreation and tournaments at festival time. They had lay priests and more often priestesses to serve on the occasion of a festival. Under their guidance the shrines flourished when the community that supported them flourished. In fact the Shinto shrine, as the cynosure of each locality, was considered the measure of the community's prosperity, both economic and cultural. A spirited rivalry was carried on among the youths of the various communities, especially at festivals where they competed in demonstrations of strength and exhibits of skill—exhibits containing among other things poems by villagers which were hung on the walls of the shrine in painted frames. Thus without any articulated doctrine or creed, Shinto shrines were symbols of communal pride, exercising seasonal sway over the hearts of the people.

In the seventeenth century, as we have already seen, a renewed interest was taken in Shinto by some of the scholars most closely identified with the establishment of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy under the Tokugawa. Though taking a strong stand against Buddhism, these Neo-Confucianists were by no means completely hostile to religion, and saw in Shinto a

traditional form of worship which did not directly challenge the social values of Confucianism. If eventually this revival led to an intensely nationalistic rejection of all things Chinese, as well as a powerful reaction against the rationalistic tendencies fostered by Neo-Confucianism, it nonetheless owed much to the latter. At its inception, especially, this movement was stimulated by the traditionalism, historicism, and reverence for high antiquity which was so characteristic of Neo-Confucianism, and the more Neo-Shintoism became a movement directed toward nationalistic goals, the more it unconsciously drew upon the ethical and political values which Confucianism had instilled in the Japanese. Thus, in the end, despite its vociferous repudiation of this foreign teaching, the Shinto revival contributed significantly to the naturalization of Confucian ethics in the land of its adoption.

Perhaps the most immediate need of Shinto, if it were to become a truly national religion rather than simply an assemblage of local cults, was less a fully developed philosophy than simply a set of basic scriptures. Having had in very early times no written language in which to express itself, Shinto lacked canonical texts comparable to the Chinese classics or the Buddhist *Tripitaka*. In medieval times, as a matter of fact, some Shintoists had felt this lack keenly enough to have canonized spurious texts in a set of Five Shinto Scriptures. Here, consequently, was a logical point of departure for a man like Kada Azumamaro (1669-1736), lay priest at the Inari Shrine in Kyoto, who had been much influenced by the example of Ogyū Sorai in calling for a re-examination of the Chinese classics. Kada was moved to petition a scion of the Tokugawa house for his support of a new study of Japan's own ancient literature, which he called the "National Learning." It was this that started the Shinto revival and led to such far-reaching results. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the National Learning movement had come to be regarded as the true expression of Japanese national feelings, unstained by alien culture. As scripture it claimed not only ancient Shinto hymns and prayers, but also the early collections of Japanese poetry, including the first anthology, known as the *Manyōshū*, and also the oldest annals of Japan, the *Kojiki*.

The National Learning movement emphasized the importance of Japan's own literature, but as the influence of Chinese culture, including Confucianism, had reached Japan very early by way of Korea, and as Buddhism in the sixth century had already swept over these islands after

a transcontinental journey, the leaders of the movement had difficulty finding anything they could claim as wholly their own in the early literature. The best they could do was bewail the lack of historical study of their own literature. Kamo Mabuchi (1697-1769), the first scholar of national importance in this movement, insisted that the *Manyōshū* poetry of the eighth century and before had been free of foreign influences and represented a true expression of Japanese national sentiments in an unspoiled form. The poems of the first anthology, he asserted, were spontaneous, vigorous, masculine, and guileless. "They are the natural expression of our ancient heritage; they are the voice of our divine land." Mabuchi started composing his own poems in the *Manyōshū* style with remarkable success, and invited other poets (including the great number of amateur versifiers abounding in Japan) to follow his example. This appeal through poetry proved of immense value, for it went straight to the hearts of the Japanese audience, surmounting all intellectual or class barriers. And the creative participation of the people in this movement won it far more wholehearted acceptance than volumes of doctrine and history would have.

Nevertheless an enduring religious movement needed more scriptural authority than *Manyōshū* poetry could give. The first Japanese annals, the *Kojiki*, though compiled as early as 712, had long lain neglected owing to the greater importance assigned the official chronicle, the *Nihongi*. Another reason for the *Kojiki*'s neglect was the great difficulty of reading its text. It took Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), the second great leader of the Shinto revival, more than thirty years of persistent effort to establish this work as the basic scripture of the movement. But as Chamberlain's English translation demonstrates, the *Kojiki* consists mainly of curious legends and genealogical records of the ruling family or others closely associated with it, interspersed with anecdotes some of which the translator discreetly rendered into Latin. There is little food for thought or inspiration for the soul in such a text. Yet Motoori, if he recognized this fact after all his labors, did not readily admit defeat. Instead he tried to circumvent the problem by arguing that, in any case, all things pertaining to gods and goddesses lay beyond the realm of human understanding. He nevertheless found in the *Kojiki* some primeval elements, such as strong indications of a sun worship expressed in the adoration of the Sun Goddess, and the sublimation of the life-impulse symbolized by installing

Takami-musubi (vitality) and Kami-musubi (fertility) in the early Shinto pantheon. For Motoori the primal acts of adoration, which he called pure and spontaneous sentiment, meant more in human life than philosophical systems or ethical injunctions. This shift in emphasis from the rational and moral to the emotional side of human nature is characteristic of Motoori's whole approach to the study of Japanese history and literature, wherein he attempts to show what is genuinely Japanese and what is adulterated. Thus he is especially known for his acclamation of the *Tale of Genji* as a masterpiece of human sensitivity and also of the *New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poetry* (*Shinkokinshū*), compiled under imperial auspices in 1205, as the best of all such anthologies because of its depth of sentiment.

Until Motoori's time the *Tale of Genji*, because of its tremendous popularity, had been represented by Buddhists for propaganda purposes as a literary rendition of the *Lotus Sutra*, and by Confucianists as a series of female biographies which were fictional counterparts of the biographies in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's great history. Motoori disparaged the Buddhist and Confucian claims by pointing out that the *Tale of Genji* is neither doctrinal in implication nor historical in construction; instead it is a delineation of the emotional life of man, and an expression of that aspect of nature and life which moves men most deeply—what he called *mono no aware*. The term he thus used for the sensitive aspect of life was, as we have seen, a common expression in earlier literature and has since become a key word in the vocabulary of Japanese literary criticism. By calling the *Tale of Genji* a classic expression of the sensitive aspect of human life, Motoori not only defined a new classical tradition, independent of the Chinese and Indian, but he laid claim to this masterpiece as a scripture of the National Learning movement.

When he expressed his preference for the *New Collection* as the best in Japanese poetry, Motoori did not mean to belittle the *Manyōshū*, which his teacher Mabuchi had regarded so highly; nor did he say anything derogatory about the second anthology, the *Collection of Ancient and Modern Poetry* of 905, which had been the most popular of all official anthologies. He was only extending the domain of favored poetry to include that of later time, indicating thereby his breadth of appreciation. As a matter of simple justice it must be admitted that in style and especially in depth of sentiment, the *New Collection* surpasses the other anthologies,

for it contains the poetry of those who witnessed the most stunning changes in Japanese history: the downfall of the imperial and Fujiwara aristocracy before the rise of the military clans.

Unfriendly critics of Motoori have insinuated that he took up the study of National Learning because it offered easier chances of recognition than the already overcrowded field of Confucian studies, but this seems clearly untrue. His work represented at once a continuation of the Shinto revival initiated by such men as Kamo Mabuchi, and a sharp reaction to the Confucian thought prevalent in Japan during the eighteenth century. The work of earlier scholars of National Learning led Motoori to devote years of his life to an intensive study of the Japanese classics, just as the very different activities of Confucianists (some of whom tried to explode on rational grounds the mythology of Shinto) led him to seek refuge in a kind of sublime irrationalism. He managed on both scores to touch upon certain aspects of the Japanese temperament, as revealed in the literature and in popular worship, which had never been satisfied by Confucianism. The preference of the Japanese for love poetry rather than didactic verse, and for gentle reflections on the evanescence of beauty rather than speculations on the nature of good and evil, was not only justified but exalted by Motoori, as demonstrating the inadequacy of rationalism. It remained, however, for later men with fewer scruples than Motoori to make of this combination of irrationality and National Learning the instrument of fanatical nationalism.

KADA AZUMAMARO

Petition for the Establishment of a School of National Learning

This memorial submitted to the Shogun Yoshimune in 1728, without contesting the position of the orthodox Neo-Confucian school, appeals for the creation of a school which would rescue traditional Japanese literature from oblivion. The unquestioned prestige of Chinese learning at the time is attested by the very form of the memorial itself: it is in an extremely ornate style of classical Chinese, surfeited with obscure allusions to the Chinese classics—the farthest thing from the native language and literature Kada wished to revive. Even more significant is his adaptation of Neo-Confucianism principles to his own purpose. Thus he uses the slogan of the Confucian revival in the Sung dynasty, "Restore the Ancient Order (or Way)" (Ch. *fu-hu*, Jap. *fukko*) to justify a kind of Japanese neo-classicism. In Kada's mind, however, it is

clear that these classical studies must be literary and philological in nature, for the Ancient Way can only be rediscovered through textual research.

It is important to note, incidentally, how this text reflects the prevailing view that loyalty to the shogun and to the emperor go hand-in-hand. There is no suggestion of a conflict of interests or authority such as arose in the nineteenth century.

[From *Kada zenshū*, I, 1-6]

Respectfully submitted, craving your bountiful favor in promoting the creation of a school of National Learning. I bow my head in awe and trepidation; vile and base as I am, I abjectly offer my words.

Tokugawa Ieyasu rose in Mikawa Province and soon succeeded in assuming command of the various daimyo to bring peace to the nation. All were as grass before the wind; who could surpass him? Changes brought about by his renewing of the country first led to the establishment of the Kōbunkan,¹ which has grown and prospered. What could be added to it?

Enlightened rulers have successively ascended to power, and the literary pursuits have grown increasingly splendid; their refulgence shines ever farther. The military arts are more perfected than ever; how noble and accomplished they are! Could the love of the Kamakura rulers for sobriety compare to this? Could the respect of the Muromachi family for literature be mentioned on the same day? In keeping with this age of great peace, Heaven has sent us a generous and benevolent ruler.² The country has witnessed the mild rule vouchsafed by his innate gifts. No talented men are without employ; the court is thronged with upright men. Above he respects the emperor and devotes himself to effecting a government without deceit. Below he cherishes the daimyo, who offer him tribute. Because his policies are perfected and he has leisure for other pursuits, he has turned his mind to ancient studies; when the teachings in them are not complete he gives profound study to the rule of the men of old. He buys rare books for a thousand pieces of gold. The celebrated scholars of the nation, following his example, search for rare and forgotten books. Visitors of unusual talent from all over the world flock to his court. . . .

Everywhere now Confucian studies are followed, and every day the

¹ The official Hayashi school of Neo-Confucianism founded in 1630 by a grant of land in Edo from the Shogun Iemitsu.

² The Shogun Yoshimune (1684-1751)

Buddhist teachings flourish more. "Humanity" and "righteousness" have become household words; even common soldiers and menials know what is meant by the *Book of Songs*. In every family they read the sūtras; porters and scullery-maids can discuss Emptiness (*shūnyatā*). The people's manner of living has benefited by great advances, but our National Learning is gradually falling into desuetude. Cultivated fields are being abandoned steadily and possessions are being exhausted by contributions to Buddhism. Most lamentably, however, the teachings of our Divine Emperors are steadily melting away, each year more conspicuously than the last. Japanese learning is falling into ruin and is a bare tenth of what it once was. The books of law are disappearing; who is there to ask about studies of the old learning? The way of the *waka* [poetry] is falling into oblivion; what can revive the great refinement of the old styles?

Those who now treat Shinto all follow theories of yin-yang or of the Five Elements.³ Those who consider the *waka* tend to adopt the explanations of Tendai doctrines or of the Four Disciplines of Chinese poetry. If these scholars are not the dregs of T'ang and Sung Confucianists, they are exudations from the Womb and Diamond Mandalas. If their writings are not fabrications composed of vain theories and idle hair-splittings, they are eccentricities devoid of foundation or thought. They speak of "secrets" and "traditions," but of the true traditions of the wise men of old, what knowledge have they? They speak of "depths" and "recondite meanings," but how many are the forgeries of recent men!

From the time when I was young I went without sleep or food in order to combat such heterodox ideas. When I grew to maturity, I tried ceaselessly, with learning and with thought, to revive the Ancient Way. If now I do not bestir myself and strive to explain the rights and wrongs, it will certainly later come about that people will confound the true and the false, for their ears will be stopped and their hearts shut. If I try to keep aloof, the old writings will become vague and obscure. If I try to pursue the matter I will find how old and weary I am. In this state of doubt, I cannot make a decision. Uncertain, I fail to do what I should.

Prostrate, I here make my humble request: that I be given a quiet tract of land in Kyoto where I can open a school for studies of the Imperial Land. I have collected since my youth many secret and obscure writings, and have corrected since becoming aged numerous old records and ac-

³ For example, the school of Yamazaki Ansai.

counts. I propose to store them at this school to provide for the researches of future days. There must be persons living in remote villages who experience great difficulty in getting hold of such books. There must also be many scholars in forsaken hamlets who cannot realize their ambitions to study the Japanese classics. We should lend the necessary texts throughout the country and enable scholars to read them. A familiarity with only a single volume permits one to know of the downfall of many kings; a careful study of antiquity can save the people from countless sufferings. If by great good fortune some extraordinary man of talent arises, the way of Prince Toneri⁴ will not perish. If there are men who polish the gems of poetry, the teachings of Kakinomoto Hitomaro⁵ will again flourish. If the Six Dynastic Histories are clear, it will be of no small aid to the officials in improving the people. If the laws of the three reigns⁶ are given new life, this will also prove of great benefit to the prestige and permanence of the nation. The *Manyōshū* is [the *Shih Ching* of the East and]⁷ the pure essence of our national temperament. He who studies it will not be slandered as an ignoramus. The *Kokinshū* is the finest flower of the anthologies. He who is unfamiliar with it will be admonished as being unfit to converse with.

The first school established in our country was at the Ōmi⁸ court. The first teaching of the Way of Letters originated at the time of the Emperor Saga. The Sugawara and Ōe families⁹ had academies of learning. The Minamoto, Fujiwara, Tachibana, and Wake families followed them. At the Dazaifu in Kyushu there was a school; in Ashikaga and Kanazawa education was furthered. However, they taught Chinese history and the Chinese classics in these schools, even in those for the imperial family. Offerings were made to the spirit of Confucius. Alas, how ignorant the Confucian scholars were of the past, not knowing a single thing about the imperial Japanese learning. How painful, the stupidity of later scholars—who cannot bewail the destruction of the ancient learning? This is

⁴ Compiler of the *Nihongi* (*Chronicles of Japan*), died A.D. 735.

⁵ Greatest of the poets of the *Manyōshū*.

⁶ The codes of the Kōnin, Jōkan, and Engi eras. Used here, however, to balance the "six dynastic histories" in the preceding sentence, and meaning more generally the laws of the Heian times.

⁷ The phrase in brackets is found in the rough draft of this petition, but was deleted by Kada in the final version. It is restored here because of its interest.

⁸ Site of the court, near the modern city of Ōtsu, during the reign of Emperor Tenchi.

⁹ The following are all important families with literary traditions.

why foreign teachings have prevailed, and one meets them in street conversations and corner gossip. This is why too our teachings have so declined. False doctrines are rampant, taking advantage of our weakness. . . .

I am an exceedingly ignorant man. What can I claim to know? If, indeed, there is one thing I dare claim for myself some acquaintance, it is the explanation of words. There are many misconceptions about our national writings. The fact that there still seem to be some people aware of them today is probably because the books survive. There are few explanations for the old Japanese words. The fact that one does not hear of anyone who has been thoroughly versant in them must be because the documents and men are insufficient. It has indeed been several hundred years since the old learning was taught. There are only a bare three or four books which offer explanations for the words, and these books vie with one another in claiming to be the authority, advancing new and outlandish theories in support of their claims. Such books are exceedingly superficial; how can they hope to attain the true meanings? If the old words are not understood the old meanings will not be clear. If the old meanings are not clear, the old learning will not revive. The way of the former kings is disappearing; the ideas of the wise men of antiquity have almost been abandoned. The loss will not be a slight one if we fail now to teach philology. We must devote ourselves to this project. I have given my life's energies to the study of the old words. I humbly believe that the rise or fall of Japanese learning depends on whether or not my plan is accepted. I pray that Your Excellency will grant it your attention and consider it favorably.

Your servant Kada submits the above in awe and trepidation.

KAMO MABUCHI

A Study of the Idea of the Nation

Unlike Kada Azumamaro, who presented in ornamental Chinese his petition for the establishment of a school for national learning, Kamo Mabuchi wrote this work in almost pure Japanese. It was composed in 1765. Although this is an attack on Chinese thought, particularly Confucian, it is conceived largely in Taoist terms, and there are numerous direct or indirect references to Lao Tzu. The anti-intellectual, intuitive teachings of Taoism were to prove congenial to later Shinto scholars as well, and in many instances we find in this

work of Kamo Mabuchi the arguments which Hirata Atsutane and other men were to voice with even greater intemperance.

[From *Seikai Daishisō Zenshū*, Vol. 54, pp. 2-10; cf. Dumoulin, *Monumenta Nipponica*, II, 165-92]

Someone remarked to me, "I pay no heed to such petty trifles as Japanese poetry; what interests me is the Chinese Way of governing a nation."

I smiled at this and did not answer. Later, when I met the same man he asked, "You seem to have an opinion on every subject—why did you merely keep smiling when I spoke to you?"

I answered, "You mean when you were talking about the Chinese Confucian teachings or whatever you call them? They are no more than a human invention which reduces the heart of Heaven and Earth to something trivial."

At these words he became enraged. "How dare you call our Great Way trivial?"

I answered, "I would be interested in hearing whether or not the Chinese Confucian learning has actually helped to govern a country successfully." He immediately cited the instances of Yao, Shun, Hsia, Yin, Chou, and so on. I asked if there were no later examples, but he informed me that there were not.

I pursued the matter, asking this time about how far back Chinese traditions went. He answered that thousands of years had passed from Yao's day to the present. I then asked, "Why then did the Way of Yao continue only until the Chou and afterwards cease? I am sure that it is because you restrict yourself to citing events which took place thousands of years ago that the Way seems so good. But those are merely ancient legends. It takes more than such specious ideas to run a country!"

When I said this he grew all the more furious, and ranted on about ancient matters. I said, "You are utterly prejudiced. You say that Yao yielded the throne to that rascal Shun? That sounds as if it must have been a good thing for the country, but that is the sort of thing we avoid in Japan as being 'too good.'¹ In China there were also ruffians who, far from yielding the throne, sprang up from nowhere to kill their sovereigns and seize control of the country. That is what we find 'too bad' and equally avoid. An excess of good can thus lead to excess of evil. [Kamo goes on to cite many other similar instances in Chinese history.]

¹ That is, something which though good in itself can lead to unfortunate consequences.

"Things in China grew more and more chaotic, although in the time of the Emperor Wen of the Han dynasty, there seems to have been a short interval of good government because the Emperor took to heart what Lao Tzu had said. As you can see, whenever some base-born individual appeared to slay his lord and proclaim himself emperor, everyone bowed his head and served this upstart obediently. That is not the worst of it. Although the Chinese despise all foreign countries as 'barbarian,' when someone from one of the 'barbarian' countries became emperor, they all prostrated themselves before him. Wouldn't you say, then, that to despise others as 'barbarian' was irresponsible? It is not a word to be applied indiscriminately.

"Thus, despite the fact that their country has been torn for centuries by disturbances and has never really been well administered, they think that they can explain with their Way of Confucius the principles governing the whole world. Indeed, when one has heard them through, there is nothing to be said: anyone can quickly grasp their doctrines because they consist of mere quibbling. What they value the most and insist on is the establishment and maintenance of good government. Everybody in China would seem to have been in agreement on this point, but belief in it did not in fact lie very deep. It is obvious that many gave superficial assent who did not assent in their hearts. Yet when these principles were introduced to this country it was stated that China had obtained good government through the adoption of them. This was a complete fabrication. I wish it were possible to send to China anyone who clung to such a belief! He would discover like Urashima Tarō² when he returned to his home, what an illusion he had been suffering from!

"Japan in ancient days was governed in accordance with the natural laws of Heaven and earth. There was never any indulgence in such petty rationalizing as marked China, but when suddenly these teachings were transmitted here from abroad, they quickly spread, for the men of old in their simplicity took them for the truth. In Japan there had been generation after generation, extending back to the remote past, which had known prosperity, but no sooner were these Confucian teachings propagated here than in the time of Temmu³ a great rebellion occurred. Later,

² The hero of a Japanese fairy tale who returns to his village after extraordinary adventures in a dragon's palace to discover, like Rip Van Winkle, that many years have elapsed and he himself is an old man.

³ The Emperor Temmu (631-686) ascended the throne only after a struggle with Prince Ōtomo, the appointed successor of Tenchi.

at Nara, the palace, dress, and ceremonies were Chinesified, and everything took on a superficial elegance; under the surface, however, contentiousness and dishonesty became more prevalent.

"Confucianism made men crafty, and led them to worship the ruler to such an excessive degree that the whole country acquired a servant's mentality. Later it even came about that an emperor was sacrilegiously driven to an island exile. This occurred because the country had become infected with Chinese ideas. Some people speak ill of Buddhism, but since it is a teaching which makes men stupid, it does not represent a grave evil; after all, rulers do not prosper unless the people are stupid.⁴

"Just as roads are naturally created when people live in uncultivated woodlands or fields, so the Way of the Age of the Gods spontaneously took hold in Japan. Because it was a Way indigenous to the country it caused our emperors to wax increasingly in prosperity. However, the Confucian teachings had not only repeatedly thrown China into disorder, but they now had the same effect in Japan. Yet there are those unwitting of these facts who reverence Confucianism and think that it is the Way to govern the country! This is a deplorable attitude.

"Japanese poetry has as its subject the human heart. It may seem to be of no practical use and just as well left uncomposed, but when one knows poetry well, one understands also without explanation the reasons governing order and disorder in the world. They say that Confucius himself did not reject poetry, but placed the *Book of Songs* at the head of the classics. Things which are explained in terms of theories are as dead. Those which operate together with Heaven and earth spontaneously are alive and active. I do not mean to say that it is a bad idea to have a general knowledge of all things, but it is a common human failing to tend to lean excessively in that direction. It is advisable not to cling too tenaciously to things once one has learned them. Even though some Japanese poems have as their themes evil desires, the poems do not corrupt the reader's heart, but instead make it more gentle and more understanding of all things.

"When ruling the country a knowledge of Chinese things is of no help in the face of an emergency. In such a situation some man will spontaneously come forth to propose things which are wise and true. In the same way, doctors often study and master Chinese texts, but very seldom

⁴On the Taoist principle that knowledge leads to greed and ambition, craftiness and contentiousness.

do they cure any sickness. On the other hand, medicines which have been transmitted naturally in this country with no reasons or theoretical knowledge behind them, infallibly cure all maladies. It is good when a man spontaneously devotes himself to these things. It is unwise to become obsessed with them. I would like to show people even once what is good in our Way. The fact that the Confucian scholars know very little about government is obvious from the frequent disorders which arise in China whenever the government is left to them. . . .

"It is another bad habit of the Chinese to distinguish men from beasts, by way of self-praise for being men and dispraise for the rest. It is like their custom of despising all other countries as 'barbarian,' a meaningless expression. Are not all creatures which live between Heaven and earth so many insects? Why should only man be considered precious? What is so exceptional about man? In China they venerate man as 'the soul of all things' or some such, but I wonder if man should not rather be called 'the most evil of all things'? By this I mean that, just as the sun and moon have not changed, birds, beasts, fish and plants are all exactly as they were in ancient days, but ever since man impetuously decided that knowledge would be of use to him, evil motives of every kind have sprung up among people, and have finally thrown the world into turmoil. Even when they enjoy peaceful rule men deceive one another. It might be desirable if just one or two men in the world had knowledge, but when everyone possesses it, what a dreadful chaos ensues, and in the end the knowledge itself is useless. If one looked through the eyes of a bird or a beast, one would say, 'Man is evil. His ways should not be followed.'"

. . . .

People also tell me, "We had no writing in this country and therefore had to use Chinese characters. From this one fact you can know everything about the relative importance of our countries." I answer, "I need not recite again how troublesome, evil, turbulent a country China is. To mention just one instance—there is the matter of their picture-writing. There are about 38,000 characters in common use,⁵ as someone has determined. . . . Every place name and plant name has a separate character for it which has no other use but to designate that particular place or plant. Can any man, even one who devotes himself to the task earnestly,

⁵ An extraordinary exaggeration. Even in Kamo's day not more than 2,500 characters could have been in common use.

learn all these many characters? Sometimes people miswrite characters, sometimes the characters themselves change from one generation to the next. What a nuisance, a waste of effort, and a bother! In India, on the other hand, fifty letters suffice for the writing of the more than 5,000 volumes of the Buddhist scriptures. A knowledge of a mere fifty letters permits one to know and transmit innumerable words of past and present alike. This is not simply a matter of writing—the fifty sounds are the sounds of Heaven and earth, and words conceived from them are naturally different from the Chinese characters. Whatever kind of writing we may originally have had, ever since Chinese writing was introduced we have mistakenly become enmeshed in it. Now only the old words, but not their writing are preserved. These words are not identical with the fifty Indian sounds . . . but the fifty sounds suffice to express all words without the nuisance of characters. In Holland, I understand, they use twenty-five letters. In this country there should be fifty. The appearance of letters used in all countries is in general the same, except for China where they invented their bothersome system. . . . The opinion that the characters are precious is not worth discussing further."

.

What do we know of China in most ancient days? Because the Chinese of later generations invented things, does it follow that here in Japan we too must have invented history? There are bound to be many mistakes in what human minds invent. When we look at things recorded in China by the learned men, we see that the country never profited by any Way unless it was in accord with Heaven and earth. Therefore the sayings of Lao Tzu derived from the Will of Heaven and earth were in consonance with the proper Way of the country. In ancient days China was also a decent country. . . . In ancient times words and things were few. When things are few the heart is sincere, and there is no need for difficult teachings. All will go satisfactorily even without teachings because men are honest. It is true that since men's hearts are manifold there is always some evil in them, but evil itself cannot remain hidden in an honest heart. If it is not hidden, it will not develop into anything serious, but will remain no more than a moment's aberration. Thus, in ancient days though the land was not absolutely devoid of the teachings of good men, a few easy ones sufficed. However, since China is a country of wicked-heartedness, no amount of profound instruction could keep the innate evil

from overwhelming the country, despite the surface appearance. Japan has always been a country where the people are honest. As long as a few teachings were carefully observed and we worked in accordance with the Will of Heaven and earth, the country would be well off without any special instruction. Nevertheless, Chinese doctrines were introduced and corrupted men's hearts. Even though these teachings resembled those of China itself, they were of the kind which heard in the morning are forgotten by evening. Our country in ancient times was not like that. It obeyed the laws of Heaven and earth. The emperor was the sun and moon and the subjects the stars. If the subjects as stars protect the sun and moon, they will not hide it as is now the case. Just as the sun, moon, and stars have always been in Heaven, so our imperial sun and moon, and the stars his vassals, have existed without change from ancient days, and have ruled the world fairly. However, some knaves appeared,^a and as a result the emperor is diminished in power, and his subjects too have fallen off. The *Age of the Gods* is where we may gain a knowledge of this. To discover it, we should carefully examine the words and thoughts in the ancient poetry, and thereby see clearly into the oldest writings.

MOTOORI NORINAGA

The True Tradition of the Sun Goddess

This excerpt is from Motoori's *Precious Comb-box* (*Tama kushige*), the contents of which are meant to "comb" out the snarls of intellectual confusion. In it he upholds the traditional account of the divine creation in all its unembellished simplicity while rejecting the rationalistic cosmogony of the Chinese. The Sun Goddess is a universal deity as well as a national one, but she has shown special favor to the Japanese and guides them to a special destiny.

[From *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū*, VI, 3-6]

The True Way is one and the same, in every country and throughout heaven and earth. This Way, however, has been correctly transmitted only in our Imperial Land. Its transmission in all foreign countries was lost long ago in early antiquity, and many and varied ways have been expounded, each country representing its own way as the Right Way. But the ways of foreign countries are no more the original Right Way

^a Not identified; refers perhaps to the Fujiwara family and all others who have usurped power from the emperor.

than end-branches of a tree are the same as its root. They may have resemblances here and there to the Right Way, but because the original truth has been corrupted with the passage of time, they can scarcely be likened to the original Right Way. Let me state briefly what that one original Way is. One must understand, first of all, the universal principle of the world. The principle is that Heaven and earth, all the gods and all phenomena, were brought into existence by the creative spirits of two deities—Takami-musubi and Kami-musubi. The birth of all humankind in all ages and the existence of all things and all matter have been the result of that creative spirit. It was the original creativity of these two august deities which caused the deities Izanagi and Izanami to create the land, all kinds of phenomena, and numerous gods and goddesses at the beginning of the Divine Age. This spirit of creativity [*musubi*, lit., "union"] is a miraculously divine act the reason for which is beyond the comprehension of the human intellect.

But in the foreign countries where the Right Way has not been transmitted this act of divine creativity is not known. Men there have tried to explain the principle of Heaven and earth and all phenomena by such theories as the yin and yang, the hexagrams of the Book of Changes, and the Five Elements. But all of these are fallacious theories stemming from the assumptions of the human intellect and they in no wise represent the true principle.

Izanagi, in deep sorrow at the passing of his goddess, journeyed after her to the land of death. Upon his return to the upper world he bathed himself at Ahagiwara in Tachibana Bay in Tsukushi in order to purify himself of the pollution of the land of death, and while thus cleansing himself, he gave birth to the Heaven-Shining Goddess who by the explicit command of her father-God, came to rule the Heavenly Plain for all time to come. This Heaven-Shining Goddess is none other than the sun in heaven which today casts its gracious light over the world. Then, an Imperial Prince of the Heaven-Shining Goddess was sent down from heaven to the middle kingdom of Ashihara. In the Goddess' mandate to the Prince at that time it was stated that his dynasty should be coeval with Heaven and earth. It is this mandate which is the very origin and basis of the Way. Thus, all the principles of the world and the way of humankind are represented in the different stages of the Divine Age. Those who seek to know the Right Way must therefore pay careful attention to the

stages of the Divine Age and learn the truths of existence. These aspects of the various stages are embodied in the ancient traditions of the Divine Age. No one knows with whom these ancient traditions began, but they were handed down orally from the very earliest times and they refer to the accounts which have since been recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. The accounts recorded in these two scriptures are clear and explicit and present no cause for doubt. Those who have interpreted these scriptures in a later age have contrived oracular formulae and have expounded theories which have no real basis. Some have become addicts of foreign doctrines and have no faith in the wonders of the Divine Age. Unable to understand that the truths of the world are contained in the evolution of the Divine Age, they fail to ascertain the true meaning of our ancient tradition. As they base their judgment on the strength of foreign beliefs, they always interpret at their own discretion and twist to their own liking anything they encounter which may not be in accord with their alien teachings. Thus, they say that the High Heavenly Plain refers to the Imperial Capital and not to Heaven, and that the Sun Goddess herself was not a goddess nor the sun shining in the heavens but an earthly person and the forebear of the nation. These are arbitrary interpretations purposely contrived to flatter foreign ideologies. In this way the ancient tradition is made to appear narrow and petty, by depriving it of its comprehensive and primal character. This is counter to the meaning of the scriptures.

Heaven and earth are one; there is no barrier between them. The High Heavenly Plain is the high heavenly plain which covers all the countries of the world, and the Sun Goddess is the goddess who reigns in that heaven. Thus, she is without a peer in the whole universe, casting her light to the very ends of heaven and earth and for all time. There is not a single country in the world which does not receive her beneficent illuminations, and no country can exist even for a day or an hour bereft of her grace. This goddess is the splendor of all splendors. However, foreign countries, having lost the ancient tradition of the Divine Age, do not know the meaning of revering this goddess. Only through the speculations of the human intelligence have they come to call the sun and the moon the spirit of yang and yin. In China and other countries the "Heavenly Emperor" is worshiped as the supreme divinity. In other countries there are other objects of reverence, each according to its own

way, but their teachings are based, some on the logic of inference, and some on arbitrary personal opinions. At any rate, they are merely man-made designations and the "Heavenly Ruler" or the "Heavenly Way" have no real existence at all. That foreign countries revere such non-existent beings and remain unaware of the grace of the Sun Goddess is a matter of profound regret. However, because of the special dispensation of our Imperial Land, the ancient tradition of the Divine Age has been correctly and clearly transmitted in our country, telling us of the genesis of the great goddess and the reason for her adoration. The "special dispensation of our Imperial Land" means that ours is the native land of the Heaven-Shining Goddess who casts her light over all countries in the four seas. Thus our country is the source and fountainhead of all other countries, and in all matters it excels all the others. It would be impossible to list all the products in which our country excels, but foremost among them is rice, which sustains the life of man, for whom there is no product more important. Our country's rice has no peer in foreign countries, from which fact it may be seen why our other products are also superior. Those who were born in this country have long been accustomed to our rice and take it for granted, unaware of its excellence. They can enjoy such excellent rice morning and night to their heart's content because they have been fortunate enough to be born in this country. This is a matter for which they should give thanks to our shining deities, but to my great dismay they seem to be unmindful of it.

Our country's Imperial Line, which casts its light over this world, represents the descendants of the Sky-Shining Goddess. And in accordance with that Goddess' mandate of reigning "forever and ever, coeval with Heaven and earth," the Imperial Line is destined to rule the nation for eons until the end of time and as long as the universe exists. That is the very basis of our Way. That our history has not deviated from the instructions of the divine mandate bears testimony to the infallibility of our ancient tradition. It can also be seen why foreign countries cannot match ours and what is meant by the special dispensation of our country. Foreign countries expound their own ways, each as if its way alone were true. But their dynastic lines, basic to their existence, do not continue; they change frequently and are quite corrupt. Thus one can surmise that in everything they say there are falsehoods and that there is no basis in fact for them.

Wonder

This passage explains the inadequacy of human reason to comprehend the wondrous manifestations of the power of the gods, and mocks at the Confucian pretention to have found a rational answer to every problem. It is taken from the *Arrowroot* (*Kuzubana*), so entitled because this plant creeps humbly along the ground but yields a pretty blossom and a nutritious starch, which, when fermented, produces a stimulating liquor. Motoori suggests that his ideas, simple and unpretentious though they may be, are nevertheless food and stimulus for thought. This dialogue was written in answer to an attack on the Shinto revival by the Confucianist, Ichikawa Tatsumaro (d. 1795).

[From *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū*, V, 459-62]

Objection: You are obstinate in insisting that the Sun Goddess is the sun in heaven. If this is so, perpetual darkness must have reigned everywhere before her birth. The sun must have been in heaven since the beginning of the universe [before the birth of the Goddess].

Motoori: First of all, I cannot understand why you say that I am obstinate. That the Sun Goddess is the sun in heaven is clear from the records of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. If it is so beyond any doubt, is not the person who raises an objection the one who is obstinate? This Sun Goddess casts her light to the very extremities of the universe, but in the beginning it was in our Imperial Land that she made her appearance, and as the sovereign of the Imperial Line, that is, of the Imperial Land, she has reigned supreme over the Four Seas until now. When this Goddess hid herself in a cave in heaven, closing its doors, darkness fell over the countries of the world. You ask why darkness did not reign everywhere before her birth, a question a child might well ask. It seems childish indeed when a question which might spring from the doubts of a child is asked with such insistence by you. But this very point proves that the ancient happenings of the Divine Age are facts and not fabrications. Some say that the records are the fabrication of later sovereigns, but who would fabricate such shallow sounding, incredible things? This is a point you should reflect upon seriously.

The acts of the gods cannot be measured by ordinary human reasoning. Man's intellect, however wise, has its limits. It is small, and what is beyond its confines it cannot know. The acts of the gods are straightforward. That they appear to be shallow and untrue is due to the limitation

of what man can know. To the human mind these acts appear to be remote, inaccessible, and difficult of comprehension and belief. Chinese teachings, on the other hand, were established within the reach of human intelligence; thus, to the mind of the listener, they are familiar and intimate and easy of comprehension and belief. The Chinese, because they believe that the wisdom of the Sage [Confucius] was capable of comprehending all the truths of the universe and of its phenomena, pretend to the wisdom of the Sage and insist, despite their small and limited minds, that they know what their minds are really incapable of knowing. But at the same time they refuse to believe in the inscrutability of the truth, for this, they conclude, is irrational. This sounds clever, but on the contrary, it betrays the pettiness of their intelligence. If my objector would rid himself of such a habit and reflect seriously, such a doubt as he has just expressed would disappear of itself.

It will be recalled that when Izanagi made his way to the nether region, he carried a light because of the darkness there, but while he lived in the actual world, he did not. The nether world is dark because it has to be dark; the actual world is clear because it has to be clear. Thus, there was light in the actual world before the birth of the Sun Goddess, although the reason why it is so cannot be fathomed. In the commentaries on the *Nihongi* there are references to luminous human beings of the days of creation who cast light about them, but these references were derived from the Buddhist scriptures. There is also mention of a deity of firefly light, but this was an evil deity, and his case cannot be taken as a typical one. There are otherwise no traditions about deities of light, and thus we have no way of knowing what light there was for illumination. But presumably there was light for reasons beyond the reach of human intelligence. Why then did darkness prevail when the Sun Goddess hid herself behind the door of the rocky cave? It was because it had been determined that with the birth of the Sun Goddess the whole space of the universe should come within her illumination, and that henceforth there would be no light without her illumination. This is the same sort of inscrutable truth as the case of the descent of the Imperial Grandchild from Heaven after which communication between Heaven and earth was completely severed. There are many other strange and inscrutable happenings in the Divine Age, which should be accepted in the same way. The people of antiquity never attempted to reason out the acts of the

gods with their own intelligence, but the people of a later age, influenced by the Chinese, have become addicts of rationalism. Such people appear wise, but in reality are quite foolish in their suspicion and skepticism about the strange happenings of the Divine Age which are quite different from the happenings of the human age. The fact is that even the things of the human age are, in reality, strange and wondrous, but because we are accustomed to their present form and have always lived in their midst, we cease to be aware of their wondrous quality. Consider, for example, how this universe goes on. Is the earth suspended in the sky or attached to something else? In either instance it is a wondrous thing. Suppose it is attached to something else, what is there under it to support it? This is something which cannot be understood. Thus in China, although there are many theories, they all end in wonder. Among them is a theory called the global theory which says that the earth is round and that it is enveloped in space and hangs in the sky. It sounds most plausible but ordinary reasoning tells us that despite the fullness of the ether in the sky this land and the great oceans cannot remain suspended and motionless in the sky. Thus, this theory too is nothing more than an expression of wonderment. Another theory says that space consists of ether only and that it has no form of its own. This too sounds plausible, but if ether fills the outer space, is there a limit to its extension or not? If it has no limit there is no way of determining its circumference or its center or where in it the earth is situated. The earth cannot stop except at the dead center of space. If, on the other hand, the extension of ether is limited, then it must assume the shape of a ball, raising the question about the definite point around which it condenses itself. Then again, what is there to cause it to condense? Thus we see that this theory too is an expression of the strange and the wondrous.

Man, living in such a strange and wondrous universe, wonders not about its mysteries but only about the wonders of the Divine Age, saying there is no reason for them. If this is not senseless, what is?

Consider also the human body: it has eyes to see, ears to hear, a mouth to speak, feet to walk, and hands to do a thousand things. Are they not truly wonderful? Birds and insects fly in the sky, plants and trees bloom and bear fruit—they are all wonderful. When insentient beings change into sentient beings such as birds and insects, or when foxes and badgers

take on human form—are these not the strangest of all strange things? Thus, the universe and all things therein are without a single exception strange and wondrous when examined carefully. Even the Sage would be incapable of explaining these phenomena. Thus, one must acknowledge that human intelligence is limited and puny while the acts of the gods are illimitable and wondrous. But it is indeed amusing that there are people who respect and believe in this Sage as one who had illuminated every truth of the universe and its phenomena, when in fact he explained only those things within the boundaries of his own intelligence.

The beginnings of such a vastly wondrous universe and all its phenomena must be even more wonderful. The Chinese explain it in terms of yin and yang, but they have failed to explain why yin and yang operate in such a manner—which only adds to the wonder of the beginnings of the universe. Or one might say that the universe had no beginning, just as it will have no end; but if things existed which had no beginning, it would be even more strange and wondrous. If my objector would reflect upon the above things, his doubts would disappear of themselves. If his doubts are still insoluble, I shall cite examples nearer to him. Mice and martens can see in darkness as well as in broad daylight. By what manner of light do they see? There are also birds which see things well at night but cannot see them in daylight. Such things cannot be explained by the usual reasoning. The objector has said that there was no reason for light to exist in the Divine Age, but can he say that there was a reason for such light not to exist? What is your answer? Even in the case of lowly birds and animals there is a reason beyond reason. Is there any need to say more about our imperial forebears at the beginning of the universe?

The Error of Rationalism

[From *Kuzubana* in *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū*, V, 463–66]

Objection: The scholar [Motoori] treats this country as if it were different from other countries.

Motoori: The objector also says at the end of the book that I want “to put our country outside the universe.” I cannot understand what he means, but I surmise from what he says before and after that he is

criticizing me for my statement that the Sun Goddess, who is the sun in heaven, was born in our country. . . .

I shall not reiterate here the details of the theory that the Sun Goddess is the sun in heaven and that she was born in our land. But because of the absence of the correct transmission of this fact in foreign lands, men there do not know about the genesis of the sun and the moon. They had a theory [in China] that the sun and the moon were the eyes of P'an Ku, which is a remnant of the true ancient tradition, but in China, where everyone is addicted to sophistry, such an interpretation was regarded as fantastic, and it was discarded. Instead, the sun and the moon were declared to be, on pure personal conjecture, the spirits of yin and yang. The theory of P'an Ku's eyes is an instance of the transmission to and modification in a foreign country of the tradition that the Sun Goddess was born of the ablution of Izanagi's eyes. It is only a fragmentary survival, but it is superior to any conjectural theory.

Leaving aside for the moment the question as to which is superior, let us first make a distinction between the Chinese and the Japanese views. From the Chinese point of view, the Japanese view is wrong, and from the Japanese point of view, the Chinese view is wrong. But the objector advances only the Chinese view and attempts to universalize it, even denying the antiquity of our Imperial Land. Is this not prejudiced and arbitrary? To this he might reply that the universe is one, that there is no distinction between a Chinese and Japanese point of view, and that narrow partiality lies in attempting to make such distinctions. However, the objector, in advancing only the Chinese view and casting doubt on the antiquity of our Imperial Land, himself makes such a distinction and shows partiality to China. . . . Even if there were no distinctions among the countries, it would still be proper for the various countries of the world, each with its own traditions and its point of view, to maintain their views according to their own traditions. Our Imperial Land in particular is superior to the rest of the world in its possession of the correct transmission of the ancient Way, which is that of the great Goddess who casts her light all over the world. It is treasonable malice to urge that we discard that transmission in favor of a senseless foreign view which, moreover, insists that our ancient transmission is a fantasy and a fabrication. . . .

Then again, his assertion that I represent the sun as something different

from the sun of other countries is a ridiculous statement. How can the sun be different in other countries if I say that the Sun Goddess was born in our country and shines over all other countries? . . . Again, he says that the gods in Heaven regard all things equally and bestow their blessings impartially on them all. That is quite so, and yet our Imperial Land is the land where the Sky-Shining Goddess was born and where her descendants reign supreme; thus, it is superior to all other countries and cannot be regarded as the same.

Objection: The Sage, Confucius, has been looked up to as Heaven itself by tens of millions of people.

Motoori: This fact demonstrates that the Chinese, dynasty after dynasty, have been deceived by the Sage, who really does not deserve such credit. If adoration by the many is the mark of superiority, then it must be said that Shinran, the founder of the Ikkō Sect, is superior to the Sage, for the present-day followers of the Ikkō Sect revere their founder far more deeply than Confucians adore Confucius. . . .

Sages are superior to other people only in their cleverness. The fact is that they were all impostors. Among them the least blameworthy was Confucius. He was respectful of the Chou dynasty, for he was born in the Chou. That he deplored the impositions and irregularities of the feudal lords is a thing deserving of praise. But Mencius, whom the Confucianists revere as a sage in the same class with Confucius, was quite different. While professing the kingly way, he encouraged revolt wherever he went. He was no less evil a person than T'ang and Wu.¹

The Fact of Evil

A fundamental error of Confucianism and Buddhism, according to Motoori, is their attempt to transcend evil, death, and human sorrow by subtle rationalization. These are basic facts of human existence, he says, which must be faced in all their stark reality.

[From *Tama Kushige* in *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū*, VI, 9-11]

All things in life—great and small, their very existence in the universe, even man himself and his actions—are due to the spirits of the gods and their disposition of things. In general, there are various kinds of gods—

¹ According to the Confucian *Book of Documents* T'ang and Wu were founders of the Shang and Chou dynasties, who asserted that the rulers they deposed had lost the Mandate of Heaven by their misconduct.

noble, mean, good, bad, right, and wrong. So it is that things in life are not always lucky and good: they are mixed with the bad and the unfortunate. Internecine wars break out occasionally and events not in the interest of the world or of mankind take place. Not infrequently, good or bad fortune befalls a man contrary to the principles of justice. Such things are the acts of the evil deities. The evil deities are those who do all manner of evil, moved by the spirit of the deity Magatsubi who was born of the pollution of the land of death, of which the God Izanagi had cleansed himself. When such evil deities flourish and are unchecked, there are times when even the protective powers of the shining deities prove inadequate. This has been true since the Divine Age.

Why is it that life does not consist solely of the good and the right, and that the evil and the wrong are necessarily a part of it? Here again there is a basic reason, fixed in the Divine Age and recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. It is, however, a long story, difficult to relate here in detail. But a word or two should be said about the pollution of the land of death. The land of death is situated beneath the ground at the bottom of the earth. Thus, it is also called the "baseland" or the "netherland." It is an extremely dirty and evil land, where the dead go. In the beginning, Izanami, after her death, made her way there and partook of a cooked substance of the land called *yomotsuhegui*, which caused her to be defiled. Because of the pollution, she could never afterwards return to the upper world and she soon became the deity of evil and wickedness. Since it was this pollution which brought forth Magatsubi, it is well to bear in mind that pollution should be scrupulously avoided in life.

Now in life, everyone, noble or base, good or bad, must go to this land of death at the expiration of his life. This is indeed a sorrowful thing. It may seem to be too flat a statement and devoid of any logical basis, but it stems from traditions held since the Divine Age, traditions containing wondrous truths which defy comprehension by the ordinary mind. In foreign countries many doctrines have been contrived to explain the reason for man's life and death, but these are either mere human speculations or else contrivances cleverly made to appeal to human credulity. They sound plausible but are in fact fabrications. Man-made explanations in general seem plausible enough, unlike truths transmitted

from ancient times which sound shallow and illogical. But human intelligence has its limits and there are many things it cannot fathom. Thus it is that man, not knowing that these shallow and ludicrous sounding traditions actually contain wondrous and profound truths, continues to doubt them and at the same time believes in plausible-seeming fabrications. This is tantamount to believing in one's own mind rather than in facts, which is indeed ludicrous.

Upon his death man must leave everything behind—his wife and children, relatives and friends, house and property—and depart forever from the world he has known. He must of necessity go to that foul land of death, a fact which makes death the most sorrowful of all events. Some foreign doctrines, however, teach that death should not be regarded as profoundly sorrowful, while others assert that one's actions and attitude of mind in this life can modify the situation after death. So comprehensive and detailed are these explanations that people have been deluded into thinking they are true. Once faith is established in these beliefs, grief over death is regarded as a superstition. Those who hold them profess to be ashamed of being concerned about death, and they try not to be superstitious or emotional about it. Some write deathbed poems to express their sense of supreme enlightenment. These are all gross deceptions contrary to human sentiment and fundamental truths. Not to be happy over happy events, not to be saddened by sorrowful events, not to show surprise at astonishing events—in a word, to consider it proper not to be moved by whatever happens—are all foreign types of deception and falsehood. They are contrary to human nature and extremely repugnant to me. Death in particular is and should be a sorrowful event. Even the deity Izanagi who had created the land and all things thereon, and who had first shown the way of life in this world, wept sorrowfully like a little child when death overtook his wife and, longing for her, followed her even to the land of death. That is an expression of true human nature and sentiment. The truth requires that man too must act likewise.

In antiquity, before the confusion caused by the introduction of alien doctrines, man was honest. He did not indulge in the sophistication of inventing various and pointless theories about where he would go after death. He simply believed in the truth that at death he would go to the

land of death, and death was cause for him to weep in sorrow. Now this may have no bearing on government, but it helps in understanding the relative truth of our Imperial Way and that of foreign lands.

In foreign lands where it is not known that the occurrence of evil and wicked things in life is the result of the acts of evil deities, attempts have been made to explain man's fortunes—good, bad, or undeserved—in terms of the doctrine of causality and retribution [Buddhism]. Then again they have dismissed the question of man's destiny, by saying that it is Heaven's mandate or Heaven's way [Confucianism]. The doctrine of causality and retribution, as stated above, was invented for expediency's sake and does not merit serious consideration. The doctrine of Heaven's mandate, or Heaven's way, was nothing more than an excuse made in ancient China by men like T'ang and Wu to justify, where no cause for justification existed, the treacherous overthrow of their sovereigns and the seizure of their domains. If that was Heaven's mandate or Heaven's way, then there should have been no irregularities at all in connection with it. But actually there were many irregularities.² Why?

Good and Evil in the Tale of Genji

Before Motoori became involved in the Neo-Shinto movement, he had devoted himself to the study of Japanese literature, the interpretation of which provided the basis for much of his later thought. The next selections are from his *Tama no Ogushi*, a study of Lady Murasaki's *Tale of Genji*. The novel he viewed in a surprisingly "modern" light: it is a record of human experience as we find it, not necessarily as we should wish it to be. It is just such a realistic appreciation of the emotional life of man that makes the *Genji* one of the greatest expressions of the Japanese spirit and provides the key to all that is truest and best in the Japanese national life.

[From *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū*, VII, 472-88]

There have been many interpretations over the years of the purpose of this tale. But all of these interpretations have been based not on a consideration of the nature of the novel itself but rather on the novel as seen from the point of view of Confucian and Buddhist works, and thus they do not represent the true purpose of the author. To seize upon an occasional similarity in sentiment or a chance correspondence in ideas with Confucian and Buddhist works, and proceed to generalize about

² That is, men of virtue such as Po I and Shu Ch'ī protested against this usurpation.

the nature of the tale as a whole, is unwarranted. The general appeal of this tale is very different from that of such didactic works. [p. 472]

.

Good and evil as found in this tale do not correspond to good and evil as found in Confucian and Buddhist writings. . . . Good and evil extend to all realms. Even with the human being good and evil are not necessarily limited to his thinking and his conduct. Rank and position imply good and evil; thus, the noble person is regarded as good, the lowly as bad. In the *Tale* persons of high rank are spoken of as good, while in common parlance there are such expressions as "of good family" and "of good or bad standing." Thus it is too that we speak of good or bad features of one's face. Again, longevity, wealth, and prosperity are all good things, while short life, poverty, failure, loss of material things, illness, and disaster are all bad things. In addition to these strictly human aspects of good and evil, there is good and evil in such things as dress, furniture, housing, and in fact in all things. Thus, it is not only in the psychological and ethical realms of life that we find good and evil. Again, good and evil are not constant—they change according to time and circumstance. For example, an arrow is good if it penetrates its object, while armor is good if it is impenetrable. In the heat of a summer day coolness is good, while in the cold of winter heat is good. For the man who treads the road at night darkness is bad, but for the one who seeks to conceal himself moonlight is bad. In such a way all things may be good or bad. Thus too the good and bad in man's mind and in his acts may not be as opposed to each other as they seem: they differ according to the doctrines one follows. What Confucianism deems good Buddhism may not; and what Buddhism considers good Confucianism might regard as evil. Likewise, references to good and evil in the *Tale* may not correspond to Confucian or Buddhist concepts of good and evil. Then what is good or evil in the realm of human psychology and ethics according to the *Tale of Genji*? Generally speaking, those who know the meaning of the sorrow of human existence, i.e., those who are in sympathy and in harmony with human sentiments, are regarded as good; and those who are not aware of the poignancy of human existence, i.e., those who are not in sympathy and not in harmony with human sentiments, are regarded as bad. Regarded in this light, good and evil in the *Tale* may not appear to be especially different from that in Confucianism or

Buddhism. However, if examined closely it will be noted that there are many points of difference, as, for example, in the statement about being or not being in harmony with human sentiment. The *Tale* presents even good and evil in gentle and calm terms unlike the intense, compelling, dialectical manner of Confucian writings.

Since novels have as their object the teaching of the meaning of the nature of human existence, there are in their plots many points contrary to Confucian and Buddhist teaching. This is because among the varied feelings of man's reaction to things—whether good, bad, right, or wrong—there are feelings contrary to reason, however improper they may be. Man's feelings do not always follow the dictates of his mind. They arise in man in spite of himself and are difficult to control. In the instance of Prince Genji, his interest in and rendezvous with Utsusemi, Oborozukiyo, and the Consort Fujitsubo are acts of extraordinary iniquity and immorality according to the Confucian and Buddhist points of view. It would be difficult to call Prince Genji a good man, however numerous his other good qualities. But the *Tale* does not dwell on his iniquitous and immoral acts, but rather recites over and over again his profound awareness of the sorrow of existence, and represents him as a good man who combines in himself all good things in man. . . .

For all that, the *Tale* does not regard Genji's misdeeds as good. The evil nature of his acts is obvious and need not be restated here. Besides, there is a type of writing which has as its purpose the consideration of such evils—in fact, there are quite a few such writings—and an objective story therefore need not be used for such a purpose. The novel is neither like the Buddhist Way which teaches man to attain enlightenment without deviating from the rightful way, nor like the Confucian Way which teaches man how to govern the country or to regulate one's home or one's conduct. It is simply a tale of human life which leaves aside and does not profess to take up at all the question of good and bad, and which dwells only upon the goodness of those who are aware of the sorrow of human existence. The purpose of the *Tale of Genji* may be likened to the man who, loving the lotus flower, must collect and store muddy and foul water in order to plant and cultivate the flower. The impure mud of illicit love affairs described in the *Tale* is there not for the purpose of being admired but for the purpose of nurturing the flower of the awareness of the sorrow of human existence. Prince Genji's conduct is like the lotus flower which is happy and fragrant but which has its roots

in filthy muddy water. But the *Tale* does not dwell on the impurity of the water; it dwells only on those who are sympathetically kind and who are aware of the sorrow of human existence, and it holds these feelings to be the basis of the good man. [pp. 486-88]

Love and Poetry

In this piece from an early work, *Sekijō shishūku-gen* (freely: *Observations from Long Years of Apprenticeship to Poetry*), Motoori acclaims Japanese poetry for its spontaneous expression of the deepest human emotions and justifies its defiance of Confucian canons of emotional restraint. Characteristically, Motoori recognized the worth of any poetry, early or late, which satisfied this criterion, whereas his mentor Kamo Mabuchi had held that in all poetry after the *Manyōshū* the Japanese spirit had been corrupted by Chinese influence.

[From *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū*, VI, 524-29]

Question: Why are there so many love poems in the world?

Answer: The oldest love poems are found in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, but the dynastic anthologies are particularly conspicuous for the great number of love poems which they contain. In the *Manyōshū* there are sections . . . devoted entirely to love poems. . . . Even in the Chinese *Book of Odes* love songs are prominent. Why is this so? It is because love, more than any other emotion, stirs the human heart deeply and demands an outlet in poetry. It is to love poems that we must look for lines which are profoundly expressive of human emotion.

Question: Generally speaking, man seems to be constantly concerned, not so much with love but rather with personal success and the acquisition of wealth, in which he appears to be completely and unreasonably absorbed. Why is it that there are no poems expressive of these sentiments?

Answer: There is a distinction between emotion and passion. All the varied feelings of the human heart are emotions, but those among them which seek for something in one way or another are passions. These two are inseparable, passions being in general a kind of emotion. Only such feelings as sympathy for others, sadness, sorrow, and regret are specifically called emotions. But as far as poetry is concerned, it comes only from emotion. This is because emotion is more sensitive to things and more deeply compassionate. Passion is absorbed only in the acquisition of things; it does not move one deeply or intimately. Thus, it has no capacity for tears at the sight of flowers or the song of birds. The desire to acquire

wealth is an example of passion. It is so alien to the awareness of the sorrow of existence that there can be no outpouring of poetry from it. Although love has its origin in passion, it is a deep emotion which no living thing can avoid. And as man is most highly capable of understanding the meaning of the sorrow of existence, it is he who is most deeply moved—sometimes unbearably—by the sentiment of love. Outside of love where there is awareness of the sorrow of existence, there is poetry. And whereas it became the practice in later times to suppress emotion—for emotion was regarded as less profound than passion, a sign of a faint heart, and therefore a shameful thing—poetry alone retained the spirit of antiquity and continued to express truthfully and without adornment the real sentiments of the human heart. Nor has poetry felt constrained to apologize for femininity or faintheartedness. In later times poets, in order to enhance the charm of poetry, have emphasized awareness of the sorrow of existence and have turned against themes of passion. Passion is not a fit subject for poetry. Thus, poems such as those in praise of wine found in the third volume of the *Manyōshū* and so common in Chinese poetry are unappealing, if not odious. They evoke no affection and hold no attraction, because passion is regarded as tainted and not conducive to fine sentiment. Why is it that in other countries [meaning China] the feeling of emotion is regarded as something shameful while base passion is regarded as something admirable?

Question: In the Chinese work, the *Book of Rites*, it is stated that love is a cardinal passion of man. Conjugal sentiment is deep, for it is the feeling of husband for wife and wife for husband, and this is as it should be. But love in poetry is not always confined to love between man and wife. A man in the privacy of his own room yearns for the woman who is not acceptable to his parents; another, in the intimacy of the bedchamber, gives his love to a woman betrothed to another. Such conduct is licentious and wicked; yet it is regarded as an exquisite example of love. Why?

Answer: It has been stated above that the human heart is susceptible to love—no one can avoid it. Once involved in and disturbed by it, the wise and foolish alike frequently behave illogically in spite of themselves, and they end by losing control of the country,³ and ruining their bodies and their reputations. That has been the case in numberless instances

³ It is characteristic of Confucian teaching, which is addressed primarily to the ruling class, that it is most concerned with the political consequences of moral failings.

in the past and it is so in the present. And this occurs despite the fact that everyone fully realizes that such behavior is evil and that one must guard against becoming wildly infatuated. But not all men are sages. Not only in love but also in their daily thought and conduct the good does not always prevail; in fact, the bad often does. Love, of all the things in life, is most difficult to suppress in spite of every effort to control it. And man, even with the realization that conduct contrary to the dictates of his own mind is evil, is helpless to control it; of this there are numerous instances. Within the heart, unnoticed by others, there may be a fancy for someone else even though outwardly one appears quite sober and admonishes others to beware of love. If one searches the bottom of one's heart it is impossible not to find love there, especially the type of love forbidden by man. And try as one might to suppress it, there will be only melancholy and bewilderment in one's heart. As love is thus unreasonable, the love poems which come forth on such occasions are especially touching. It is also natural that there should be many love poems which suggest impropriety and licentiousness. Be that as it may, poetry follows the principle of the sorrow of existence and attempts to express without adornment the bad as well as the good. Its aim is not to select and arrange for the heart that which is good or bad. To advise against and check evil is the duty of those who govern the country and teach the people. While unruly love should be strongly cautioned against, it is not the responsibility of poetry to teach such discipline. The aim of poetry is different: it aims to give expression to an awareness of the poignancy of human life and should not be judged on any other basis. This is not to say that poetry applauds evil conduct or implies that it is good. It only avers that poems, as a medium for the expression of emotion, are admirable. All forms of literature including the novel should be looked upon and appreciated in this light and an attempt made to grasp the spirit of their purpose. For further reference I have dwelt upon this point separately and at greater length in my study of the *Tale of Genji*, which includes quotations from every chapter and explanatory notes. From this tale one can understand the spirit of poetry.

Question: Chinese poetry and other forms of Chinese literature are rarely devoted to accounts of love, but our literature abounds in them, including many instances of licentious behavior involving the high and the low alike. Yet, no one condemns this as evil. Is it because there is a taste for the frivolous and the voluptuous in our national character?

Answer: Man's predilection for love is the same now as it has been in the past, and it is the same here as it is elsewhere. An examination of Chinese historical accounts indicates that that country has had more than its share of licentious affairs. The Chinese, however, customarily subject all things to long, tedious moralistic judgments. In particular, love affairs have been judged by would-be scholars as something contemptible and despicable. Chinese poetry, likewise, has been subjected to this same national tendency; it has a taste only for the heroic, manly spirit and speaks not of the effeminate sentiments and sinful aspects of love, which it regards as shameful. This aspect of Chinese poetry is only its edited, ornamented, and outward appearance and not the true revelation of the human heart. But in a later age readers of such poetry have accepted it without serious study as expressive of the true situation. It is ridiculous to believe on this basis that the people of that country are less susceptible to the temptations of love than the people of other countries.

In general our countrymen are generous and not particularly discerning or critical. They have not engaged in painstaking and persistent disputations on the good or the bad in men. Instead they have transmitted in speech and in writing things as they were without adornment. This is particularly true of our poetry and novels, which have as their aim the expression of a sensitivity to human existence; they are calm, straightforward revelations of the varied feelings of men in love.

Again, our national histories written on Chinese models show no special distinction from their Chinese prototypes. It is erroneous to ignore these national histories and to fail to discern what is so clearly written in them, just as in their Chinese prototypes; or to adjudge the Japanese solely on the basis of the poetry and novels, as being especially susceptible to the temptations of love. Even the *Wei chih*, a Chinese history which may not be wholly reliable on all matters, says that the Japanese are not sexually licentious. Not only in love but in all other things as well there have been many scoundrels in China. The Chinese persistently warn against evil; yet, there are many evil men there because the country is bad. In our country, on the other hand, man's conduct has neither been excessively praised nor excessively decried; it has been dealt with calmly and straightforwardly. Thus, we do not make much of evil men in our country. And this is due to the fact that our country is the land of the gods.

Question: Monks should never indulge in love affairs; yet poetry does not censure them for it. In fact, there are many love poems by monks in the dynastic anthologies, and they continue to write them freely even today. Why?

Answer: Everyone knows very well that the Buddha warned sternly against licentious passions and that it is a matter which monks must scrupulously observe. Even today involvement in love is considered highly deplorable. However, the determination of the morality of such acts should be left to those who belong to the various orders. Poetry is a different thing. It attempts neither to trespass on the teachings of Confucius and Buddha nor to pass moral judgments. Its aim is merely to express a sensitivity to human existence, and its method is to give expression to the overflowing sentiments of the heart. As for monks who have forsaken the world and have entered an order, it is proper that they abide strictly by the teachings of the order, and that they do not conduct themselves licentiously even to the slightest degree. This is particularly true of their outward behavior, which they must maintain with utmost firmness. But the human sentiment of monks does not differ from that of laymen simply because they have become monks; for monks are neither all incarnations of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, nor can they, short of achieving enlightenment, rid themselves completely of the defilement of worldly life. The sentiment of love is apt to linger in their hearts—but this is as it should be. It is nothing shameful or worthy of reproach. They may even lose their minds over love and commit errors they should not commit, but such are common occurrences in everyday life. Buddha emphasized the commandment in this respect because it is a general weakness and one which is apt to lead people astray. For the people to believe that monks look like Buddha, and for the monks themselves to pretend that they look like Buddha, is a grave sin. I shall use a parable about a holy man in order to explain that psychology. The holy man, seeing the autumnal leaves at the peak of their glory, thought them beautiful, but meeting an attractive woman on the road, he passed by without casting a glance in her direction. Think of his behavior on these two occasions. The tinted autumnal leaves are no less a thing of charm of this world than the beautiful woman, and thus the holy man should not have given his attention to them. But such an attraction is momentary, unlike a woman's charm which has the special capacity of

captivating the human heart and of obstructing the attainment of salvation in the life hereafter. Thus the monk may admire the leaves but should not so much as cast a glance in the direction of the woman. His behavior, therefore, was correct, but to say that it was sincere and came from the bottom of his heart would be a gross deceit. If tinted leaves have charm which is limited and does not stir the human heart as deeply as a woman's personal charm, which is unlimited and beguiling to the human heart, it stands to reason that the human heart which admires the limited charm of the tinted leaves cannot help but admire the unlimited charms of a woman. It is as if a hundred ounces of gold were desirable but not a thousand. That is simply illogical. If a beautiful woman does not stir his heart even slightly, he is indeed a Buddha; otherwise, he is inferior in emotional capacity to the bird and the insect and may even be likened to the rock and the tree, which are devoid of feelings. Since a monk does not have a wife and must constantly discipline the passions which strain and distract his mind, it follows that his love poems are more expressive of feelings than those of the laity. There is an ancient anecdote which says that an abbot of Shiga temple was once permitted to hold the hand of a certain royal concubine while composing a poem called "Tamahabaki" [broom corn]. This is a most touching incident and one in keeping with a monk's feelings. To give vent in poetry to the unruly thoughts, long pent up in one's heart, is in accord with the spirit of "laying open one's heart" and of "confession," is it not? At any rate, as long as poetry is poetry, it needs no regulation.

HIRATA ATSUTANE

If Motoori Norinaga is to be credited with having made of the National Learning a subject worthy of a great scholar's attention, and thereby lent the largely inarticulate Shinto religion the authority of a canon of sacred writing, it remained for Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) to assert the supremacy of Shinto over all other religions and branches of learning. A curious blend of real learning and an often irrational bigotry produced in Hirata an ultranationalistic type of scholarship which was to exert a powerful emotional effect on the Japanese.

Little is known of Hirata's early years. He ran away from his home in the north of Japan at the age of nineteen, and made his way to Edo,

where for several years he eked out a hand-to-mouth existence with menial jobs. In 1801, at the age of twenty-five, he became interested in National Learning, a few months too late to meet Motoori, who died earlier in the same year. To Motoori's respect for the Japanese classics Hirata brought a contempt and hatred for Buddhism and Confucianism which extended at times to all things foreign. Motoori had sought to prove that there was a place for Shinto; Hirata now insisted that there was room for nothing else, but he extended the boundaries of Shinto to embrace almost all other forms of knowledge.

One of the most unusual aspects of Hirata's doctrines was the place held in it by Western learning and ideas. Although Hirata was at pains to revile the nations of the West whenever the necessity arose of proving that Japan was uniquely blessed, he also occasionally expressed a grudging admiration for Western science and even for Western theology. He himself was a practicing physician, and studied Dutch medical books in Japanese translation. He was fascinated by what he knew of Western astronomy, partially at least because of its relation to the Shinto cosmogony. Thus he welcomed the Copernican theory, saying that it confirmed ancient Japanese traditions which exalt the importance of the sun.

Most curiously, Hirata borrowed at times from Christian theological works. Such books had been banned in Japan for almost two hundred years, but Hirata managed to secure copies of at least three written in Chinese by Catholic missionaries in Peking. In one early (but never published) essay he very slightly adapted the arguments advanced by the Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci in support of Christianity against Confucianism in such a way that they became arguments for the supremacy of Shinto. It was an amazing instance of his determination to strengthen Shinto by all possible means.

It is debatable how much of Christianity remained in Hirata's theology as it finally evolved. The importance of a Creator God (in this case Takami-musubi) seems to partake of Christian influence, as does Hirata's insistence on the certainty of an agreeable afterworld for those who merit it, unlike the gloomy realm of pollution which Motoori saw as the final destination of all men. Hirata also borrowed from Confucianism, Taoism, and even Buddhism (which he so detested), when additional ammunition was needed in his battle for Shinto.

Hirata's zeal at times was so great as to transgress the bounds of

rationality and even of honesty. He seriously interrogated frauds who claimed to have visited the moon or to have lived among the mountain elves, noting with satisfaction whenever their statements confirmed Shinto doctrine. He declared that the Japanese had writing before its introduction from China and produced as evidence a script which proved to be the fifteenth-century Korean alphabet. The fact that the ancient Japanese chronicles make no mention of the Flood, so prominently described in the Bible, led Hirata to assert that this was proof that Japan is situated higher than all the inundated countries. These and many other instances leave us wondering whether he was intellectually dishonest or merely overcredulous.

Hirata's writings became powerful weapons in the struggle to arouse a national consciousness among the Japanese. By their very simplicity, by their appeal to what seemed obvious and immediate to the ordinary man, and through the supreme value placed on sheer emotionalism, the Neo-Shinto teachings won many adherents among those unmoved by more subtle or complex doctrines. The idea that Japan is first among the nations because the sun rises and shines on it first seems bizarre to us, but undoubtedly made better sense to unsophisticated peasant minds in nineteenth-century Japan, which had a more intimate association with the sun than with the other peoples of the world. That this and other naïve notions of Hirata were listened to by a large and sympathetic audience is shown by the leading part these ideas were to play in the Restoration and subsequent chauvinist movements of modern Japan.

HIRATA ATSUTANE

On Japanese Learning

This and the following three selections are from Hirata's *Summary of the Ancient Way* (*Kodō Taii*, 1811).

[From *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, I, 5-7]

People commonly speak of "learning" as if all learning were one and the same; in point of fact, however, there are many different kinds of learning, each of which is centered around one particular discipline. Japanese learning itself may be divided into some seven or eight categories, the most important of which is Shinto, the Way of the Gods. We may also mention the study of poetry; the study of the legal code;

the study of *The Tales of Ise* or *The Tale of Genji*, to which some scholars devote their chief attention; and the study of history, which deals with the events of the successive reigns of emperors. These various disciplines may in turn be divided into smaller groupings. Chinese studies, to which the Confucian scholars dedicate themselves, have their schools, and Buddhism is divided into sects. In the study of astronomy and geography known as *rangaku*, which is the learning of Holland, and in medicine there are also schools, both traditional and Dutch. One may see how many types of learning are to be found.

If it is asked which of them is the greatest, we must answer, though it may seem slightly presumptuous, that no learning can equal that of Japan. It is easy to see why this is true. The Confucianists learn the Four Books and the Five Classics or the Thirteen Classics and similar books. Having once perfunctorily run their eyes over the pages of these works and learned how to compose a bit of poetry and prose in Chinese, they qualify as Confucian scholars. It is really not very difficult to read so limited a number of books and to acquire the rudimentary knowledge of Chinese composition which they possess. And yet this is the general level of those who pass for Confucian scholars.

Compared to these Confucian scholars, the Buddhist priests are of a much broader learning, for they are required to read the more than 5,000 volumes of the canon—enough books to make at least seven packloads for a strong horse. Even assuming that they do not read the entire collection but only a tenth of it, this still amounts to at least twice what the Confucian scholars are supposed to read. Moreover, since it is not considered a defect in a Confucian scholar if he neglects to read Buddhist books, he naturally never does, with some very rare exceptions. The Buddhists on the other hand must study Confucian books from their childhood days in order to learn Chinese characters, and they write Chinese prose and poetry just as Confucian scholars do.

Buddhist learning is thus broader in scope than Confucian, but Japanese learning is even more embracing. All the various types of learning, including Confucianism and Buddhism, are joined in Japanese learning, just as the many rivers flow into the sea, where their waters are joined. Because of the diversity and number of the different parts of Japanese learning, people are often bewildered and at a loss to evaluate it. Unless, therefore, we can distinguish accurately the elements which make up

this vast amalgam of learning, the excellence of the true Way will remain obscure. . . . We must be aware of such matters in order to appreciate the pure and righteous Way of Japan. Japanese should study all the different kinds of learning—even though they be foreign—so that they can choose the good features of each and place them at the service of the nation. We may properly speak not only of Chinese but even of Indian and Dutch learning as Japanese learning: this fact should be understood by all Japanese who delve into foreign studies.

The Land of the Gods

[From *Kodō Taii* in *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, I, 22-23]

People all over the world refer to Japan as the Land of the Gods, and call us the descendants of the gods. Indeed, it is exactly as they say: our country, as a special mark of favor from the heavenly gods, was begotten by them, and there is thus so immense a difference between Japan and all the other countries of the world as to defy comparison. Ours is a splendid and blessed country, the Land of the Gods beyond any doubt, and we, down to the most humble man and woman, are the descendants of the gods. Nevertheless, there are unhappily many people who do not understand why Japan is the land of the gods and we their descendants. . . . Is this not a lamentable state of affairs? Japanese differ completely from and are superior to the peoples of China, India, Russia, Holland, Siam, Cambodia, and all other countries of the world, and for us to have called our country the Land of the Gods was not mere vainglory. It was the gods who formed all the lands of the world at the Creation, and these gods were without exception born in Japan. Japan is thus the homeland of the gods, and that is why we call it the Land of the Gods. This is a matter of universal belief, and is quite beyond dispute. Even in countries where our ancient traditions have not been transmitted, the peoples recognize Japan as a divine land because of the majestic effulgence that of itself emanates from our country. In olden days when Korea was divided into three kingdoms, reports were heard there of how splendid, miraculous and blessed a land Japan is, and because Japan lies to the east of Korea, they said in awe and reverence, "To the East is a divine land, called the Land of the Rising Sun." Word of this eventually spread all over the world, and now people everywhere refer to Japan as the Land of the Gods, irrespective of whether or not they know why this is true.

The Creator God[From *Kodō Taii* in *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, I, 27-28]

If we examine the origins of the name Mi-musubi given to two of the gods, it is clear from facts recorded in the annals of the divine age that the name stems from their miraculous creative power. We are also informed by the positive declaration of the gods of the sun and the moon that Takami-musubi¹ must be credited with the creation of Heaven and earth, that he is a god of incomparable power, and that he without doubt resides in Heaven and reigns over the world. Despite the pellucidly clear nature of these truths, scholars whose minds have become damaged by Chinese and Indian learning (as well as people who in their ignorance display impious disbelief) do not understand that the very fact of their own birth is immediately attributable to the creative power of this god. They persist in their skepticism and declare that the ancient truths are merely legends peculiar to Japan which they refuse to believe. These truths, however, are by no means confined to Japan. In many other countries it is believed that the seed of man and all other things owe their existence to the powers of this god.

As proof of this we may cite different foreign traditions. In the ancient Chinese legends, where this god is referred to as Shang Ti or T'ien Ti, it is recorded that he resides in Heaven and reigns over the world, and that man was created by him. Moreover, the legend states that it was Shang Ti who implanted in men's hearts such true principles as humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom. This legend is preserved in general form in ancient works like the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of Documents*, and the *Analects*, as all can plainly see who take the trouble to look. However, since the Chinese are of an irreverent disposition, some perverted scholars assert that the ancient legends are merely parables, and voice other such theories. I have elsewhere dealt with this matter in detail.²

In the ancient Indian legends the god Musubi is called Brahma the Creator. Here again we find him described as residing in the extremely lofty heaven of the thirty-three devas,³ and it is stated that he reigns over

¹ Hirata usually does not distinguish between the two "Musubi" gods, Takami-musubi and Kami-musubi, but tends to regard them as two aspects of one god.

² In *New Discussion of the Gods* (*Kishin Shinron*, 1805), Hirata's earliest major work.

³ *Trayastrīṃśā*.

the world and that the heavens and earth, man and all things were created by him. The most ancient traditions have it that no god is as holy as he. However, in later times a man named Shākyamuni appeared who invented what he called Buddhism, a religion to suit his own tastes. He deceived men with his so-called divine powers, which were actually a kind of black magic. The false opinion was spread that Buddha was more sacred than Brahma, and even learned priests were deceived by the lie. No one now is left in India who knows the truth.

Far to the west of India there are numerous other countries, and in each of them there are traditions of a god of Heaven who created the heavens and earth, man and all things. This may be known from reading Dutch books.

Thus, in all countries, as if by common consent, there are traditions of a divine being who dwells in Heaven and who created all things. These traditions have sometimes become distorted, but when we examine them they afford proof of the authenticity of the ancient traditions of the Imperial Land. There are many gods, but this god stands at the center of them and is holiest of all.

Dutch Learning

[From *Kodō Taii* in *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, I, 53]

The men of the countries of Europe sail at will around the globe in ships which recognize no frontiers. In Holland, one of the countries of Europe (though a small one), they consider astronomy and geography to be the most important subjects of study because unless a ship's captain is well versed in these sciences it is impossible for him to sail as he chooses to all parts of the world. Moreover, the Dutch have the excellent national characteristic of investigating matters with great patience until they can get to the very bottom. For the sake of such research they have devised surveying instruments as well as telescopes and helioscopes with which to examine the sun, moon, and stars. They have devised other instruments to ascertain the size and proximity of the heavenly bodies. It may take five or ten years or even a whole lifetime for such research to be completed; when problems cannot be solved in one lifetime, scholars write down their own findings and leave the solution for their children, grandchildren, and disciples to discover, though it may require generations.

With their scientific instruments the Dutch attempt to determine the properties of things. Unlike China, Holland is a splendid country where they do not rely on superficial conjectures. When the Dutch come across matters which they cannot understand no matter how much they may ponder over them, they say that these are things beyond the knowing of human beings, and belong to *Gotto* [God], and that only with divine powers could such matters be comprehended. The Dutch thus never resort to wild conjectures. Their findings, which are the result of the efforts of hundreds of people studying scientific problems for a thousand, even two thousand years, have been incorporated in books which have been presented to Japan. I have seen them and that is how I happen to be able to write of them.

Ancient Japanese Ethics

In his *Indignant Discussion of Chinese Books* (*Seiseki Gairon*, c. 1810) Hirata is occupied mainly in denouncing such Confucian scholars as Dazai Jun, who had proclaimed the superiority of China.

[From *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, I, 96-97]

Let me present a few of the arguments advanced by scholars of Chinese learning. First of all, we may cite Dazai Jun, who wrote in *Bendōsho*, "In Japan there was originally no such thing as a Way. As proof of this there is the fact that no native Japanese words exist for the concepts of humanity, righteousness, decorum, music, filial piety, and fraternal affection. There certainly must have been a Japanese word for everything which originally existed in Japan, and the absence of such terms proves that the concepts were also lacking."

This opinion, shocking though it is, is not confined to this particular Confucian scholar. Far from it—the majority of the Confucian pedants and other scholars partial to things Chinese are overjoyed and infatuated with the idea that China possesses the teachings of a Way, and proclaim that in ancient Japan there were no teachings like those of China. But however much they may heap indignation on Japan, all that they assert is utterly in error. Humanity, righteousness, filial piety, and the rest are all principles governing the proper conduct of man. If they are always automatically observed and never violated, it is unnecessary to teach them. If they are the invariable standard of behavior, what need is there for a "Way?" . . .

The ancient Japanese all constantly and correctly practiced what the Chinese called humanity, righteousness, the five cardinal virtues and the rest, without having any need to name them or to teach them. There was thus no necessity for anything to be especially constituted as a Way. This is the essentially Japanese quality of Japan, and one where we may see a magnificent example of Japan's superiority to all other countries of the world. In China, as I have already had frequent occasions to mention, there were evil customs from the very outset, and human behavior, far from being proper, was extremely licentious. That is the reason why so many sages appeared in ancient times to guide and instruct the Chinese. . . . From this we may see that the very fact that in ancient Japan there was no Way is the most praiseworthy feature of the nation, and that it is the shame of a country if it has had to invent a Way for the guidance of the people.

The Art of Medicine

In *Shizu no Iwaya* (1811) Hirata gives a good summary of Western medicine as known in Japan at the time, together with more general remarks on the relations between medicine and Shinto. In the following extract he discusses why the arts of medicine did not develop independently in Japan.

[From *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, I, 22]

The art of medicine, though introduced to Japan from abroad, appears originally to have been taught to foreign countries by our own great gods. Later, because of the special needs it meets, this art came to be widely practiced in Japan, and though it may be said to have once been of foreign origins, we are not obliged to dislike it for that reason. Nevertheless it is true that the art of medicine developed to such a high degree in China by way of a quite natural reaction to the rampant and pernicious maladies which resulted from the evil character of the country itself. The spread in Japan since middle antiquity of Confucianism and Buddhism, both of them exceedingly troublesome doctrines, has worsened and confused men's minds, and as a result of the attendant increase in the number of things to worry about, various maladies which were unknown in ancient times have become prevalent. The Chinese methods of treatment were perfectly suited to deal with such maladies and are therefore now in general employ. Just as in countries where there are numerous bandits

the government establishes severe laws to punish them, when pernicious maladies are first detected people versed in medicine make their appearance to combat them. In countries where there are many doctors there are also many deadly sicknesses, and as the doctors gradually grow more proficient, the sicknesses become proportionately more difficult to cure.

Life After Death

Most of Hirata's works are filled with lavish praise for Motoori Norinaga, but in the *Pillar of the Soul* (*Tama no Mihashira*, 1812) he disputed Motoori's view that the souls of the dead all go to Yomi, a dark region of pollution. It has been suggested that unlike Motoori, Hirata had no residual faith in the abiding grace of Amida Buddha, and that he therefore envisaged a pleasanter Shinto afterworld than Motoori had described.

[From *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, II, 73-75, 77-78, 81-85, 88, 90-91]

Accounts of the afterworld are so confused that it is only natural that they arouse bewilderment. Even my teacher did not escape this confusion. His view that the gods and men, good and evil alike, all go to the land of Yomi when they die, was a mistaken one, owing mainly to his insufficient examination of the evidence. . . . The view that after men die their souls go to Yomi is part of a tradition which was introduced to Japan from abroad for which there is no attestation whatsoever in our ancient past. . . .

Someone asked me in this connection, "In the Izumo Chronicles there is an account of a cave known as the Hole of Yomi. Anyone who dreams that he is going to this cave is certain to die. Is this not proof that dead spirits go to Yomi?"

I answered, "When a man dies his corpse becomes foul beyond all recognition and it then belongs to Yomi. The dream thus is a sign that after death the body is to be buried in the earth. It is not a sign that the soul is to go to Yomi. . . . Proof that men's souls do not all go to Yomi may be discovered not only in the facts transmitted to use from the Divine Age, but from an examination of how it happens that people are born and what actually occurs after death. Men owe their lives to their parents, but that they can be created at all is due to the wonderful, miraculous creative power of the gods, who form man of air, fire, water, and earth, and having infused a soul in him, give him life. After a man's death

the water and earth in him become his corpse, which is left behind, but the soul flies off with the air and fire. This is because fire and air belong to the sky just as surely as earth and water belong to the ground. [Hirata's note: This is one reason why we know that all human souls do not go to Yomi. Since the soul is bestowed on man by the god Musubi, by nature it should return to Heaven. However, I have not yet found positive evidence or old traditions to prove that this is true of all men.] . . .

There are people who claim that they have come back to life many days after their deaths, and who describe Heaven and hell, but I have never heard of any who claimed to have been to Yomi and seen it. Once there was a woman who said she had visited Heaven and hell. I administered some medicine to her and personally examined her. I discovered that she had in fact been duped by some Buddhist cant. . . .

The old legends that dead souls go to Yomi cannot be proven. Then, it may be asked, where do the souls of Japanese go when they die? It may be clearly seen from the purport of ancient legends and from modern examples that they remain eternally in Japan and serve in the realm of the dead governed by Ōkuninushi-no-kami. This realm of the dead is not in any one particular place in the visible world, but being a realm of darkness and separated from the present world, it cannot be seen. . . . The actions of men can be perceived from the realm of the dead, but from the visible world it is not possible to see this realm of darkness. . . . The darkness, however, is only comparative. It should not mistakenly be imagined that this realm is devoid of light. It has food, clothing, and houses of various kinds, similar to those of the visible world. Proof of this may be found in accounts, preserved in both Japanese and Chinese books, in which a living person has occasionally returned to tell of the realm of the dead. Some self-important scholars may conclude that the realm of the dead does not exist, simply because they cannot see it, but this is exceedingly foolish.

People of this world, wherever they may live and however be employed, go to the realm of darkness when they are dead, and their souls become gods, differing in the degree of excellence, virtue, and strength according to the individual. Those of superior powers are capable of feats in no way inferior to those of the gods of the Divine Age, and do not differ from those gods in their power to inform men of future events. . . .

After death the soul leaves the body and resides in the area of the grave, a fact attested by countless accounts in Chinese and Japanese sources of both ancient and modern times of miraculous occurrences by spirits in the vicinity of graves. The resting place of the soul after death appears to have been a matter of concern in all times to all people, but in Japan this question has been discussed only under foreign influence. The ancient Japanese never pondered such matters. . . . Some say that the soul goes to the filthy realm of Yomi, but there is not a shred of evidence that this is the case. My teacher was inadvertently in error when he said that the soul went there. His own soul has not gone to Yomi. I, Atsutane, have definitely determined where his soul resides. It dwells in peace and calm amid the spirits of scholars of former times, who wait in attendance on him. Together they write poems and essays and study afresh errors in their teachings. . . .

The place where my teacher's spirit dwells is Mt. Yamamuro. . . . He lived there during his life and fixed upon this mountain as his eternal resting place. How then can it be doubted that his spirit dwells there? How can we imagine that it has gone to the filthy land of Yomi?



CHAPTER XXIII

REFORMERS OF THE LATE TOKUGAWA PERIOD

In view of the shogunate's efforts to channel all thought and discussion within certain prescribed limits, we could understand it if the Japanese had shown little awareness of their true situation during the early nineteenth century and little inclination to speak about it. But despite the prohibition on heterodox teaching in 1790, the restrictions on intellectual contact with the West, and the penalties which attached to any direct criticism of government policies, there was a surprising degree of intellectual ferment and diversity of opinion in regard to the very problems which the Tokugawa had chosen to ignore or proved incapable of meeting. With the more and more frequent appearances of the "black ships" of the West in Japanese waters, as well as with worsening economic conditions manifested in the impoverishment of both peasants and samurai, expressions of dissatisfaction increased as the new century began. Especially was this true in the northern regions of Japan where fears of Russian expansion and economic troubles were most acutely felt.

What is perhaps most significant about the three reformers we shall consider here is that their responses to the challenge of a new age reflected very much their own past. Thus in two of these cases we find a notable willingness to learn from the West, to the extent that this was possible through contact with the Dutch in Nagasaki, combined with the sort of fierce nationalism that had risen steadily throughout the Tokugawa Period. In another case we find a very practical and resourceful attempt to deal with agricultural problems associated with wholly traditional attitudes in the domain of religion and ethics. In this respect we have a foreshadowing of the compromises and adjustments which were to be made in the subsequent period of rapid, wide-scale modernization.

A typical example of this man of the future, who would have one foot in the old world and another in the new, was Honda Toshiaki from the west coast province of Kaga. As a mathematician, ship captain, and scholar, he concerned himself with the economic strengthening of Japan and with her survival in a world of expanding imperialism. Another example is Satō Nobuhiro from Dewa in the north, who had an unusual heritage in that he represented the fifth generation of a family of experts in horticulture and mining in northern Japan. A keen student of Western science and a passionate nationalist, he worked out in later years a complete program of national reorganization along totalitarian lines. The third was Ninomiya Sontoku, a poor farm boy from the hinterland of Edo, who by dint of strenuous personal effort and experimentation tried to raise agriculture to the point where it would no longer be at the mercy of nature, and in so doing elevated human labor to the dignity of a new religious cult.

HONDA TOSHIAKI AND THE DISCOVERY OF EUROPE

The long reign of peace under the Tokugawa Shogunate was kind to many peaceful intellectual pursuits, among them mathematics. Very early in the eighteenth century Seki Kōwa (1642-1708) is said to have arrived simultaneously with Newton and Leibnitz at the mathematical problems of integral and differential calculus and their solution. As the shogunate was concerned at that time with calendar reform and also with the preparation of new maps of the country, there was a real need for men with training in mathematics. The rising tide of mercantilism, with its emphasis on navigation, likewise helped to make this field of study popular. Schools were opened here and there by Seki's followers in important towns and feudal domains. At the age of eighteen, Honda's biographer says that he made his way to Edo in order to study mathematics under a famous master of the time. His progress was such that at the age of twenty-four he was able to open his own school and became known as a first-rate mathematician in his own right.

Not content with the native Japanese system of mathematics, Honda decided to study Dutch, in the hope that a knowledge of the language

would open to him the secrets of Western mathematics. Other Japanese of his day were studying Dutch in order to read books of medicine, astronomy, and military science. Indeed, many of the best minds of the late eighteenth century in Japan were turning to the West for new information and guidance as the isolation of the country grew increasingly oppressive. That they chose to study Dutch rather than any other Western language was dictated by the fact that since 1639 the Dutch had been the only Europeans permitted to remain in Japan, and it was towards their trading station at Nagasaki that many young Japanese looked for knowledge. At the time there were no decent dictionaries, and the difficulties besetting the would-be scholar of Dutch were enormous, but with great determination and expense of energy some of them were able to gain enough proficiency in the language to be able to make significant contributions in many fields. It was the example of such men which helped to make possible the amazing Japanese assimilation of Western techniques in later years.

Honda's interest in Dutch mathematics moved to a study of astronomy and navigation, sciences closely connected with mathematics, and from them to more general considerations of the importance of shipping and trade (which depend on a knowledge of navigation). He was convinced that Japan's economy was at a standstill, and only by breaking out of her self-imposed isolation could she achieve greatness. His books are filled with ambitious programs and suggestions in which he sought to incorporate the new knowledge from the West.

No matter how diverse were the subjects he chose to write upon, Honda never failed to use or display his knowledge of mathematics wherever possible. In some cases his penchant for mathematical formulations of economic and social problems, together with his impatient disregard of the niceties of conventional prose, make it difficult for the reader to follow him. And it is sometimes painfully apparent that he has a fondness for multiplying statistics, often quite unnecessarily, merely in order to magnify his conclusions and stagger the reader. But it is also true that at times his laborious computations produce significant results, such as his conclusions concerning the relation of population growth and food supply, which correspond to those of his English contemporary Malthus.

Honda's chief program of action, as enunciated in his work *A Secret*

Plan for Governing the Country, was centered around the so-called "four imperative needs" of Japan—gunpowder, metals, shipping, and development of overseas possessions. Honda was interested in gunpowder primarily for its use in blasting new channels for rivers, part of his program for improving transportation within the country, rather than for its use in warfare. By metals he referred to both the precious ones which, in mercantile fashion, he sought to attract to Japan, and to the base metals, the use of which he advocated in place of wood, so as to reduce loss to rot and fire. His views on shipping and on the development of overseas possessions are given in the readings.

Honda devoted almost equal attention to such matters as sweeping plans for the aggrandizement of Japan and to the problems of daily living faced by settlers of the proposed colonies. In all things he attempted to regulate himself by what he conceived to be the dictates of practical use. For example, he favored abolishing the use of cumbersome Chinese characters in writing Japanese, and the adoption instead of the more practical Western alphabet. He decried the impressionistic renderings of nameless mountains often found in Japanese paintings, and praised instead Dutch realistic painting which, he thought, lent itself better to pedagogic purposes. He hoped that by taking advantage of the benefits of Western science Japan could shake off its long somnolence and emerge as the "England of the East." He wrote,

How may Japan become the greatest nation in the world? She should profit by the arts of civilization which she has learned during the 1,500 years that have elapsed since the time of the Emperor Jimmu. She should move her capital to the country of Kamchatka. (It is located at 51° N. Lat., the same as London, so the climates must be similar.) She should build a great stronghold on Saghalien. . . . Once cities spring up in Saghalien and Kamchatka, the momentum will carry on to the natural development of the islands to the south, and the growing prosperity of these regions will raise the prestige of the Japanese government to new heights. This, in turn, will lead to the acquisition of the American islands, which are Japan's possessions manifestly.

This outspoken imperialism was voiced in 1798, at a time when Japanese were forbidden by law to leave their country, and only a few castaways had ever visited foreign shores. Honda's program may at points seem excessively crude, and when he assumes that the climate of Kamchatka must be the same as that of London, he may excite our smiles. Nevertheless, even in such instances he also compels our admiration by

his bold use of Western knowledge—though sometimes it was misinformation—in his attempt to help Japan out of the economic stagnation which he so deplored.

HONDA TOSHIKI

SECRET PLAN FOR MANAGING THE COUNTRY

Shipping

[From Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe*, 166-70]

By shipping I mean the transport of and trade in the products of the whole country by means of government-owned ships, and the relief of the hunger and cold of all people afforded by these instruments of supplying each region with what it needs. Shipping and foreign trade are the responsibility of the ruler and should not be left to the merchants. If shipping is left entirely in the hands of merchants, they will act as their greed and evil purposes dictate, thereby disturbing commodity prices throughout the country. Prices then fluctuate enormously, and the farmers find it difficult to survive. If this situation is remedied by using government-owned ships for transport and trade, the prices of commodities will be stabilized naturally and the farmers relieved.

As long as there are no government-owned ships and the merchants have complete control over transport and trade, the economic conditions of the samurai and farmers grow steadily worse. In years when the harvest is bad and people die of starvation, the farmers perish in greater numbers than any other class. Fields are abandoned and food production is still further reduced. There is then insufficient food for the nation and much suffering. Then the people will grow restive and numerous criminals will have to be punished. In this way citizens will be lost to the state. Since its citizens are a country's most important possession, it cannot afford to lose even one, and it is therefore most unfortunate that any should be sentenced to death. It is entirely the fault of the ruler if the life of even a single subject is thereby lost.

All the many varieties of troubles, disasters, and crimes found among the common people are a product of their unhappiness and anger over fluctuations in commodity prices. Such fluctuations are caused by the inadequacy of sea transport, which in turn is caused by the fact that

the ruler controls no ships, and there is no government service. It cannot be estimated how greatly the prerogatives of the ruler are thereby impaired. Shipping and trade are now the business of merchants. Under this system no distinction is made between the interests of the merchants and the duties of the ruler. By developing the techniques of shipping it would become possible to equalize prices throughout the country, thus helping both the samurai and the farmers. Food production would increase steadily which, in turn, would make the nation prosperous.

It is obviously impossible to feed the thousands of people living in a great city with only the food that can be brought in by coolie labor or on the backs of beasts; unless food is transported in ships the population will go hungry. But when shipping is controlled, as is at present the case, by merchants, it will lead in the end to disaster; this must be changed. [pp. 166-67]

.

Some daimyo have now ceased to pay their retainers their basic stipends. These men have had half their property confiscated by the daimyo as well, and hate them so much that they find it impossible to contain their ever accumulating resentment. They finally leave their clan and become bandits. They wander lawlessly over the entire country, plotting with the natives who live on the shore, and thus entering a career of piracy. As they become ever more entrenched in their banditry one sees growing a tendency to revert to olden times.¹

It is because of the danger of such occurrences that in Europe a king governs his subjects with solicitude. It is considered to be the appointed duty of a king to save his people from hunger and cold by shipping and trading. This is the reason why there are no bandits in Europe. Such measures are especially applicable to Japan, which is a maritime nation, and it is obvious that transport and trade are essential functions of the government.

Ships which are at present engaged in transport do not leave coastal waters and put out to sea. They always have to skirt along the shore, and can navigate only by using as landmarks mountains or islands within visible range. Sometimes, as it inevitably happens, they are blown out to sea by a storm and lose their way. Then, when they are so far away

¹ A reference to the *bahan*, Japanese pirates who were at their strongest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

from their familiar landmarks that they can no longer discern them, they drift about with no knowledge of their location. This is because they are ignorant of astronomy and mathematics, and because they do not possess the rules of navigation. Countless ships are thereby lost every year. Not only does this represent an enormous annual waste of produce, but valuable subjects also perish. If the methods of navigation were developed, the loss at sea of rice and other food products would be reduced, thus effecting a great saving. This would not only increase the wealth of the nation, but would help stabilize the prices of rice and other produce throughout Japan. The people, finding that they are treated equally irrespective of occupation and that the methods of government are fair, would no longer harbor any resentment, but would raise their voices in unison to pray for the prosperity of the rulers. By saving the lives of those subjects who would otherwise be lost at sea every year, we shall also be able to make up for our past shame, and will keep foreign nations from learning about weak spots in the institutions of Japan from Japanese sailors shipwrecked on their shores. Because of these and numerous other benefits to be derived from shipping, I have termed it the third imperative need. [pp. 168-70]

Colonization

[From Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe*, pp. 170-78]

If the islands near Japan were colonized they would make highly desirable places. By such colonization numerous possessions—some sixty or more—would be created, which would serve not only as military outposts for Japan, but would also produce in abundance metals, grain, and fruit, as well as various other products, thus greatly adding to Japan's strength. I presume that run-of-the-mill officials must be thinking that colonization could be effected only at the expense of the ruler, and the authorities are not in the least inclined to spend any government money on developing farmland. This is the way mediocre minds always react.

The order to be followed in colonizing territories is as follows: First, ships are dispatched to ascertain the location of the islands to be taken, and to measure their extent. The natural products of the islands are investigated, and the native population estimated. Then, when it is known about how many provinces the islands would make if colonized, the

actual work is begun. If the natives are still living in caves, they are taught about houses. A house should be built for the tribal chief. Those natives without implements or utensils should be supplied with them. By helping the natives and giving them everything they desire, one will inspire a feeling of affection and obedience in them, like the love of children for their parents. This is true because they are moved by the same feelings that pervade the rest of the world, barbarians though they may be considered.

The way to compensate for the expenses involved in colonization lies in taking the natural products of the islands and shipping them to Japan. Trading marks a beginning of compensation for those expenses. Even barbarians do not expect to ask favors and give nothing in return. The products they offer represent a commencement of taxation. Since every island has wooded areas, there will always be some value in the lumber which can be taken from the islands, even after a great many years. The value of other products besides lumber would be too great to calculate. It is the task of the ruler-father to direct and educate the natives in such a manner that there will not be a single one of them who will spend even one unprofitable day. This matter should not be put off for another moment; it is a vital state duty.

At this point we must discuss the foundation of colonization—the sciences of astronomy and mathematics. In Japan these sciences are not as yet fully known, and there are few men who understand their significance. Even in China the principles of astronomy and mathematics have roughly been understood since the arrival of a number of Europeans late in the seventeenth century.² If, in connection with colonization projects, ships cross the seas without reference to the principles of astronomy and mathematics, there is no way to tell how much easier sea travel is than land travel. The name of the book in which the natural laws behind these principles are contained is *Schatkamer*,³ a European work. One may learn from the latitude of a particular island what its climate is like throughout the year. Or, without actually visiting an island, one can predict in this way whether it will prove fertile. This may be done with certainty; false tales need not be believed.

² Honda is a century out—late sixteenth century would be more accurate.

³ Possibly the *Schatkamer of te Konst der Stuur-Lieden* by Klaas de Vries, a navigator's handbook frequently reissued in Holland. The book was known in Japan before the country was opened. Cf. Hayashi, "A List of Some Dutch Astronomical Works," p. 44.

The key to colonization is to establish a system⁴ with long-range objectives as to future profit and loss. By encouraging the good customs of the natives and eliminating their bad ones, it is possible to have them maintain human dignity. They should never be permitted to forget the generosity of the Japanese ruler. This is how colonization should be set about, but Japan persists in her bad habit of imitating old Chinese usages. Very few of the government authorities possess any real knowledge of astronomy or mathematics, and it is because of their ignorance that whenever there is talk of colonizing the northern territories, as occasionally happens, the project is never carried through. It is Japan's misfortune that her officials are misled by foolish tales about these great countries, which are actually far superior to Japan, and consequently do not take advantage of great opportunities for profitable ventures. This is a matter of especial regret because there have been Russian officials in the islands inhabited by the Ainu since about 1765. They have displayed such diligence in their colonization efforts that eighteen or nineteen Kurile islands and the great land of Kamchatka have already been occupied. Forts are said to have been built at various places and a central administration established, the staff of which is regularly changed, and which rules the natives with benevolence. I have heard that the natives trust them as they would their own parents.

In Japan, on the other hand, this system is as yet not followed. It is forbidden to carry from the country seeds for the five cereals or edged tools for use in building houses. It is forbidden to teach Japanese to any natives. These are supplemented by a host of other prohibitions. It is a most lamentable system which has as its object keeping barbarians forever in their present condition. Since the Russians operate under a system which provides that their own subjects are sent out to live among the natives, it is only to be expected that the Ainu look up to the Russian officials as gods and worship them. [pp. 170-72]

When the Ezo islands are colonized they will make worthwhile places which will yield several times as much produce as Japan does today. Although there are other islands both to the east and west which should

⁴ *Seido*, here translated "system," is a difficult word; it means more or less that which can be established by means of laws.

also be Japanese possessions, I shall not discuss them for the moment. At this crucial time when the Ezo islands are being seized by Russia, we are faced with an emergency within an emergency. When, as now, Japan does not have any system for colonizing her island possessions, there is no way of telling whether they will be seized by foreign countries or remain safe. This is not the moment for neglect; such actions by foreign powers may lead to the destruction of our national defense. With the establishment of a system of colonization, a knowledge of navigation will naturally develop among Japanese, but if navigation, shipping, and trade continue to be considered the occupation of merchants, the natives of our island possessions are doomed to an eternal want of civilization. The fact that the Ainu are living in a state of barbarity has been regarded by Russia as affording a fine opportunity for her to devote her energies to the colonization of the islands, a timely undertaking. The lack of a colonization system has kept Japanese rule from the island, and has meant that the natives are unaware of the goodness of the ruler of Japan. Because of this ignorance they have been quick to become subject to Russia.

So important is colonization that I have termed it the fourth imperative need. [p. 178]

SATŌ NOBUHIRO AND TOTALITARIAN NATIONALISM

Like Honda Toshiaki, Satō Nobuhiro (1769-1850) was a northerner from that side of the country facing the Sea of Japan. Dewa was his native province, the same province from which came the militant Neo-Shintoist, Hirata Atsutane. Two things appear to have been uppermost in his mind: the economic rehabilitation of the country in order to rescue it from poverty and starvation, and the building-up of Japan's military power in the face of frequent visits by "Black Ships" of the West in Japanese waters. For Satō, as for Honda and a few others, a drastic renovation of the national life seemed urgently necessary. And in truth, no thinker even of late nineteenth-century Japan came forward with a more complete and detailed program of reform than Satō did. His *Confidential Memoir on Social Control* (*Suitō hiroku*) contains a complete program of

political, economic, and cultural reconstruction, which was the fruit of a long life of freedom and independent study, of broad learning and special training, such as few men enjoyed in his time.

Besides a solid grounding in Chinese culture, common to the leading thinkers of the later Tokugawa Period, he could draw on a large store of experience and experimentation in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, forestry, and mining, which had been accumulated by five generations in his own family. Of the five, his father and grandfather in particular had become real specialists, and to them he owed much of his expert knowledge in the development of natural resources, which formed the basis of his economic rehabilitation program. This family heritage Nobuhiro added to by intensive study of the Dutch language, for him the gateway to a knowledge of Western mathematics, astronomy, geography, history, navigation, and artillery. That his knowledge of Western astronomy was quite impressive is shown in his *Essays on Creation and Cultivation* (*Yōzō kaiiku-ron*); and using Dutch sources he was able to write a *Brief History of the Western Powers* (*Seiyō rekko-ku-shiryaku*). In addition, he wrote a general survey of the oceans, and several handbooks on the use of artillery. Satō also claimed to have conducted experiments on a motor boat propelled by fire, and on a new type of explosive. It was studies such as these that impelled him to write about military and naval reorganization of the country and to develop his imperialistic program of world union.

Satō was not satisfied with a knowledge gained from books, and he took every opportunity to travel around the country, from the land of the Ainu in the northeast to Kyushu island in the southwest. His personal observations of the feudal domains are contained in his *Lands and Climates* (*Shokoku fudoki*), an important source of first-hand geographical information.

Thus Satō may be considered a worthy representative of the rationalistic and empirical strain in Tokugawa thought. The other important trend in this period, nationalism, he represents to an equal or perhaps greater degree. Free of any feudal allegiance, he tended to think in terms of the nation as a whole and not of the interests of a single domain. Therefore it is not surprising that in his later years he should have come under the influence of the extreme nationalist and Neo-Shinto leader, Hirata Atsutane. With his knowledge of Western astronomy, Satō assumed that the

sun is the center of our universe, and so Japan, with the Sun-Goddess as its progenitrix, must be the sovereign land of the entire world. Further he claimed that the oldest annals of Japan, the *Kojiki*, is the true book of revelation. In it he found the truth concerning the triple godhead: the Sovereign God and Center of Heaven (*Amenominaŋa-nushi*), the August Spirit of Vitality (*Takami-musubi*), and the August Spirit of Fertility (*Kami-musubi*). According to Satō, the highest truth in the three realms of nature (Heaven, earth, and mankind) is the law of vitality and fertility. And this law of vitality and fertility, personified in two of the three godheads, assumed an enduring form in the Sun-Goddess, as sovereign of the solar system and forbear of the Divine rulers of the Divine Land. It is this law of vitality and fertility, according to Satō, which must be the basis of all political, economic, and cultural reconstruction of the nation.

Satō's program of reconstruction dwells on what he calls "three essentials and six indispensables." The state which aims at upholding the aforementioned principle must have a Department of Education (*Kyōka-dai*), a Department of Religion (*Shinji-dai*), and a Department of Justice. In regard to the Department of Religion it is worth noting that for Satō the gods and goddesses in the national pantheon are those who have made signal contributions to the divine way of vitality and fertility, and who are installed in the pantheon so that their example may inspire loyalty and devotion to this principle.

Satō, however, insists most emphatically on the importance of education as the basic function of the state. The Educational Department includes a ministry of education and a state university, exercising an exclusive right to choose the curriculum, select teachers, and perform other necessary duties without any outside intervention. The university would have ten standing divisions: Philosophy, Religion, Social Institutions, Music, Law, Military Defense, Medicine, Astronomy, Geography, and Foreign Languages. All government officials should be graduates of the university. The Education Department would also have under its jurisdiction provincial schools, one in each district that yields 20,000 *koku* of rice; these will admit all children at the age of eight, regardless of their social status. The provincial school in turn will have under its jurisdiction an institute of general relief, four free dispensaries, six asylums for poor children, forty playgrounds, and twenty kindergartens. The benefits

of education at the expense of the state must go to every member of society.

Under the three departments come six administrative bureaus. They are: 1) a Bureau of Basic Affairs (*Honji-fu*), and by basic affairs Satō meant agriculture; 2) a Bureau for the Development of Natural Resources (*Kaimotsu-fu*), which includes forestry and mining among other things; 3) a Bureau of Construction and Manufacture; 4) a Bureau of Commerce and Treasury, which will control the exchange of all commodities through local offices of price control (*Heijunkan*), and will also act as financial agent of the state, providing funds for all state expenses and relief activities (Satō insists that these functions be in the hands of trained civil servants and not of merchants); 5) an Army Bureau having complete control of unskilled labor, with offices in important defense districts of the country; and 6) a Navy Bureau controlling sea ports, waterways, and adjacent islands essential to the defense of the country. Satō thinks that all fishermen and seafarers should come under the jurisdiction of the Navy Bureau, along with sixteen coast defense forces of 3,200 men and seventy-two outer defense forces with 35,000 men. The entire population would come under the jurisdiction of one or another of these government bureaus, and would be divided into eight classes along functional lines.

For Satō the real salvation of the country from the menace of poverty can never be obtained while the Japanese are limited to their own home islands. The law of vitality and fertility demands that the nation move on and spread all over the world. The world is one and is ruled by the simple principle of production and procreation; it is the destiny of Japan and the duty of all Japanese to produce and procreate so as to become the first nation of the world.

SATŌ NOBUHIRO

Preface to *The Essence of Economics* (*Keizai Yōroku*)

The empirical strain in Satō's thought is brought out in this preface, which is largely autobiographical. Though some recent historians have doubted whether Satō's immediate forbears contributed as much to the technological development of agriculture, mining, and manufacturing as he claims here, it is clear at least that he regards advances in these fields as dependent on the steady and systematic accumulation of empirical knowledge. Since Satō places a premium on first-hand observation, much of this account is a travelogue of his and his

father's "field-trips" throughout Japan, studying the topography and economic geography of different regions. Finally he tells of his increasing interest and employment in matters of military defense.

[From *Keizai taiten*, XVIII, 174-78]

My family had lived for generations in Okachi County, Dewa Province, where it had held an hereditary estate. Having lost its estate in the debacle of 1600,¹ it turned to medicine as its profession. In later days my grandfather, Fumai-ken, himself saw tens of thousands made homeless by recurring famines, and scores die of starvation. He was grief-stricken and thought: "The profession of medicine is of minor importance if it cannot save the masses. I should like to find a way to save the people from the dire afflictions of cold and hunger in times of national poverty and distress." Thus began his interest in the study of economics. Taking precedence in his studies was the management of agriculture, followed by mining, the manufacture of various commodities and improvement of methods of manufacturing. In his desire to improve the methods of manufacturing, he traveled widely through the provinces, calling upon experts in the various fields, and seeking advice from stone cutters, jewelers, mine managers, coal workers, kiln owners, brick makers, fishermen, trap setters, paper makers, weavers, dyers, masons, smiths, coppermen, woodcutters, sawyers, arrowhead makers, lacquer artisans, sheath makers, tea masters, brewers, candy experts, and beverage makers. He inquired of each the principles of his trade.

He also traveled to remote mountains and distant valleys, forded rivers and crossed lakes, and explored gold mines and oil wells. After more than forty years of laborious, indefatigable research, and leaving his tracks nearly everywhere in the country, he passed away at Ani copper mine in Akita County, Dewa, in 1732. Among his works there are *New Book on Natural Resources* (*Kaikoku shinsho*) in twelve chapters, and *Secret of Tracing Ores* (*Sanso hiroku*) in two chapters. The *New Book on Natural Resources* explains the principles of economics and the secret of developing natural resources, and it constitutes the basis of our family program of study. Its aim, in a few words, is to discuss how to develop our land, which is in a primeval state, so as to yield products contributing to the enrichment of our country. It is similar to plans proposed for the development of Ainuland [Hokkaidō]. It examines minutely the particulars of

¹ The defeat of Ieyasu's enemies at Sekigahara.

topography, the taking of measurements, and the marking of boundaries, and it explains their techniques. As for the *The Secret of Tracing Ores*, it describes the physiognomy of mountains which should yield gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, lead, cinnabar, mercury, jade, precious stones, verdigris, sulphur, and alum. It also explains how to determine the presence of gold, silver, or other metals in mountains by their shape and the color and quality of their soils and rocks. It further discusses how to find veins of metal and how to determine the logical sequence of veins of various metals. Moreover, as it deals with the kinds and amount of metal deposits, estimating the height or depth at which they may be found, and the degree of difficulty to be expected in their excavation, it enables one to calculate beforehand the suitability of a particular mountain for mining and prospects of success. It also suggests through a consideration of the natural topography the existence and course of water veins on and under mountains and points out the secret of cutting tunnels to keep the pits dry. Thus, the work has been of incalculable value to mining engineers who have closely guarded its secrets. As this study of mountain physiognomy existed in the past only in name and not in fact, there have been many instances of miners making all kinds of wild claims, deceiving and luring the people into bankruptcy. Indignant over this situation, my grandfather spent over forty years of careful study to write this book which he then presented to his followers. As a result of his study mountain physiognomy has become a science, providing a standard for students to rely upon. Today, those who espouse the science of mountain physiognomy in Dewa, Mutsu, Iyo, Tajima, and Iwami are, for the most part, followers of my grandfather.

When Fumai-ken was still alive he ordered my father, Gemei-ka, to develop and improve the science of economics and natural resources, which he did. Upon my grandfather's death my father also traveled about the country for more than forty years in his study at this subject, and he wrote the *Theory of Developing Resources* and *Lectures on Economics* in thirteen chapters, *Mountain Physiognomy, Illustrated*, in one chapter, and *Management of Miners* in two chapters. In the spring of Temmei 1 [1781], when my father journeyed to Matsumae, I accompanied him to the land of the Ainu. I spent the year at Matsumae, seeing the land with my own eyes, studying its climate, and inspecting its various products. In

the spring of Temmei 2 [1782] we crossed over from Matsumae to Tsugaru, from where we toured Nambu, Sendai, Sōma and the entire seacoast of Mutsu. That fall we re-entered the Sendai region via Nihonmatsu and Fukushima, and traversing a by-road called Koyasugoe, at year's end we returned home to Akita where we observed the New Year. In the spring of Temmei 3 [1783] we left home to go to the silver mines of Shinjō, and in the summer of that year we toured the province of Dewa, climbing the Chōkai, Gassan, Haguro, and Hayama mountains. We inspected the natural features and products of Shōnai and Mogami fiefs, Yamagata, Kamiyama, and Yonezawa fiefs. That fall we reached Aizu where we scaled Iide and Bandai, and encircled Lake Inashiro. Wherever we went in Aizu we inspected the soil and the products. In October of that year we passed through Hidama Pass to reach Nasu County in Shimotsuke Province. We scaled Mt. Takahara and stopped for several days at the gold mine located at its foothills where my father taught the natives how to grow mushrooms. At year's end we arrived at Nikkō and greeted the New Year at the village of Kujira where a disciple of my father, Sarubashi Kai-no-Kami, had his residence.

During the early spring of Temmei 4 [1784] we traversed on foot and examined the natural products of the mountains and valleys of Nikkō, beginning with Kurokami. Then we took leave of Sarubashi and made our way to the copper mine of Ashio where there were disciples of my father and grandfather. My father had made a visit to this place to consider a method of extracting silver from copper, and in answer to the invitation of the villagers of Nitamoto who wished to develop a tin mine. The output of the Ashio copper mine in recent years had been extremely small and the mines had deteriorated considerably. My father remained there for more than a hundred days. In the heat of the waning summer, he contracted dysentery, and medicines proving ineffective, he passed away at an inn on the third day of August.

On his deathbed he advised me that, were I to return to my native place after his death, I would live out my life exactly like a plant and the scholarship gained by the labors and hardships of my father and grandfather through two generations would all come to naught. "Although you are but a youth," he said, "you seem to be intelligent. It is my wish that you go to Edo, study the science of economics and of natural re-

sources under a competent teacher, carry out the cherished wishes of your father and grandfather by succeeding to the family profession, and carry this science to its completion."

I was at the time a mere youth of sixteen, and I knew not what to do. I gave heed, however, to my father's injunction and went to Edo to become a pupil of the Master Udagawa Genzui, or Kaien. I heard lectures on natural history, both descriptive and functional. I received training in the reading and translation of Dutch. And from the Master Inoue Chū, or Bubi-en, and from my friend Kimura Taizō, I learned astronomy, geography, mathematics, and surveying.

Then I shouldered my basket and set out on an extensive trip around the country. I visited towns and cities as well as remote mountains and ravines, searching for plants and products, and covering by foot more than sixty provinces. Besides economics and natural resources, I was able to acquire training in such military arts as the making of armor, the making of bows and arrows, and the use of artillery and fireworks. In Bunka 3 [1806] I returned to the Eastern Capital and took up residence on Yanagi Street in Kyōbashi.

In 1808 I went to Awa Province where I devoted my attention largely to fireworks and to devising numerous inventions. It was here also that I wrote *An Historical Survey of Eastern Nations* in two chapters, and *My Idea of Real Military Science* in seven chapters (which was enlarged to thirteen chapters in Bunsei 4 [1821] and the title changed to *My Idea of Military Science*). I also studied the mathematical principles of firing by gunpowder and wrote the *Theory of Firearms* in two chapters. It was in Awa too that I experimented with new weapons of my own invention for use in military expeditions, coastal defense and naval warfare, and wrote the book, *How to Use Three Types of Firearms* in three chapters. Moreover, after painstaking study of military matters, I perfected a method of applying firepower to offensive action, and I built a ship propelled by firepower as well as two types of miraculous bullets which I called the New Thunder and the Golden-purple Bell. In this way I was able to complete my plans for the maritime defense of our nation.

In 1809 I left Awa to return to Edo, but in the following year I again left Edo to retire to Mamezuka village in Shimōsa. I made this move because during my stay in Awa I had gained a sudden notoriety as an inventor of devices relating to maritime defense, and officials in the service

of the various fiefs and other curious persons flocked to my residence every day, forming large groups of carriages before my gate. My wife, fearing the unforeseen consequences of so great a notoriety for a *rōnin* such as I, constantly urged me to live in retirement.

Since my retirement I have become interested in a school of thought called Japan's Ancient Way, which is espoused by a fellow native of Dewa, Hirata Atsutane. As I studied carefully the traditions of our heavenly gods and earthly deities, the purity of our origins, our manifest national purpose, and the principles for the evolutionary improvement of all things on earth has become clear to me, so that I have been able to perfect and complete my family's program of studies.

Thereupon, using my grandfather's *New Book on Natural Resources* and my father's *Development of Natural Resources* as a basis, and adding to them what I myself had gained through constant study and research, I have collected the various principles and theories of my family's studies in the following works: *Essays on Creation and Cultivation* in three chapters, *The Pillar of Heaven* in three chapters, and *Compendium of Economics* in eighty chapters. The drafts of these works are ready now, and when proofread they will become a family legacy entrusted to the safekeeping of my children.

The following passage from *Questions and Answers Concerning Restoration of the Ancient Order* (*Fukko-hō montō-sho*) amplifies the preceding account of Satō's activities as an economic, military, and technical adviser to various feudal lords.

[From *Keizai taiten*, XIX, 98-99]

In the beginning of the Kansei Era [1789-1801] I had an audience with the Lord of Tsuyama. I discussed with him methods of making his domain prosperous, and I wrote for him a book in two volumes on the subject of reforms. Later, during my visit to Kazusa Province, I discussed fishing methods with the natives of the coast of Tsukumo and showed them ways of maintaining a fishing economy. Early in the Bunka Era [1804-1818] I became adviser to Chief Officer Shūdō of Awa fief, and visiting in the city of Tokushima I participated in discussions on coastal defense and wrote *Theory of Firearms* in two chapters, *How to Use Three Types of Firearms* in three chapters, and a *Brief History of Western Countries* in three chapters. In addition I discussed the subject of unifying the

world, wrote a fifty-chapter book on *How to Control the Ocean*, helped to cast many cannons, and thus spent three years in Awa. I then went to Owari where I remained for a year and where I wrote the *Development of Natural Resources* in seven chapters. The following year I returned to my native village and assisted the Satake family in opening a sea route on the Pacific for the transporting of Akita products to Edo. The following year I went to Edo and took up residence at Nakabashi. When I wrote *How to Administer Satsuma* in behalf of Igai, the Chief Officer of Satsuma fief, who had enrolled as my student, the Lord of Satsuma who read the tract was so pleased he sent me an honorarium in the personal care of Yamamoto Rihei and Tanaka Shichibei. I then went to the Lord's residence at Takanawa to pay my respects and stayed for more than ten days at the home of the Chief Officer Igai. As he asked me many questions in great earnestness about agriculture, I later wrote and presented him with a copy of *Agricultural Problems* in ten chapters. The venerable Lord was again highly pleased and made me a present of three male and three female pigs. I assigned their care to one of my pupils, Aida Gihei. Their numbers increased many times. Later, I took up residence at Daizudani in southern Shimōsa where I lectured on economics and agriculture and began the revision of the works on agriculture written by my forebears.

The Population Problem

The great increase in Japan's population during the peaceful years of Tokugawa rule created a problem the magnitude of which few even of thinking Japanese appreciated. Satō, feeling that population growth was in accordance with natural law and the divine spirit of creativity, called for fuller employment of Japan's resources and increased food production, while opposing limitation of the birth rate or infanticide. The passage is from his *Essence of Economics* (*Keizai yōroku*).

[From *Keizai taiten*, XVIII, 433-34]

Since the Middle Ages agricultural guidance in the various provinces has been on the decline, there having been no appointment of farm experts to study and to assist the people in the development of natural resources. Thus, despite the beauty of our country and the abundance of fertile land, the exhaustion of the soil and the lack of new attempts at cultivation have led to a scarcity of products, which are hardly sufficient to feed and

clothe the populace of the country. This, in turn, has led to difficulty in rearing children and to the secret practice of infanticide. The practice is particularly widespread in the northeast and in the eastern regions. It is also widespread in the Inland Sea region, Shikoku and Kyushu, but there the children are killed before their birth, thus making it appear that there is no infanticide. The one place where infanticide seems to be extremely rare is Echigo, but in its stead the practice prevails on a large scale of selling girls over seven or eight years of age to other provinces for prostitution. In fact, girls for prostitution is a kind of "special product" of Northern Echigo. Some consider this practice inhuman, but to think so is a great mistake. It is far more humane than either abortion or infanticide. I was told that long ago in Central Asia there was a large country whose king killed 3,300 children annually to obtain their livers, with which he made a medicine for the kidney to be used for sexual purposes. No one who is told of this practice can help but feel a sense of shock and revulsion. When first I heard of it, I too was greatly shocked, but later, as I reflected on it deeply, it occurred to me that while the king's act of slaying 3,300 children annually was indeed inhumane, it was not as barbarous as the practice of infanticide which is prevalent today. In Mutsu and Dewa alone, the number of children killed annually exceeds sixty or seventy thousand. And I have not yet heard of anyone who deplores this situation. I find it nonetheless an unspeakable state of things. . . . That infanticide is so widespread in the various provinces cannot be attributed to the inhumanity of the parents. In the final analysis, it must be attributed to the ruler who lacks compassion, who is unaware of his duty as deputy of Heaven to help the people, who does not study the science of developing natural resources, who does not appoint agricultural experts, and who fails to carry out a program of agriculture which would encourage farmers to exert their utmost. Under such rule agricultural yields are meager and the condition of the land poor. Human beings are the beloved children of heaven. If rulers fail to carry out the teaching of service to Heaven, and permit the slaying of several tens of thousands of children year after year, who knows what Heaven will not do? If this state of affairs continues, divine punishment is inevitable. Therefore the ruler of the land must not fail to adopt methods for the achievement of national prosperity.

Total Government

This plan for the total utilization and control of natural and human resources, contained in Satō's *Confidential Memoir on Social Control* (*Suitō hiroku*), seems frighteningly modern and yet owes much to Confucian social ideals and the already well-developed Chinese pattern of centralized government. Here he extends and adapts it to the complex requirements of his own society in order to exploit fully the potentialities of technological developments. Though he anticipates considerable innovation from the West, Satō characteristically regards this political reform as the fulfillment of the ancient (Chinese) ideal of a rationally ordered society in a universe governed by natural law (already set forth in his *Restoration of the Ancient Order* [*Fukko-hō*], 1846). That this would also be in accord with Divine Law and Providence, as understood through Shinto traditions, is made clear in other writings to follow.

This passage concerns the chief agencies of government which Satō would put in control of the economic life of the nation. Since it would involve a complete reorganization of the four-class system and military government of his day, Satō treated this plan as private and confidential rather than appear to be taking issue publicly with established Tokugawa policy.

[From *Keizai taiten*, XVIII, 635-36]

The Six Ministries should be the Ministry of Fundamental Affairs,² Ministry of Development, Ministry of Manufacture, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of the Army, and Ministry of the Navy. This system is similar to the Six Offices of the Chou government and the Six Departments of the T'ang dynasty in China. However, the systems of the Chou and T'ang dynasties governed the people by dividing them into four classes: the ruling class, the farmer, the artisan, and the merchant. After much thought, I have come to the conclusion that in a four-class system there are some matters which do not come under effective control of the government and possibilities for the development of industry cannot be exploited to their fullest extent. In this way, we neglect some of the great resources which nature has bestowed upon us.

In order to promote government "in the service of Heaven,"³ it should be done on the basis of the occupations of all the people, who should be classified into groups with similar functions. The country's industries should be divided into eight groups, namely: plant-cultivation, forestry,

² Signifies "agriculture," traditionally regarded as the mainstay of the state.

³ This means something much like "in accordance with natural law."

mining, manufacturing, trading, unskilled occupations, shipping, and fishing. The people, once classified into these eight groups, would then be assigned to the Six Ministries. Each person would be assigned to one occupation and attend diligently to his own occupation. The law should strictly prohibit anyone from trying his hand at another occupation. Those who cultivate plants should be assigned to the Ministry of Fundamental Affairs, foresters and miners to the Ministry of Development, craftsmen to the Ministry of Manufacture, traders to the Ministry of Finance, unskilled labor to the Ministry of the Army, and the boatmen and fishermen to the Ministry of the Navy. Thus, the six Ministries will care for the groups of people assigned to them, inducing them to study their occupations and making them devote their attention constantly and exclusively to the performance of their occupations without faltering or becoming negligent, and to the fullest extent of their energies. In this way, as the months and the years pass, each industry will acquire proficiency and perfect itself, providing steadily increased benefits for the greater wealth and prosperity of the state.

If, as in the systems of the Chou and the T'ang, the people are divided into four classes for purposes of administration, the division, although clear and distinct in appearance, in practice leads inevitably to confusion. This is because the ruling class concerns itself exclusively with the administration of government and national defense, giving no attention to the production of goods from land or sea, and placing the burden of production for the entire country on the other three groups: the farmers, craftsmen, and the merchants. As a small number of groups must assume a large number of industries, the merchant has to take on some of the functions of the farmer, forester, artisan, and the fisherman. Each trade is left largely uncontrolled, and thus is unable to develop any skill and ingenuity. Profits dwindle from year to year, and some people have to turn over their businesses to others losing house and home as well. The number of homeless destitutes gradually increases, and leads in the end to the decline of the nation itself. This is a matter of the greatest magnitude, requiring serious thought and investigation.

Moreover, when the people are divided into eight groups, each group should be segregated and mixed residence not permitted, as in the ancient rule of [the early Chinese statesman] Kuan Chung of Ch'i. If this sys-

tem is followed the people will learn their trades from the period of their adolescence, and even without being formally instructed they will become familiar with their trades. Thus, the number of specialists will naturally increase.

Creation and Cultivation (Yōzō Kaiku Ron)

Satō's economic and technological studies, pursued in a rationalistic and empirical spirit, had been devoted to increasing the production and utilization of goods. In his later years, under the influence of Hirata Atsutane, Satō's rationalism was joined to Shinto vitalism. He now saw productivity and the technological transformation of nature as themselves implicit in the natural order. Indeed, to Satō they have a metaphysical basis in the primordial gods, the Spirit of Vitality and Spirit of Fertility.

[From *Keizai taiten*, XVIII, 106-8]

For rulers to employ every means in their power for the sake of agriculture—including the study of natural law,⁴ astronomy, surveying of land and sea, determining latitude and longitude, examining climate, distinguishing the nature of soils, reclaiming paddy fields and farms, rectifying boundaries, repairing irrigation ditches, building and repairing embankments, preparing for drought and rain, tilling and harrowing with infinite care, and cultivating with earnestness—is the way to carry out the divine will of creation and to assist in the cultivation of nature. These are what we call the thirteen laws of agricultural management.

If the thirteen laws of agricultural management were conscientiously carried out, then all things would produce an abundant harvest. These products would then be brought under the control of a system of allocation and distribution. In this manner the goods and wealth of the land would be accumulated, and the way would be opened for civilizing the countries of the world. If we strive to teach service to Heaven, all living people will enjoy the benefits of benevolent rule. To be well-versed in agricultural management, to bring all products under a single control, and to endeavor to spread education are what we call the Three Essentials of Economics.

When the head of a nation carries out satisfactorily these Three Essentials, production will increase greatly, there will be a flow of money and

⁴ Lit. "the principles (or laws) of Heaven."

wealth, the whole country will prosper, all the people will be rich and happy, and suffering due to poverty will be unknown. Then what harm would there be in having a large family? Then and only then can the teaching of gratitude for divine favors be promoted and the foul custom of infanticide be eradicated. Only in this way can talents be developed, military defense be perfected, and laws enforced. Therefore if the government is conscientious in this respect, the innate goodness of all men will assert itself. Acts of violence will decrease gradually, moral discipline will gradually improve, and the population will increase greatly. . . .

Let us respectfully examine the annals of the Divine Age. Prior to the creation of heaven and earth there were three godheads: the Lord of the Center of Heaven, the Spirit of Vitality, and the Spirit of Fertility. These three together were the fountainhead of all creation.

Then in the beginning of creation one original energy manifested itself in the midst of the great void of fusion and confusion. Because of the divine act of creation what was heavy was separated from what was light, and what was clear was separated from what was foul; and the ethereal essence was condensed in the center and the upper heaven was completed.

Confidential Plan of World Unification (Kondō Hisaku)

As a prelude to his plan of world empire Satō pursues further the theme above: reconciliation of Shinto creation legends and the naturalistic cosmology of the Chinese which had already been incorporated into the *Nihongi*. Here the pivotal concept is Heaven (*ten*), which embraces both nature and the divine, so that the will of the Shinto gods is readily identified with the natural law (Heaven's law) of the Chinese and the West.

World rule by Japan is to result from: 1) divine favor, in the form of natural geographical advantages; 2) a capacity for rational organization of the world's resources; and 3) a divine spirit among the Japanese, such that their superior moral fiber is sufficient to overcome all obstacles. Echoes of these arguments were to be heard in the twentieth century from Japanese militarists, who counted heavily on Japanese "spirit" to offset the material preponderance of the West.

[From *Keizai taiten*, XVIII, 567-69]

Our Imperial Land came into existence at the very beginning of the earth and it is the root and basis of all other countries of the world. Thus,

if the root is attended to with proper care, the entire world will become its prefectures and counties,⁵ and the heads and rulers of the various countries will all become its ministers and servants. According to the scriptures of the Divine Age, the imperial progenitors, Izanagi and Izanami, instructed Susanoo [The Impetuous Male Deity] that "our rule extends over the eight hundred folds of the blue immense." And thus we learn that to make clear the divine teaching of production and procreation and thereby to set the peoples of the entire world at peace was, from the very beginning, the principal and urgent mission of our heavenly country. My earlier works, the *Compendium of Economics* (*Keizai taiten*) and the *Outline of Heaven's Law* (*Tenkei yōroku*), examined the divine teaching of creation with the purpose of uniting the entire world in peace.

The salvation of the people of the world is an immense task which requires, first of all, a clear knowledge of geography and the state of affairs in the countries of the world. If measures are not taken to bring the actual state of affairs into harmony with Heaven's will, the principle and teaching of production and procreation cannot be put into effect. And therefore the study of geography is imperative.

Let us now examine the situation of our country in terms of the geography of the countries of the world. It extends from 30° N latitude to 45° N latitude. Its climate is temperate, its soil fertile, and it is not without a variety of crops which produce abundant harvests. Facing the ocean on four sides, for convenience of ocean transportation it has no equal among the nations of the world. Its people, living on sacred land, are superior, excelling those of other countries for bravery and resoluteness. In truth they are fully capable of holding the reins of the world. From this position of strength they could majestically command the world in every direction, and by virtue of the awesome prestige of this Imperial Land they could readily subjugate the puny barbarians and unify the world under their control. Ah, how boundless have been the blessings of the creator on our Imperial Land!

However, even in our Imperial Land, since the descent from heaven of the Imperial Grandson, rulers have disobeyed the laws and teachings of the Divine Age. They have squandered many years in pleasure, idleness,

⁵ The process of empire building is described as it had taken place in China, where the feudal states of antiquity were absorbed into the Ch'in empire as centrally administered prefectures and counties.

and unbridled dissipation, setting their hearts on beautiful women instead of heroic women, and thus shortening their own lives. They have also neglected their duties toward the industry and economy of the nation, while they indulged instead in useless undertakings. There has been no harmony between husband and wife, and household management has suffered. Brothers have quarreled with each other and relatives have killed one another, resulting in the decline of state and society. The ruler did not act like a ruler, nor the subject like a subject. The providential plan initiated by Onamochi and Sukuna-hikone was abandoned and the national polity remained in a state of decline for a long time. Thus magic and Buddha's teachings came into vogue, and no one was left who knew the true teaching of old. The ignorant masses of this corrupt age, having been informed of the vastness of China and India on the one hand, while seeing on the other the smallness of their heavenly land and the weakness of its power, have been convulsed with laughter when they heard my arguments for the unification of the world, telling me that I lack a sense of proportion. They have no awareness that heaven has ordained our country to command all the nations. . . .

In terms of world geography our Imperial Land would appear to be the axis of the other countries of the world, as indeed it is. Natural circumstances favor the launching of an expedition from our country to conquer others, whereas they are adverse to the conquest of our country by an expedition from abroad. The reason why an expedition from our country could be executed more easily than one from abroad is as follows. Among the nations of the world today, no country compares with China in immensity of territorial domain, in richness of products, and in military prestige. Yet, even though China is our neighbor and very close to us, there is no way for her to inflict harm on us, try as she might to conquer us with all the resources of her country. Should a reckless despot dare to send a great force against us—like Kublai of the barbarous Mongols who mobilized the entire manpower of his country to send against us—we in our heavenly land need have no fear. On the contrary, we will inflict great damage on China. She may make a second attempt but will be incapable of making any more. If our nation should attempt to conquer China, however, with proper spirit and discipline on our part China would crumble and fall like a house of sand within five to seven years. This is because the cost to our country of dispatching a

military expedition will be small while for China it would be so great as to be prohibitive. Moreover, her people would be exhausted with ceaseless running from one end of the country to another. Thus, for Japan to attempt to open other countries, her first step must be the absorption of China.

As already noted above, China, despite her great strength, cannot oppose our country. Needless to say, the other countries likewise cannot oppose us, for by the grace of nature Japan is so situated as to be able to unify the countries of the world. I am, therefore, going to explain in this work how China can be subjugated. After China is brought within our domain, the Central Asian countries, as well as Burma, India, and other lands where different languages are spoken and curious costumes are worn, who yearn for our virtues and fear our power, will come to us with bowed heads and on hands and knees to serve us.

NINOMIYA SONTOKU: AGRARIAN REFORM AND COOPERATIVE PLANNING

Fuji no shirayuki wa	The white snow on Fuji
Asahi ni tokeru	Melts in the morning sun,
Tokete nagarete	Melts and runs down
Mishima ni ochiru	To Mishima,
Mishima jorōshū no	Where Mishima's prostitutes
Keshō no mizu.	Mix it in their make-up.

Ninomiya Sontoku (1787-1856), who grew up within sight of Mt. Fuji, must have hummed this popular ballad on occasion, and might have mused upon what it meant. The white snow is beautiful to look at, but it can only become of use to man by melting and running down to the foot of the mountain where men habitate. The Japanese often speak of the "underground activity of water" (*chikasuigyō*) as a simile for self-effacing service on the lowest level of human life. And Sontoku's lifelong service was something akin to that of water. He never wanted to be a government official, nor did he offer to serve as a political adviser. Starting life as a tiller of the soil, he always remained one. But at the same time he did much to improve the farmer's life by teaching and practicing a creed which may be summed up in these few articles: first, manual

labor is the worthiest of human activities since it brings to fruition the creative labors of the gods; second, the law of averages in nature requires a sort of planned agrarian economy, whereby something is set aside from good harvests to tide over bad years; third, agrarian life is essentially communal and its success depends upon unselfish, cooperative activity in an organization through which the savings of some members may be made available for the use of others; and last, human life must be conceived as a continuing act of thanksgiving for the providence of Heaven, earth, and man.

This creed, and the indefatigable labors of Ninomiya Sontoku to rescue his fellow farmers from the vagaries of nature, won for him the affectionate title, "Peasant Sage of Japan." A popular ivory image of Sontoku represents him as a hard-working and affable youth with a happy, smiling face. But a wooden portrait kept in his home and a drawing now placed in the Ninomiya shrine at Odawara, represent him as a man of rugged physique and rough features, with a look of unshakable determination. This is the man to whom shrines have been built as to a guardian angel in the rural districts around modern Tokyo.

At first glance it might seem hard to reconcile Ninomiya's deep sense of gratitude to nature with his constant emphasis on the need for planning against the vagaries of nature. But to his mind the seeming irregularities of nature are in no way arbitrary or capricious. Natural calamities indeed occur without regard to immediate human desires; but they are aspects of an inexorable natural order that works ultimately for the good of man, providing that man does his share. Man cannot rescue himself from the miseries of a hazardous livelihood by crying out against Nature. He must instead be ready to understand the conditions set by Nature, and take them into account in the planning of his life. This requires, above all and before all, the virtue of honesty (*shisei*),¹ which to Ninomiya meant not only a recognition of law and order in human relationships, but also a wholehearted acceptance of the order of Nature. And one of the things which must be accepted as a law of the universe is the necessity for human labor. Hard work is just as much a part of the natural order as the rising and setting of the sun or the alternation of the seasons. Every year, every month, every day and every hour has an incalculable value to the forwarding of human life. Therefore idleness cannot

¹ The "Absolute Sincerity" of the Confucian classic, the Mean.

be tolerated. "The root of virtue is found in labor," he once said, "and the loss of virtue comes from idleness."

Labor also makes man what he is, for civilization and human advancement are nothing but the cumulative achievements of human labor. The Japanese nation itself is only what generation after generation of forbears have made of it through their loving labors. Ninomiya expresses this idea in a poem that bespeaks the rising tide of Neo-Shintoist concepts in early nineteenth-century Japan:

Furu michi ni	The beaten path
Tsumoru ko no ha wo	Is covered with fallen leaves;
kakiwakete	Brush them aside
Amaterasu kami no	And see the footprints
Ashiato wo miru	Of the Sun-goddess

The practical side of Ninomiya's teaching is embodied in his own system of economic planning. Farmers are apt to feel the seeming indifference, or even cruelty, of nature during a year of poor harvest. This will be felt most keenly by those whose existence is most precarious, who are living from day to day or from harvest to harvest at the limit of their resources. The only solution for them is to think and plan in long-range terms. In other words, man must try to see things in somewhat the same way Nature does, and statistics, based on the law of averages, is what enable him to do this. Ninomiya thus urges his fellow farmers to compile their own statistics of crop yields over a ten-year period or longer. With this they can arrive at a fairly reliable estimate of their average annual income, and budget their expenses accordingly. The major portion of Ninomiya's collected works, which run to thirty-six volumes, is devoted to the budgets or formulas (*shiokei*) which he worked out for various individuals, village communities, feudal domains, and even for the shogunate. They represent probably the most detailed case studies of agrarian problems and the most immediately practical solutions for them attempted in the Tokugawa Period.

Ninomiya's system of planning or budgeting, however, was not conceived in terms of immediate personal needs alone. Definite provision had to be made for contributing to the welfare of others, especially of posterity. Just as the individual shares in the life of a community and benefits from the contributions of his predecessors, so must he contribute to the general welfare. Since the welfare of each individual is bound up

with that of the community, the sufferings of some, if unaided in times of distress, will eventually affect the lives of others and hold back the progress of all. The mark of a civilized community is the provision which it makes for mutual aid. In agrarian communities this should take the form of a voluntary credit union. Ninomiya gave these societies which he organized the name "Society for the Repayment of Virtue." Thus was acknowledged the debt which each man owes to his fellows and to his forbears for their contributions to the general welfare.

If there is anything original in the teachings of Ninomiya it is these simple formulations for long-range planning and mutual aid in the agrarian community. These are by no means insignificant contributions, as the Westerner may realize if he considers that the depressed condition of agriculture in many Oriental countries still calls urgently for more of the planning, cooperative enterprise and short-term farm credit he tried to promote. But Ninomiya's espousal of such techniques would not alone explain the success of his movement or the lasting impression he made upon the Japanese peasantry. We must recognize that he was as much as anything else a religious leader, though he did not consider himself to have been favored by any special insight or inspiration, or by the sort of education which might command respect among the people. He had no formal instruction, and in reading his life story one is impressed by the fact that he took from his reading only what he had already learned from life. His thought does not bear the mark of any established tradition, and yet it seems to have absorbed much from existing cults which would contribute to his purpose. Thus he once said that his teaching was one-half Shinto, one-quarter Buddhist, and one-quarter Confucianist. That his creed does combine the most practical aspects of these doctrines is not hard to see: the emphasis upon honesty or sincerity, a cardinal virtue in Confucianism and one which the Neo-Shintoists valued to the exclusion of almost all others in their bare, impoverished system of thought; the emphasis upon thanksgiving, which is important in both Pure Land Buddhism and Shinto; the same insistence upon disciplined and devoted service which Nichiren had called for in the name of the Lotus and the nation; and finally the self-reliance which Zen had inculcated in its followers. Above all Ninomiya must have showed the poor peasant the effectiveness of these ideas in action. While others talked and wrote about them, he worked at them. His

accomplishments in rescuing numerous communities from poverty and ruin, starting with nothing more than his native wit and willingness to work hard, became the inspiration for many others after him who joined together to solve their problems in a self-reliant but selfless spirit.

NINOMIYA SONTOKU

The Repayment of Virtue

Ninomiya devoted himself more to the practical realization of his teachings than to writing about them. Though his collected works run to thirty-six volumes, they contain for the most part his detailed analyses and solutions of the economic problems of various domains. For his more general beliefs we must refer to the accounts kept by disciples of his conversations with them, or else to the simple slogans and formulas which he found so effective in spreading his ideas among people who, like himself, had had little formal education. The use of Chinese characters in the original formulation achieves a special effect—a combination of pithiness and neat parallelism—largely lost in translation.

Through the following refrain runs the theme of man's dependence upon nature and society and his obligation to repay that debt.

[From *Hōtoku-kun* 4 in *Ninomiya Sontoku ō zenshū*, *Seikatsu Genri Hen*, p. 309]

The origin of father and mother depends upon the will of heaven and earth.

The origin of the human body depends upon its being given birth to and cared for by father and mother.

The succession to children and grandchildren depends upon the sincere solicitude of husband and wife.

The wealth and rank of father and mother depend upon the labor and achievements of their forbears.

The wealth and rank of ourselves depends upon the accumulated goodness of father and mother.

The wealth and rank of children and grandchildren depends upon our own labor and effort.

The growth and preservation of our selves depend upon three things: food, clothing, and shelter.

The three necessities of food, clothing, and shelter depend upon [the products of] field and farm, woods and forests.

[The products of] field and farm, woods and forest, depend upon the labor and cultivation of the people.

This year's food and clothing depend on the production of last year.

Next year's food and clothing depend on the exertions and hardships of this year.

Year in and year out we must be ever mindful of the repayment of virtue.

The Practice of Repayment

[From Fukuzumi Masae, *Hōtōkugaku naiiki* 7 in *Ninomiya Sontoku ō zenshū*, XXXVI, 864-65]

The teaching of the Repayment of Virtue is a practical teaching. In practicing it the three most important things are to labor, to be thrifty, and to pass something on to others. To labor means to work hard at one's own occupation; to be thrifty means to keep the family income clearly in mind and to live within that income; to pass something on to others means to practice the five forms of sharing according to one's own means. These are what I call the Three Duties of my school. These duties are like a tripod, which needs each one of its legs and fails to fulfill its function if one is lacking. A man may labor hard at his occupation, but if he is not thrifty it will be labor wasted. A man may be thrifty, but if he is not also hardworking, he will be unable to produce anything and he will have a sense of guilt toward Heaven and earth. Lastly, even though a man be both hardworking and thrifty, if he does not pass something on to others, he will be lacking in humanity and may fall into miserliness. Industry and thrift are practiced only for the sake of passing something on to others.

The Way of Nature

One of the most interesting aspects of Ninomiya's teaching is that he stresses the maximum utilization of the gifts of nature without suggesting in any way that man should seek to dominate or exploit nature. Thus, in contrast to Satō Nobuhiro, he does not think in terms of technological progress but rather of fulfilling nature's own plan through rational management and human industry. Less of a scientist and engineer than Satō, and more of an ethical or religious reformer, Ninomiya puts his faith in voluntary effort on the part of the individual instead of in state controls.

[From *Sangyō jizen dan* in *Ninomiya Sontoku ō zenshū*, I, 951-52]

Here is a man who wants to eat rice in order to feed his body and sustain life. The best thing for him to do is to cultivate rice. Now rice culture follows the seasons. Seeding starts at the end of spring, and transplanting, hoeing, fertilizing, and other kinds of care are given in the summer. When the rice is ripe in autumn, it is cut and taken in before winter arrives. After threshing, apportionment of the grain is made so that there will be enough for needs throughout the year, avoiding excess now and deficiency later. This is the quickest way to get rice to eat. Though some might consider it too long a process, I can assure you that there is no other proper way to obtain rice for the people. If you work hard and faithfully at this great task, you will be free from hunger and starvation from generation to generation. Do not ask for any short cut. In the final analysis Heaven has its own natural way of doing things, and in order to obtain rice the only proper procedure is to cultivate rice plants. In the cultivation of rice plants, too, there is a proper procedure, which involves the sowing of seeds. Remember that rice plants never produce rice plants, and rice seeds never produce rice seeds. First the seeds must grow into plants and then the plants produce seeds. From the beginning of creation there has always been this endless process of transformation and transmigration.¹

So let our labor bring benefits
Equally to all,
That all as one may attain the Buddha-mind
And go on to live in the land of Bliss.

The "Pill" of the Three Religions

[From Fukuzumi Masae, *Ninomiya ô yawa* in *Ninomiya Sontoku ô zenshû*, XXXVI, 820-23]

Old Ninomiya once said, "I have long pondered about Shinto—what it calls the Way, what are its virtues and what its deficiencies; and about Confucianism—what its teaching consists in, what are its virtues and

¹The idea of transmigration is associated in the author's mind with the Kegon doctrine of the interdependence of all things and with the adaptation of this theme to the Amidist doctrine of the "circulating Nembutsu," whereby the merits of each individual are applied to the salvation of all. Thus Ninomiya is prompted to add the poem which follows, adapting the same theme to his teaching of the supreme value of human labor. It is just in this way that he claimed to be a synthesizer of existing religions.

deficiencies; and also about Buddhism—what do its various sects stand for, and what are their virtues and deficiencies. And so I wrote a poem:

Yo no naka wa	The things of this world
Sute ajirogi no	Are like lengths
Take-kurabe	Of bamboo rod
Sore kore tomo ni	For use in fish nets—
Nagashi mijikashi	This one's too long,
	That one too short.

"Such was my dissatisfaction with them. Now let me state the strong and weak points of each. Shinto is the Way which provides the foundation of the country; Confucianism is the Way which provides for governing the country; and Buddhism is the Way which provides for governing one's mind. Caring no more for lofty speculation than for humble truth, I have tried simply to extract the essence of each of these teachings. By essence I mean their importance to mankind. Selecting what is important and discarding what is unimportant, I have arrived at the best teaching for mankind, which I call the teaching of Repaying Virtue. I also call it the 'pill containing the essence of Shinto, Confucianism and Buddhism.' " . . .

Kimigasa Hyōdayū asked the proportions of the prescription in this "pill," and the old man replied, "One spoon of Shinto, and a half-spoon each of Confucianism and Buddhism."

Then someone drew a circle, one half of which was marked Shinto and two quarter-segments labeled Confucianism and Buddhism respectively. "Is it like this?" he asked. The old man smiled. "You won't find medicine like that anywhere. In a real pill all the ingredients are thoroughly blended so as to be indistinguishable. Otherwise it would taste bad in the mouth and feel bad in the stomach." [pp. 822-23]

The old man said: "The Buddhists say that this life is temporary and only the life hereafter is important. Nevertheless, we have obligations to our masters, our parents, our wives, and our children. Even if we could renounce this world, leaving behind our masters and parents and wives and children, still our bodily life goes on. And as long as our bodily life goes on, we cannot do without food and clothing. In this world you cannot get across the river or sea without paying the boat fare. So Saigyō says in his poem:

Sute hatete
 Mi wa naki mono to
 Omoedomo
 Yuki no furu hi wa
 Samuku koso are

Having renounced all,
 I feel myself utterly nonexistent,
 And yet when it snows,
 I know
 How cold I am!" [p. 820]

The Society for the Repayment of Virtue

This society was organized by one of Ninomiya's leading disciples, Fukuzumi Masae, to further the work of his master, and eventually spread all over Japan. The following account of its organization and activities was written in 1912.

[From Yoshimoto, *A Peasant Sage of Japan*, pp. 227-31]

"Men who wish to render thanks to Heaven by benefiting mankind as much as they can; men who wish to reform villages in order to help the poor; men who wish to sow the seeds of goodness that they may enjoy its lovely flowers and noble fruit; of such men does the 'Hōtokusha' consist." So wrote Fukuzumi Masae, a great disciple of Sontoku.

This Hōtokusha ("Society for Returning Virtue") was organized by Fukuzumi according to Sontoku's instructions, and consisted of a Central Society and many branches which have since spread all over Japan. [The central organization was on the principle of Sontoku's Hōtoku office, or "Hōtoku Yakusho," as it was called, of which Sontoku said, "The spirit of the Hōtoku office, if pictured, would be like an august deity shedding a holy light and filled with love and compassion for the common people. No other picture would do justice to its subject."]

The purpose of the Hōtokusha is to help the poor and to aid them to unite in helping one another, first by opening their hearts and developing goodness of character among them, and secondly by assisting them to open up wild lands, improve irrigation and roads, repair bridges and river banks, and, in general, by doing all that is of benefit to the poor. It begins by helping the poorest and encouraging and rewarding the good. The function of the Central Society is to give financial help as well as advice to the branches, so its members are well-to-do persons who freely give their money and services in order to show their gratitude to Heaven by helping their fellow men, and they expect no material reward for themselves.

The Branch Societies consist of poorer men who pay a small subscrip-

tion known as the "Nikka-sen" or "Daily Subscription Money," laying aside from day to day a certain amount of their regular earnings, or the product of extra labor, though it be but a farthing a day, to be paid into the Society monthly. The money thus subscribed by the poor, together with money received from the Central Society, forms a fund from which loans are made to members requiring capital for sound productive enterprises, such as improving their trade or industry. No interest is charged, because the purpose of the Society is to help the needy. Sontoku once compared the virtue of lending money, without interest, to the sun. "When the sun rises industry awakes. Officials take up their duties, farmers till their fields, merchants buy and sell, and all men work at their various employments. So when money is lent without interest farmers who were sitting idle for lack of implements set to work on their farms, merchants who were lying asleep because they had no money to buy goods get up and open their shops again, the weak become strong, and the poor become rich. The sun rises and sets daily and corn grows, trees blossom, fruit ripens, and in 365 rounds of the sun all the needs of man are satisfied. Even so is the virtue of money lent without interest—farmers and merchants prosper, and the idle become industrious."

Zenshukin, "Seed-of-goodness Money," is a fund formed from occasional contributions of members, and is employed in charity and various public benefits. The following extracts from an old cashbook of a branch indicates the source of such contributions:

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ZENSHUKIN

Yen	Sen	
3	0	Amount saved by economizing expenses on marriage ceremony of donor's sons.
9	50	Proceeds of sale of unnecessary clothing in donor's family.
5	0	Share of profit from keeping pigs.
2	0	Proceeds of sale of three trees planted for the purpose five years ago.
1	25	Amount saved by economizing in traveling expenses.
0	75	Amount saved by giving up drinking <i>sake</i> .
0	37	Amount realized by selling pipes and tobacco, donor having given up smoking.
0	25	Proceeds of nightwork making rope.
0	65	Proceeds of sale of a silver hairpin.

The Hōtokusha is virtually a Cooperative Credit Society founded with a high moral purpose, and it has proved a great boon to the poorer classes of people. Its organization at the present time is not precisely the same as at its inception, having been more or less modified to meet the changing circumstances of the times and the various needs of different localities, but in spirit and in general principles it remains as it was at its origin.

PART FIVE

JAPAN AND THE WEST

Tokugawa Shogunate

- 1825 *New Proposals (Shinron)*, by Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863).
- 1853 Perry expedition.
- 1854 Perry returns and negotiates Treaty of Kanagawa. Yoshida Shōin, with Sakuma Shōzan's encouragement, tries to stowaway to America.
- 1856 Townsend Harris, first American minister to Japan, arrives. Ninomiya Sontoku (1787-1856), religious reformer.
- 1858 United States-Japanese commercial treaty.
- 1859 Yoshida Shōin executed.
- 1860 First Japanese mission to the United States.
- 1863 British bombardment of Kagoshima in retaliation for antforeign outbursts.
- 1867 Keiki, last Tokugawa shogun, resigns.

Meiji Period

- 1868 Meiji Restoration. Charter Oath. Fukuzawa Yukichi's school given regular status as Keiō-gijuku.
- 1871 Feudal domains abolished by imperial decree.
- 1872 Conscription ordinance.
- 1873 Debate over forceful "opening" of Korea. Edict against Christianity removed.
- 1877 Satsuma Rebellion.
- 1881 Ōkuma memorializes the Throne, demanding a parliament. Parliament promised for 1890.
- 1882 Fukuzawa Yukichi founds *Jiji Shimpō*.
- 1885 First cabinet.
- 1889 Meiji Constitution adopted.
- 1890 First Diet convened. Imperial Rescript on Education.
- 1894-1895 Sino-Japanese War.
- 1900 Imperial Ordinance stipulating that war and navy ministers be generals or admirals on the active list. Boxer uprising.
- 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance.
- 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War.
- 1910 Annexation of Korea. Kōtoku Shūsui's alleged plot to assassinate the emperor.

Taishō Period

- 1912 Death of Emperor Meiji.
- 1914-1918 First World War.
- 1915 Twenty-one Demands.
- 1918 Siberian Expedition. First Party Cabinet (Hara Takashi, premier).
- 1921 Hara Takashi assassinated.

Shōwa Period

- 1925 Universal manhood suffrage.
- 1930 London Naval Treaty.
- 1931 Manchurian "Incident."
- 1932 Formation of Manchoukuo.
- 1936 Attempted rightist *coup d'état* (February 26).
- 1937 Commencement of China "Incident."
- 1940 Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.
- 1941-1945 Pacific War.
- 1950 Commencement of Korean War.
- 1952 End of military occupation by Allied forces.

CHAPTER XXIV



THE DEBATE OVER SECLUSION AND RESTORATION

After 1739 Russian ships were seen in Japanese waters with increasing frequency. A report was brought home by waifs that the Russians had established a school of navigation at Irkutsk in 1764, and that a Japanese language department had been added in 1768. The Russian government was not alone in its persistent efforts to open Japan's closed door; in 1808 the English ship *Phaeton* humiliated the shogunate by forcing its way into the port of Nagasaki; and the commissioner of the port had to commit suicide as a result of the disgrace. The country was already in turmoil when Commodore Perry of the United States arrived in 1853 at Uraga Bay near the shogunal capital to demand that Japan be opened to navigation and trade. This was only five years after the United States had annexed California. Literally defenseless, the shogunate had no choice but to accept a treaty stipulating that two ports be opened. This was a complete reversal of the long-established shogunate policy of excluding foreigners, and provoked an uproar from one end of the country to the other. The mounting discontent and agitation pointed unmistakably to the downfall of the tottering shogunate. From the raging debate on the open-door three main points of view emerged. The Mito schoolmen, headed by Lord Nariaki and eloquently spoken for by Fujita Tōko and Aizawa Seishisai, came to be known as the group which advocated "reverence to [meaning eventually "restoration of"] the emperor and repulsion of foreigners" (*sonnō-jōi*). A more conciliatory group advocated "union of the civil authority [Kyoto Court] and military authority [Edo Shogunate]" (*kōbu gattai*) in order to strengthen the nation politically; in the cultural sphere it called for the adoption of Western science and art while preserving Oriental ethics. The most important spokesman for this view was Sakuma Shōzan (1811-1864), later victim of assassination at

the hands of a political opponent, who set forth the shogunal policy of opening the country in order to learn Western techniques indispensable for the defense of the country. There was a third group which believed that the salvation of the country would come not from the mere adoption of certain techniques or tactics, but only from a complete renovation of national life through a system of education based on Western civilization and science. This group had as its predecessors such leaders as Sugita Gempaku and Takano Chōei. In the latter half of the nineteenth century Fukuzawa Yukichi was its foremost leader and spokesman, with "independence and self-respect" (*dokuritsu jison*) as his slogan.

THE LATER MITO SCHOOL

"Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarian"

The Mito school, as we have already seen, was inaugurated in the seventeenth century by Tokugawa Mitsukuni for the purpose of compiling an official history of Japan. This work, however, remained in preliminary draft during Mitsukuni's lifetime, and was not in fact put into final form until the early years of the present century. Meanwhile, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Mito branch of the Tokugawa family rose steadily in influence, partly owing to the great prestige acquired through its sponsorship of a project in which many illustrious scholars participated. Its political fortunes rose especially after Nariaki succeeded to leadership of the family, and his son became a candidate for the office of shogun in the absence of an heir in the main Tokugawa line. But the rising political power of Mito was also due in no small measure to the simple and forceful doctrines disseminated by its leading schoolmen. These were dramatized in the slogans: "Shinto and Confucianism are one!" (*Shinju-funi*), "Literary and military [training] are not incompatible" (*Bumbu-fugi*), and "Loyalty to sovereign and loyalty to parents are one in essence" (*Chūkō-ippō*).

Here was a program designed to conciliate and unite the principal religious, intellectual, and political elements in the country against the threat from outside. But what answer had these men to the great question of the moment: "How are the foreigners to be dealt with?" To under-

stand their answer we must review Japanese history as the Mito men themselves were doing in their compilation of the *Dai-Nihon-shi*. The office of shogun, which the Tokugawa held, had its inception in the subjugation of the Ainu, then called the "Northern Barbarians." Generals commissioned by the imperial court to undertake campaigns of suppression were designated "Barbarian-subjugating Generalissimo" (*Sei-i tai shōgun*), subsequently abbreviated to simply Generalissimo (*Shōgun*). The original function of the shogunate was, then, to cope with the barbarians. But the Tokugawa were obviously unable to discharge this responsibility. By yielding to the demands of the barbarians from America, the shogunate had abandoned its trust and forfeited its authority to rule. In this predicament the Mito branch of the Tokugawa, one of three specially appointed to guard the interests of the ruling house, was in a logical position to take the lead in salvaging the situation. Its solution, as set forth by Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863) and Fujita Tōko (1806-1855), was to deal with the new barbarians as vigorously and contemptuously as earlier barbarians had been dealt with.

In his *New Proposals* (*Shinron*) Aizawa puts the issue in this form: "In the defense of the state through armed preparedness, a policy for peace or for war must be decided upon before all else. If there is indecision on this point, the people will be apathetic, not knowing which way to turn. Morale will deteriorate while everyone hopes for peace that cannot materialize. The intelligent will be unable to plan; the brave will be unable to stir up their indignation. Thus day after day will be spent allowing the enemy to mature his plans. Waiting until defeat stares one in the face is due to an inner sense of fear that prevents resolute action. In the days of old when the Mongols were insolent, Hōjō Tokimune stood resolute. Having beheaded the Mongol envoy, he ordered his generals to summon the army for war. Emperor Kameyama, majestic as he was, prayed at the Ise Shrine and offered his life for the salvation of the country. Thereupon the men who were called upon to sacrifice themselves responded by defying death in a body, as if the entire nation were of one mind. Their loyalty and patriotism were such as to bring forth a storm and hurricane that smashed the foe at sea. 'Put a man in a position of inevitable death, and he will emerge unscathed,' goes the saying. The ancients also said that the nation would be blessed if all in the land lived as if the enemy were right on the border. So I say, let a

policy for peace or for war be decided upon first of all, thus putting the entire nation into the position of inevitable death. Then and only then can the defense problem be easily worked out."¹

This is what came to be known as the policy of "repelling the barbarians" (*jōi*). But Aizawa felt, even though he could not openly declare it, that the shogun lacked the authority to make a final decision in favor of such a policy. The historical studies of the Mito school had already established that the descendants of the Sun Goddess were the ordained rulers of the Land of the Rising Sun. So with Aizawa, as with Nariaki and Tōko, reverence for and loyalty to the sovereign (*sonnō*) must be the rallying cry for the entire nation in putting up a unified front against the growing threat of the Western barbarians. On this point the Mito spokesmen joined hands with the Neo-Shintoists. Aizawa mentions the special features of Japanese geography and history; that the country was created by Heavenly forebears and is located at the center of the world; that ever since the descent of the Sun Goddess the country has been ruled by a single line of her descendants; that in Japan loyalty to the sovereign and filial piety to parents form the basis of all morality, so that the people will live happily and die happily for the sake of the emperor and their parents. This is the nucleus of the Japanese nationalistic ideology that later came to be known as the "national polity" (*kokutai*).

Because of the introduction of Buddhism in earlier times, the people had lost sight of the basic truths of history and had become lax in the observance of the fundamental duties of loyalty and filial piety. Throughout the medieval period confusion and disorder became almost the rule, until Hideyoshi and Ieyasu pacified the country. "Thus the whole land and the entire population came under a single control and all as one paid respect to the benevolence of the Heavenly court while at the same time obeying the commands of the shogunate. Peace reigned supreme over the nation. Because of the prolonged peace, however, signs of weakness and sluggishness have appeared: the rulers of fiefs are easygoing; they make no provision for times of need and destitution; reckless people are left to themselves and go unpunished; foreign barbarians stand by off our coasts awaiting their chance. . . . But all the people, high and low, are intent only upon their own selfish gain, with no concern for the security of the nation. This is not the way to preserve our national

¹ Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, p. 253.

polity. When a great man assumes leadership, he is only concerned lest the people be inactive. Mediocre leaders, thinking only of easy peace, are always afraid of the people's restlessness. They see to it that everything appears quiescent. But they let barbarians go unchecked under their very eyes, calling them just 'fishing traders.' They conspire together to hide realities, only to aggravate the situation through half-hearted inaction. Standing on high and surveying the scene in order to practice delaying tactics with an intelligent air seems to me a sure way of carrying us all to an inevitable catastrophe. . . . If instead the shogunate issues orders to the entire nation in unmistakable terms to smash the barbarians whenever they come into sight and to treat them openly as our nation's foes, then within one day after the order is issued, everyone high and low will push forward to enforce the order. . . . This is a great opportunity such as comes once in a thousand years. It must not be lost."²

Such is the clarion call of Aizawa's *New Proposals* (*Shinron*), which before the Second World War was acclaimed as one of the two immortal essays on militant loyalty and patriotism, the other being Yamaga Sōko's *Historical Evidence of the Central Kingdom* (*Chūchō jijitsu*).

AIZAWA SEISHISAI

Preface to the *New Proposals* (*Shinron*)

The *New Proposals* of Aizawa Seishisai, written in 1825, represents the first declaration of the creed of the Mito school, which until that time had confined itself to the writing of history and avoided political controversy. The crisis brought on by the appearance of Western ships in Japanese waters, and in particular the detention of crewmen from a British whaler in the Mito domain (1824), called forth this explicit statement of doctrines which had a powerful impact on their times.

[From Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, 1-10]

Our Divine Land is where the sun rises and where the primordial energy originates. The heirs of the Great Sun have occupied the Imperial Throne from generation to generation without change from time immemorial. Japan's position at the vertex of the earth makes it the standard for the nations of the world. Indeed, it casts its light over the world, and the distance which the resplendent imperial influence reaches knows no limit.

² Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, pp. 71-72.

Today, the alien barbarians of the West, the lowly organs of the legs and feet of the world, are dashing about across the seas, trampling other countries underfoot, and daring, with their squinting eyes and limping feet, to override the noble nations. What manner of arrogance is this!

The earth in the firmament appears to be perfectly round, without edges or corners. However, everything exists in its natural bodily form, and our Divine Land is situated at the top of the earth. Thus, although it is not an extensive country spatially, it reigns over all quarters of the world, for it has never once changed its dynasty or its form of sovereignty. The various countries of the West correspond to the feet and legs of the body. That is why their ships come from afar to visit Japan. As for the land amidst the seas which the Western barbarians call America, it occupies the hindmost region of the earth; thus, its people are stupid and simple, and are incapable of doing things. These are all according to the dispensation of nature. Thus, it stands to reason that the Westerners, by committing errors and overstepping their bounds, are inviting their own eventual downfall. But the vital process of nature waxes and wanes and Heaven may be overcome by the collective strength of men in great numbers.¹ Unless great men appear who rally to the assistance of Heaven, the whole natural order will fall victim to the predatory barbarians, and that will be all.

If, today, we should discuss a far-sighted program in the public interest, the public will stare at one another in astonishment and suspicion, for the public has been weakened by time-worn tales and become accustomed to outdated ideas. In [Sun Tzu's] *Art of War* it says: "Do not rely on their not coming upon you; rely on your own preparedness for their coming. Do not depend on their not invading your land; rely on your own defense to forestall their invasion."

Let, therefore, our rule extend to the length and breadth of the land, and let our people excel in manners and customs. Let the high as well as the low uphold righteousness [duty]; let the people prosper, and let military defense be adequate. If we proceed accordingly and without committing blunders, we shall fare well however forceful may be the invasion of a powerful enemy. But should the situation be otherwise, and

¹ According to Confucian theory Heaven, Earth, and Man form a harmonious Triad, the balance of which may be temporarily upset by the evil actions of men.

should we indulge in leisure and pleasure, then we are placing our reliance where there is no reliance at all.

Some say that the Westerners are merely foreign barbarians, that their ships are trading vessels or fishing vessels, and that they are not people who would cause serious trouble or great harm. Such people are relying on the enemy not coming and invading their land. They rely on others, not upon themselves. If I ask such people about the state of their preparedness, about their ability to forestall an invasion, they stare blankly at me and know not what to say. How can we ever expect them to help save the natural order from subversion at the hands of the Western barbarians?

I have not been able to restrain my indignation and my grief for this state of affairs. Thus, I have dared to set forth what the country should rely on. The first section deals with our national polity, in which connection I have called attention to the establishment of our nation through the loyalty and filial piety of our divine forbears. I have then emphasized the importance of military strength and the welfare of the people. The second section deals with the general situation, in which I have discussed the trend in international affairs. The third is on the intentions of the barbarians, in which I have discussed the circumstances of their designs upon us. The fourth is on defense, wherein I have discussed the essentials of a prosperous and militarily strong nation. The fifth presents a long-range plan wherein a method for the education of the people and the uplifting of their customs are mapped out. These five essays are written with the fervent prayer that in the end Heaven will triumph over man. They represent the general principles to which I have pledged my life in the service of Heaven and earth.

The National Polity

The opening portion of Aizawa's work presents his central conception of the national polity (*kokutai*), probably the most potent concept in modern Japanese nationalism because it so effectively brings together Shinto mythology and Confucian ethics of the *bushidō* variety. Note how, from beginning to end, Aizawa identifies the Sun Goddess with Heaven, which presides over the moral order of the Confucian universe, attributes to her the promulgation of the moral law and political order among men, and equates the Confucian virtues of loyalty and filial piety with Shinto worship and thanksgiving. For

this reason *kokutai* has simultaneous religious, moral, and political overtones. It embraces the "national structure," especially the imperial institution; the "national basis" as found in the divine origins of the country and the dynasty; and the "national character" as embodied in those moral virtues which were considered indispensable to social unity and order.

[From Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, pp. 13-20]

The means by which a sovereign protects his empire, preserves peace and order, and keeps the land from unrest is not the holding of the world in a tight grip or the keeping of people in fearful subjection. His only sure reliance is that the people should be of one mind, that they should cherish their sovereign, and that they should be unable to bear being separated from him. Since Heaven and earth were divided and mankind first appeared, the imperial line has surveyed the four seas generation after generation in the same dynasty. Never has any man dared to have designs on the imperial position. That this has been so right down to our own time could scarcely have been by mere chance.

The duty of subject to sovereign is the supreme duty² in Heaven and earth. The affection between parent and child is the quintessence of kindness (*on*)³ in the land. The foremost of duties and the quintessence of kindness pervade everything between Heaven and earth, steadily permeating the hearts of men and enduring forever without change. These are what the sovereign relies upon above all in regulating Heaven-and-earth and maintaining order among the people.

Of old, when the Heavenly progenetrix [Amaterasu] established the state on a foundation as broad as Heaven, her position was a Heavenly position, and her virtues were Heavenly virtues, and with these she accomplished the Heavenly task of bringing order into the world. All things great and small were made to conform with Heaven. Her virtue was like that of the jewel, her brightness was like that of the mirror, and her awesome power was like that of the sword.⁴ Embodying the benevolence of Heaven, reflecting the radiance of Heaven, and showing forth the awesome power of Heaven, she beamed majestically over the whole realm. When she bequeathed the land to her imperial grandson and personally bestowed the Three Regalia on him, these were taken

² Or principle of righteousness.

³ Implying especially a strong sense of indebtedness for favors received.

⁴ The Three Imperial Regalia.

to be symbols of the Heavenly office, giving form to the Heavenly virtue, and taking the place of Heaven's own hand in the performance of the Heavenly functions. Subsequently they were handed down to unbroken generations; the sanctity of the imperial line being such that no one dared violate it. The status of sovereign and subject was clearly defined, and the supreme duty [of loyalty to the Throne] was thereby made manifest.

When the Heavenly progenetrix handed down the Divine Regalia, she took the treasured mirror and giving her benediction, said: "Looking at this is like looking at me." Countless generations, bearing this in mind, have revered the mirror as the divine embodiment of the Heavenly progenetrix. Her holy son and divine grandson looked into the treasured mirror and saw in it a reflection. What they saw was the body bequeathed to them by the Heavenly progenetrix, and looking at it was like looking at her. Thus, while reverently worshiping her, they could not help feeling an intimate communion between gods and men. Consequently how could they not but reverence their ancestors, express their filial devotion, respect their own persons [as something held in trust], and cultivate their own virtue? Even so, as the love between parent and child deepens, the quintessence of kindness becomes fully manifest.

The Heavenly progenetrix, having thus established human morality on these two principles, imparted her teachings to endless generations. The obligations of sovereign and subject, parent and child—these are the greatest of Heaven's moral obligations. If the quintessence of kindness is achieved within and the highest duty is manifest without, loyalty and filial piety will be established and the great Way of Heaven and man will be brilliantly shown forth. By loyalty honor is done to those worthy of honor; by filial piety affection is shown to parents. It is truly by these means that the hearts of the people are made as one, and high and low are made to cherish one another.

But how is it that these superlative teachings are preserved without being propagated in words and how is it that the people practice them daily without being conscious of them? ⁶ As the Heavenly progenetrix resides in Heaven and beams majestically upon the earth below, so

⁶ The question implies that these truths have a mysterious power so that they may be perpetuated in the life and experience of the people even though they have not been committed to writing. The subsequent passage explains how this mysterious power operates.

Heaven's descendant below manifests to the utmost his sincerity and reverence in order to repay his debt to the Heavenly ancestor. Religion and government being one,⁶ all the Heavenly functions which the sovereign undertakes and all the works that he performs as the representative of Heaven are means of serving the Heavenly forebear. Revering the ancestor and reigning over the people, the sovereign becomes one with Heaven. Therefore, that his line should endure as long as Heaven endures is a natural consequence of the order of things. And thus, in expressing their supreme filial piety, successive sovereigns have maintained the imperial tombs and performed ceremonies of worship to their ancestors. They have manifested to the full their sincerity and reverence by observing the whole system of rites, and have fulfilled their duty of repaying the debt to their progenetrix and of reverencing their ancestors by performing the Great Thanksgiving Ceremony. This ceremony consists in the first tasting of the new grain and the offering of it to the Heavenly god[s].

The Danger from the West

The following excerpt from the *New Proposals* is preceded by a discussion of the principle known as "retracing the descent and repaying the original debt" (*hanshi hōhon*) which affirms the divine descent of the imperial house and the gratitude of the Japanese people for the blessings of the gods. According to Aizawa this principle was inculcated by the original Shinto teaching and reinforced by Confucianism from China. Later, however, it declined owing to the spread of superstitious beliefs identified as Shamanism, and of Buddhism, unorthodox Confucian teachings and Christianity.

[From Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, pp. 90-95]

Thus, our ancestral teaching has been muddled by the shamans, altered by the Buddhists, and obscured by pseudo-Confucians and second-rate scholars who have, through their sophistries, confused the minds of men. Moreover the duties of sovereign and minister and of parent and child have been neglected and left undefined in their teachings. The great Way of Heaven and man are nowhere to be found in them.

In the past those who have attracted popular attention and confused the thinking of the populace with their improper teaching have only been

⁶ The early Japanese word for government (*matsuri-goto*) is a compound based on the word for religious rite (*matsuri*), indicating a close association of political and religious functions.

people of our own realm. But now we must cope with the foreigners of the West, where every country upholds the law of Jesus and attempts therewith to subdue other countries. Everywhere they go they set fire to shrines and temples, deceive and delude the people, and then invade and seize the country. Their purpose is not realized until the ruler of the land is made a subject and the people of the land subservient. As they have gained momentum they have attempted to foist themselves on our Divine Land, as they have already done in Luzon and Java. The damaging effects of their heresies go far beyond anything done by those who attack from within our own land. Fortunately, our rulers were wise and our ministers alert, and thus were able to perceive their evil designs. The barbarians were killed and exterminated, and there has been no recurrence of this threat. Thus, for two hundred years, the designing and obstinate fellows have been prevented from sowing their seeds in our soil. That the people have been free from the inflammatory teaching of the barbarians has been due to the great virtue of our government. . . .

Recently, there has appeared what is known as Dutch Studies, which had its inception among our official interpreters [at Nagasaki]. It has been concerned primarily with the reading and writing of Dutch, and there is nothing harmful about it. However, these students, who make a living by passing on whatever they hear, have been taken in by the vaunted theories of the Western foreigners. They enthusiastically extol these theories, some going so far as to publish books about them in the hope of transforming our civilized way of life into that of the barbarians. And the weakness of some for novel gadgets and rare medicines, which delight the eye and enthrall the heart, have led many to admire foreign ways. If someday the treacherous foreigner should take advantage of this situation and lure ignorant people to his ways, our people will adopt such practices as eating dogs and sheep and wearing woolen clothing. And no one will be able to stop it. We must not permit the frost to turn to hard ice. We must become fully aware of its harmful and weakening effects and make an effort to check it. Now the Western foreigners, spurred by the desire to wreak havoc upon us, are daily prying into our territorial waters. And within our own domain evil teachings flourish in a hundred subtle ways. It is like nurturing barbarians within our own country.⁷ If confusion reigns in the country, and depravity and ob-

⁷ Lit. the "Central Kingdom," the usual Chinese name for China.

sequiousness among the people, could this land of ours still be called the Central Kingdom? Would it not be more like China, India, or the Occident? After all, what is the "basis" ⁸ of our nation?

The Source of Western Unity and Strength

[From Takasu, *Shinron kōwa*, pp. 198, 215]

The Western barbarians have independent and mutually contending states, but they all follow the same God. When there is something to be gained by it, they get together in order to achieve their aims and share the benefits. But when trouble is brewing, each stays within his own boundaries for self-protection. So when there is trouble in the West, the East generally enjoys peace. But when the trouble has quieted down, they go out to ravage other lands in all directions and then the East becomes a sufferer. Russia for instance, having subjugated the Western plains, turned eastward to take over Siberia and penetrate the Amur River region. But as the Manchus were still strong in China, the Russians could not attain their objectives and had to turn their aggressive designs toward the land of the Ainu. [p. 215]

. . . .

As to the Western barbarians who have dominated the seas for nearly three centuries—do they surpass others in intelligence and bravery? Does their benevolence and mercy overflow their own borders? Are their social institutions and administration of justice perfect in every detail? Or do they have supernatural powers enabling them to accomplish what other men cannot? Not so at all. All they have is Christianity to fall back upon in the prosecution of their schemes. . . . When those barbarians plan to subdue a country not their own, they start by opening commerce and watch for a sign of weakness. If an opportunity is presented, they will preach their alien religion to captivate the people's hearts. Once the people's allegiance has been shifted, they can be manipulated and nothing can be done to stop it. The people will be only too glad to die for the sake of the alien God. They have the courage to give battle; they offer all they own in adoration of the God and devote their

⁸ Refers to the "national polity" (*kokutai*), especially as found in the divine origins of the country and the dynasty, and as embodied in those moral virtues which are considered indispensable to social unity and order.

resources to the cause of insurrection.⁹ The subversion of the people and overthrowing of the state are taught as being in accord with the God's will. So in the name of all-embracing love the subjugation of the land is accomplished. Though greed is the real motive, it masquerades as a righteous uprising. The absorption of the country and conquest of its territories are all done in this fashion. [p. 198]

THE OPENING OF JAPAN FROM WITHIN

In the atmosphere of impending crisis which pervaded Japan in the mid-nineteenth century, the Mito slogan, "Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarian" was to prove remarkably effective in rallying nationalistic sentiment around a single center, the imperial house. Yet the very simplicity and generality of this appeal rendered it susceptible of conflicting interpretations and left many questions unanswered, which, as events brought nearer the final crisis in foreign relations, were to be resolved in an unexpected manner. Thus for some of the Mito leaders, themselves prominent members of the Tokugawa family and desirous of strengthening its position rather than abandoning it, the expression "Revere the emperor" had represented a call to national unity, and not what it later became to proponents of the imperial Restoration: a call for surrender to the emperor of functions long performed by the shogunate. Similarly, the cry "Repel the barbarian," which at first gave vent to a xenophobic rejection of all intercourse with the West, was in a few years' time sufficiently moderated to allow for "opening of the country" as the only practicable way of building up Japan's strength against the West. In the rapid evolution of Japanese thinking about these questions, Sakuma Shōzan (1811-1864) and his disciple Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859) stand as important links between the old order and the new.

SAKUMA SHŌZAN: EASTERN ETHICS AND WESTERN SCIENCE

A samurai from mountainous Shinano province, Sakuma Shōzan (or Zōzan) completed his Confucian classical studies at Edo under Satō

⁹ Referring to the uprising of Christians at Shimabara, near Nagasaki, in 1637-38.

Issai, a noted scholar and literary stylist who taught under the aegis of the orthodox Hayashi school but was deeply influenced by the intuitionist philosophy of Wang Yang-ming. Sakuma's own writings, and those of his disciple Yoshida, betray this same influence in their stress upon the inseparability of knowledge and action. Sakuma nonetheless felt that his master had gone too far in the direction of subjectivism, to the neglect of Chu Hsi's objective "investigation of things." That he subsequently became interested in Western science and technology, however, was not a purely logical development from this early concern for Chu Hsi's "investigation of things." He devoted himself mainly to the teaching of classical studies until suddenly thrust into a situation requiring much more practical knowledge than he possessed. In 1841, his lord, Sanada Yukitsura, who had considerable influence in shogunate circles by reason of both his family connections and his personal talents, was appointed to its highest council of advisers and put in charge of Japan's coastal defenses. As a trusted counsellor of his lord, Sakuma found himself confronting squarely the most difficult and fateful question of the day; how to deal with the threat of Western naval power in Japanese waters.

Though a believer in "Revering the Emperor and Repelling the Barbarian," Sakuma was not blinded by this antiforeignism to the realities of the situation, but immediately launched into the study of Western gunnery as it was taught by two Japanese pioneers in this field, Takashima Shūhan and Egawa Tan'an. The eight-point program which he subsequently submitted to Lord Sanada as the basis for shogunate policy reveals both his firm adherence to the seclusion policy and his espousal of technical developments from the West.

1. Fortifications must be erected at all strategic points on the coast and equipped with adequate artillery.

2. The export of copper through the Dutch must be suspended and the metal used for casting thousands of guns for distribution to all points.

3. Large merchant ships must be built, so as to prevent the loss of rice through the wreck of small coastal vessels which are all that the exclusion edicts allow.

4. Maritime trade must be supervised by capable officials.

5. Warships of foreign style must be constructed and a force of trained naval officers built up.

6. Schools must be established throughout the country and a modern education provided, so that "even the most stupid men and women may understand loyalty, piety, and chastity."

7. Rewards and punishments must be made clear, and government must be conducted benevolently but firmly, so as to strengthen the popular mind.

8. There must be established a system of selecting and employing men of ability in official posts.¹

While noting Sakuma's bold advocacy of Western military methods, we must not regard his references to Confucian virtues and precepts as mere lip service to tradition. To him they represented the indispensable basis for any program of reform, since support for this stupendous national undertaking could only be guaranteed by intensifying the moral indoctrination of the people and improving the quality of government so as to insure popular backing.

Sakuma's proposals met with strong opposition, however, and when his lord was finally forced to relinquish his high place in shogunate councils, Sakuma found himself free to devote his full energies to Western studies. This involved learning Dutch, so as to have direct access to sources of knowledge made available only through the Dutch trading mission at Deshima. Following an encyclopedia in Dutch translation, for instance, he experimented in the making of glass and the refining of certain chemicals. By 1848 he had become proficient enough to cast cannon and small arms. These activities, and the steps he also took to improve animal husbandry in his native region, were supported by Lord Sanada to develop and strengthen his own fief of Matsushiro. They also served to make Sakuma more widely known as a leader in the adoption of Western methods.

Meanwhile, through his lord and others high in the Edo government, Sakuma continued to press for the building up of land fortifications and a Western-type navy. Unsuccessful in this, he still had the satisfaction of seeing his hopes for a modern navy carried forward by one of his disciples, Katsu Awa (or Kaishū, "Sea-vessel"), who later studied naval science and construction in the United States, and as first Navy Minister in the Meiji regime became known as "the father of the Japanese Navy."

Another disciple of Sakuma during these years was the aforementioned Yoshida Shōin, who met a far different fate in his attempt earlier to go abroad for study. With the encouragement of his teacher, Yoshida had tried to stow away on one of Perry's ships in 1854, only to be turned over to the shogunal authorities and be imprisoned for violating the Seclusion

¹ As summarized by Sansom in *The Western World and Japan*, p. 254.

Laws. Sakuma himself would probably have been punished far more severely for his part in this "crime" had not influential persons interceded to avert the death penalty for both him and his disciple. After less than a year in jail, each was released in the custody of his clan for domiciliary confinement.

Undeterred and irrepressible, Sakuma continued to take an active part in the debate on political and military questions. His prison diary had ended with this statement, echoing a famous utterance of Confucius:

At twenty I realized I had a part to play in the life of my state.

At thirty I realized I had a part to play in the life of the entire nation.

At forty I realized I had a part to play in the life of the entire world.²

Up to this time Sakuma's advocacy of Western methods had still not implied that Japan itself should be opened to the West. In 1858, however, the signing of a commercial treaty with the United States brought to an end the seclusion policy of the shogunate. Accepting this state of affairs, Sakuma eventually became known as an active proponent of the new policy of "opening the country" (*kaiōkoku-ron*), to which the Tokugawa were now unavoidably committed. Meanwhile, opposition to the shogunate and to intercourse with the West centered increasingly around the emperor at Kyoto, and Sakuma, fearing the effects of this cleavage on Japan's capacity to resist Western encroachment, devoted his efforts to bridging the gulf between the two courts. In the early 1860s a compromise party appeared in both Edo and Kyoto calling for collaboration between the shogunate and the imperial court under the slogan "Union of Civil and Military [Government]" (*Kōbu gattai*). The aim of this movement was on the one hand to uphold the policy of "opening the country," and on the other to grant a greater voice in government to the imperial court and its supporters among the so-called "outer daimyō." In the interests of such a compromise, Sakuma offered his services as an emissary from the shogunate to the Kyoto court, convinced that he could persuade the emperor of the necessity of "opening the country." It was on this mission to Kyoto that Sakuma suddenly met death at the hands of assassins from the southwestern fief of Chōshū, who were bitterly opposed to the Tokugawa and any move toward reconciliation.

Beside being identified with the policy of "opening the country" to the

² *Analects*, II, 4.

West and the movement for "Union of Civil and Military Government," Sakuma's name is remembered especially in connection with a slogan he made famous, "Eastern ethics and Western science" (*Tōyō no dōtoku, Seiyō no gakugei*). In these few words Sakuma summed up his faith in the compatibility of the Oriental (mainly Confucian) ethical heritage with the new technical knowledge of the West. No doubt, in so acclaiming the respective virtues of East and West, Sakuma failed to sense the latent contradictions between them, the frictions which might develop, and the difficulty of keeping each to the sphere of influence he had assigned it. Nevertheless his simple formula was more than just the hasty contrivance of a desperate man, hoping, in the face of overwhelming Western superiority, to salvage something from the wreckage of his own civilization. It satisfied at least two of the basic conditions for Japan's survival in the modern world: the need for developing military power sufficient to hold off the West, while at the same time preserving that unity of national purpose and action which, under the circumstances, could only spring from common and well-established traditions. Thus the formula proved workable enough to serve a whole generation of leaders during the Meiji Restoration, and to provide the basis for a modernization program of unparalleled magnitude in the late nineteenth century. What is noteworthy in this is not that the pursuit of these two aims brought them into continual conflict, but that Japan's leaders and her people, adhering as much to traditional values as they were guided by the vision of a modernized nation, should have managed to hold these contradictions and conflicts sufficiently within limits so as not to disrupt the whole enterprise.

It should be mentioned in passing that Sakuma was not the only man of this era in world history to hit upon such an answer to the predicament of Orientals suddenly confronted with the power and expanding energy of the West. In China, during the last half of the nineteenth century, essentially the same solution was advanced under the slogan "Chinese learning to provide the [moral] basis, Western learning to provide the [technical] means" (*Chung-hsüeh wei t'i, Hsi-hsüeh wei yung*).³ This is not the place to enter into a general comparison of these

³ See Teng and Fairbank, *China's Response to the West*, Ch. V and XVII. Wei Yüan (1794-1856) is probably the first exponent of this point of view in China, though it was not formulated in these terms until much later. Sakuma Shōzan, in his work *Seiken-roku*,

two movements which sought to encourage the adoption of Western technology (especially the production of modern arms) while reaffirming traditional moral teachings. Still we cannot fail to observe that the attempt made in China was to be far less successful in promoting rapid modernization than in Japan. Whatever the reasons for this, it is significant that in neither case do we find the claims of tradition so incompatible with the requirements of modernization that the one could be advanced only at the direct expense of the other. In China, while it is true that the weight of certain customs and traditions impeded reform, there is no evidence that the marked lag in modernization was linked to a strong reassertion of native traditions in thought and conduct; on the contrary, Confucianism itself seems to have ebbed in vitality and influence in the midst of a general trend toward the disintegration of Chinese society. In Japan, on the other hand, as the nation took giant strides toward Westernization, far from abandoning her most cherished ideals, she seemed for a time to gain new strength from them. At least this is so of the men who were to guide Japan's destinies in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Retaining a vital faith in their national heritage, they were able not only to perpetuate it but even to extend in some ways its hold on the people, employing for this purpose the very techniques of modern mass education and improved means of communication adopted from the West. For leaders such as these, who made a place in the modern world for the Land of the Rising Sun, there was probably no single figure in recent history who provided a more inspiring example of traditional virtues than did Sakuma's pupil Yoshida Shōin.

SAKUMA SHOZAN

Reflections on My Errors (Seiken-roku)

This book was written as if to record Sakuma's reflections while in prison, though it was actually committed to writing after his release. Ostensibly a piece of self-examination, it is in fact a vigorous self-defense, dealing in turn with his fundamental Confucian beliefs, the need for pursuing Western studies, and the justification for his political activities. Because of his outspoken criticism

mentions having read a work of Wei's on China's defense policies in 1850-51, and asserts that each of them had arrived at the same general conclusion independently. Sakuma's memorial on Japanese maritime defense was drawn up in the winter of 1842-43, while Wei completed his *Sheng-wu chi* in the summer of 1842.

of the existing regime, it was not published until after the author's death and the fall of the shogunate.

[From Terry, *Sakuma Shōzan and His Seiken-roku*, pp. 58-86]

In the summer of Kaei 7, the fourth month (May, 1854), I, Taisei, because of an incident, went down into prison. During my seven months of imprisonment I pondered over my errors, and, as a result, there were things that I should have liked to say concerning them. However, brush and ink-stone were forbidden in the prison, and I was therefore unable to keep a manuscript. Over that long period, then, I forgot much. Now that I have come out, I shall record what I remember, deposit the record in a cloth box, and bequeath it to my descendants. As for publicizing what I have to say, I dare do no such thing.

.
2. Take, for example, a man who is grieved by the illness of his lord or his father, and who is seeking medicine to cure it. If he is fortunate enough to secure the medicine, and is certain that it will be efficacious, then, certainly, without questioning either its cost or the quality of its name, he will beg his lord or father to take it. Should the latter refuse on the grounds that he dislikes the name, does the younger man make various schemes to give the medicine secretly, or does he simply sit by and wait for his master to die? There is no question about it: the feeling of genuine sincerity and heartfelt grief on the part of the subject or son makes it absolutely impossible for him to sit idly and watch his master's anguish; consequently, even if he knows that he will later have to face his master's anger, he cannot but give the medicine secretly.

.
16. Although my family branch was poor, I grew up with plenty to eat and with warm clothing to wear. I never underwent the tempering of cold and hardship. I was therefore always afraid that in the event of a national emergency I would have difficulty bearing the attendant difficulties in everyday living, such as privations in food and drink. However, last summer, when the American ships suddenly arrived, and Edo was put on strict guard, I managed military affairs in the mansion belonging to my *han*, and, although I got no sleep for seven days and nights, my spirits grew higher and higher. This year, I was condemned and sent to prison. For several weeks I have eaten meager food, licked salt, and received the same treatment as men under heavy punishment.

However, I have kept calm and have managed to become content with my lot. Moreover, my spirit is active, and my body is healthy. To have tried myself somewhat on these two points is of no small profit. My ordeal can thus be called a heavenly blessing.

.

20. The gentleman has five pleasures, but wealth and rank are not among them. That his house understands decorum and righteousness and remains free from family rifts—this is one pleasure. That exercising care in giving to and taking from others, he provides for himself honestly, free, internally, from shame before his wife and children, and externally, from disgrace before the public—this is the second pleasure. That he expounds and glorifies the learning of the sages, knows in his heart the great Way, and in all situations contents himself with his duty, in adversity as well as in prosperity—this is the third pleasure. That he is born after the opening of the vistas of science by the Westerners, and can therefore understand principles not known to the sages and wise men of old—this is the fourth pleasure. That he employs the ethics of the East and the scientific technique of the West, neglecting neither the spiritual nor material aspects of life, combining subjective and objective, and thus bringing benefit to the people and serving the nation—this is the fifth pleasure.

.

27. All learning is cumulative. It is not something that one comes to realize in a morning or an evening. Effective maritime defense is in itself a great field of study. Since no one has yet thoroughly studied its fundamentals, it is not easy to learn rapidly its essential points. Probably this fact explains why even if you take hold of a man's ear and explain these essential points to him, he does not understand.

28. The principal requisite of national defense is that it prevents the foreign barbarians from holding us in contempt. The existing coastal defense installations all lack method; the pieces of artillery that have been set up in array are improperly made; and the officials who negotiate with the foreigners are mediocrities who have no understanding of warfare. The situation being such, even though we wish to avoid incurring the scorn of the barbarians, how, in fact, can we do so?

.

30. Of the men who now hold posts as commanders of the army, those who are not dukes or princes or men of noble rank, are members of

wealthy families. As such, they find their daily pleasure in drinking wine, singing, and dancing; and they are ignorant of military strategy and discipline. Should a national emergency arise, there is no one who could command the respect of the warriors and halt the enemy's attack. This is the great sorrow of our times. For this reason, I have wished to follow in substance the Western principles of armament, and, by banding together loyal, valorous, strong men of old, established families not in the military class—men of whom one would be equal to ten ordinary men—to form a voluntary group which would be made to have as its sole aim that of guarding the nation and protecting the people. Anyone wishing to join the society would be tested and his merits examined; and, if he did not shirk hardship, he would then be permitted to join. Men of talent in military strategy, planning, and administration would be advanced to positions of leadership, and then, if the day should come when the country must be defended, this group could be gathered together and organized into an army to await official commands. It is to be hoped that they would drive the enemy away and perform greater service than those who now form the military class.

.

35. Mathematics is the basis for all learning. In the Western world after this science was discovered military tactics advanced greatly, far outstripping that of former times. This development accords with the statement that "one advanced from basic studies to higher learning." In the *Art of War* of Sun Tzu, the statement about "estimation, determination of quantity, calculation, judgment, and victory" has reference to mathematics. However, since Sun Tzu's time neither we nor the Chinese have ceased to read, study, and memorize his teachings, and our art of war remains exactly as it was then. It consequently cannot be compared with that of the West. There is no reason for this other than that we have not devoted ourselves to basic studies. At the present time, if we wish really to complete our military preparations, we must develop this branch of study.

.

40. What do the so-called scholars of today actually do? Do they clearly and tacitly understand the way in which the gods and sages established this nation, or the way in which Yao, Shun, and the divine emperors of the three dynasties governed? Do they, after having learned the rites and music, punishment and administration, the classics and

governmental system, go on to discuss and learn the elements of the art of war, of military discipline, of the principles of machinery? Do they make exhaustive studies of conditions in foreign countries? Of effective defense methods? Of strategy in setting up strongholds, defense barriers, and reinforcements? Of the knowledge of computation, gravitation, geometry, and mathematics? If they do, I have not heard of it! Therefore I ask what the so-called scholars of today actually do.

.

42. Learning, the possession of which is of no assistance and the lack of which is of no harm, is useless learning. Useful learning, on the other hand, is as indispensable to the meeting of human needs as is the production of the light hemp-woven garment of summer and the heavy outer clothing of winter.

.

44. We say that this nation has an abundance of gold, and of rice and millet. However, our territory is not large, and after the internal needs of the country have been met there is hardly any surplus of the materials produced here. Such things as the need for coastal defense arise from without. To install several hundred defense barriers, to construct several hundred large warships, and to cast several thousand large artillery pieces, will call for vast expenditures. Again, all these things are not permanently durable: every ten or twenty years they will have to be repaired, reconstructed, or improved. Externally, there will be the need for funds with which to carry on relations with foreign countries, and, internally, the expense of necessary food supplies for our own country. Where can money for these sorts of things be obtained? If a family in financial distress receives many guests, and frequently prepares feasts for them, its resources will be dissipated to the point where it can no longer continue to carry on these activities. How does the present position of the nation differ from the plight of this poor family? With what tactics can such a situation be overcome? Those who sincerely wish to conduct the affairs of state well must make careful plans in advance.

.

46. At the time when my former lord assumed office in the government, and later, when he took charge of coastal defense, the English barbarians were invading the Ch'ing empire, and news of the war was sensational. I, greatly lamenting the events of the time, submitted a plan

in a memorial. That was, actually, in Tempō 13, the eleventh month [December, 1842-January, 1843]. Later I saw the *Sheng-Wu Chi* of the Chinese writer Wei Yüan.¹ Wei had also written out of sorrow over recent events. The preface to the book was composed in the seventh month of the same year [August-September, 1842]; and while Wei thus wrote only four months before I submitted my memorial, the two of us, without having had any previous consultation, were often in complete agreement. Ah! Wei and I were born in different places and did not even know each other's name. Is it not singular that we both wrote lamenting the times during the same year, and that our views were in accord without our having met? We really must be called comrades from separate lands. However, Wei says that China from ancient times until the present has had naval defense, but has had no naval warfare; therefore, as the method of defense against attacks from the sea, she should strengthen fortified towns and clear fields, in order to be able to push back the landing invaders. I, on the other hand, wish to promote to the full the teaching of techniques for using armored warships and to form a plan of attack whereby an enemy could be intercepted and destroyed, in order that the death sentence may be given to the plunderers before they have reached the country's shores. That is the only point of difference between Wei and me.

47. In order to master the barbarians there is nothing so effective as to ascertain in the beginning conditions among them. To do this, there is no better first step than to be familiar with barbarian tongues. Thus, learning a barbarian language is not only a step toward knowing the barbarians, but also the groundwork for mastering them. When the various nations on one pretext or another began sending ships frequently to the territory around Sagami and Awa, I thought it genuinely difficult to find out facts about them. As a result, I felt the desire to compile a lexicon in several volumes, translating other languages into Japanese, in order to teach the tongues of the various European countries. Also, since we have long had trade relations with Holland, and since many of us already know how to read the books used in that country, I wished to publish the Dutch section first. Before this, there had been an order from

¹ Scholar and associate of Commissioner Lin Tse-hsü, whose attempt to suppress the opium trade at Canton led to the war with the British. Wei's book, *Sheng-wu Chi* (*Record of Imperial Military Exploits of the Manchu Dynasty*) was finished just after the signing of the Treaty of Nanking ending the Opium War. [Ed.]

the government to the effect that all books to be published must undergo official inspection. Therefore, in the winter of Kaei 2 [1849-1850], I came to Edo, submitted my manuscript, and requested permission to publish it. The affair dragged on for a year, and I was ultimately unable to obtain permission. During the time I was in the capital I first secured Wei's book and read it. He also wished to set up schools in his country primarily for the translation of foreign documents and the promotion of a clear understanding of conditions among the enemy nations, in order to further the cause of mastering the enemies. In this too his opinion concurred with mine. I do not know, however, whether or not his country has put his words into effect.

48. The main requirement for maritime defense are guns and warships, but the more important item is guns. Wei included an article on guns in his *Hai-kuo T'u-shih* [sic].² It is for the most part inaccurate and unfounded; it is like the doings of a child at play. No one can learn the essentials of a subject without engaging personally in the study of it. That a man of Wei's talent should fail to understand this is unfortunate. I deeply pity Wei that in the world of today, he, ignorant of artillery, should have unwittingly perpetrated these errors and mistakes on later generations.

49. Last summer the American barbarians arrived in the Bay of Uraga with four warships, bearing their president's message. Their deportment and manner of expression were exceedingly arrogant, and the resulting insult to our national dignity was not small. Those who heard could but gnash their teeth. A certain person on guard in Uraga suffered this insult in silence, and, having been ultimately unable to do anything about it, after the barbarians had retired, he drew his knife and slashed to bits a portrait of their leader, which they had left as a gift. Thus he gave vent to his rage. In former times Ts'ao Wei of Sung, having been demoted, was serving as an official in Shensi, and when he heard of the character of Chao Yüan-hao, he had a person skillful in drawing paint Chao's image. Ts'ao looked at this portrait and knew from its manly appearance that Chao would doubtless make trouble on the border in the future. Therefore Wei wished to take steps toward preparing the border in advance, and toward collecting together and examining men of

² Correct name *Hai-kuo t'u-chih* (*Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries*), compiled by Lin Tse-hsü and Wei Yüan, 1841.

ability. Afterwards, everything turned out as he had predicted. Thus, by looking at the portrait of his enemy, he could see his enemy's abilities and thereby aid himself with his own preparations. It can only be regretted that the Japanese guard did not think of this. Instead of using the portrait, he tore it up. In both cases there was a barbarian; in both cases there was a portrait. But one man, lacking the portrait, sought to obtain it, while the other, having it, destroyed it. Their depth of knowledge and farsightedness in planning were vastly different.

52. Formerly, with one or two friends, I took a trip to Kamakura; at length, we sailed over the sea past Arasaki to Jōgashima; we lodged at Misaki, continued on past Matsuwa, and stopped over at Miyata. Then, having stayed a time at Uruga, we went up to Sarugashima, viewed Kanazawa, went out to Hommoku, and returned to Edo. In the course of this trip I stopped at about ten places where barricades had been set up in preparation against an invasion from the sea. However, the arrangement of them made no sense, and none of them could be depended on as a defense fortification. Upon discovering this, I unconsciously looked up to Heaven and sighed deeply; I struck my chest and wept for a long time. Edo is the throat of the nation, and, while Futtso-no-su, as its lip, may be called a natural barrier, the mouth opening into the sea is still broad. From the outset, it would be difficult without warships and naval troops to halt an enemy transgression or attack. Now, without any real effort, these foolish walls and mock parapets have been thrown up high above the surface of the sea, only to display to the foreign nations our lack of planning. If during these times the nations to east and west sent ships to pay us a visit, how could they take us seriously? There is no point in criticizing the mediocrity of the lower officials. But what is to be done if even those who ride on golden saddles with ornate saddle-cloths, who wear brocade and feast on meat, and who call themselves high class, fail to recognize the great plan for the nation, but instead use up the country's wealth on this useless construction work. If barbarian ships arrived in force, how could we either defend against them or defeat them? After my trip, I felt the urge to write a petition discussing the things that should and should not be done in maritime defense, with the hope that I might be of assistance in this time of emergency. I completed my manuscript and requested my former lord for permission to submit

it. He refused, and I gave up my plan. This was in the early summer of Kaei 3 [1850]. Four years later, as I had predicted, the affair of the American barbarians arose. At the time when my former lord stopped my memorial, he was probably acting out of the fear that I might be punished for impertinence. His benevolence in protecting me was truly great. If he were in the world today and were informed that I have been imprisoned, his grief would be profound!

YOSHIDA SHŌIN AND THE VALUE OF DEATH

Torajirō

Nijū-ikkai mōshi

Torajirō—

Twenty-one times a death-defier!

Yoshida Torajirō (better known by his pen-name, Shōin), whose heroism drew such acclaim as this from young Japanese of the Meiji Restoration and even won admiration abroad through the writings of Robert Louis Stevenson, was born in the southwestern fief of Chōshū and adopted into the family of a samurai in rather humble circumstances. His father, a military instructor, found it necessary to divide his time between teaching and cultivating the soil in order to earn a frugal living, and Yoshida, who succeeded to the direction of his father's school at a very young age, always remained a peasant at heart—earnest, unsophisticated, and alive with the raw energy of the earth. From his father, also, he inherited a deep devotion to the precepts of Yamaga Sokō, whose teachings on the code of the warrior (later known as *bushidō*) had been handed down in the family school. He also acquired a close acquaintance with the principles of military science as set forth in the ancient Chinese classic, Sun Tzu's *Art of War*. Perhaps an even more decisive influence on Yoshida was the book of Mencius, whose high idealism, strong assertion of the inherent worth of the individual, and staunch opposition to arbitrary authority instilled in Yoshida a lively sense of his own mission in the world and an impatience with all external restraints.

An avid learner, and impressed by Sun Tzu's *Art of War* with the importance of military intelligence, Yoshida traveled about picking up what information he could about the West in Nagasaki and from such progressive teachers as Yokoi Shōnan and Sakuma Shōzan. On a trip to northern Japan he also visited the school at Mito which was proclaiming Japan's divine mission to turn back the West and found a world

empire under the legitimate imperial dynasty. After the failure of Yoshida's ill-planned attempt to stow away on one of Perry's ships, which ended in his being confined to his native fief, Yoshida was permitted by his indulgent feudal lord to resume teaching. With Mencius as his main text, he stressed the latter's implicit justification of revolt against an unworthy and incompetent ruler, and pointed to the shogun's failure to fulfill the function indicated by his title of "Barbarian-subduing Generalissimo" (*Sei-i tai shōgun*). Throughout the ranks of the aristocracy, however, he found a similar incapacity to assume the responsibilities of leadership in the crisis facing Japan. Yoshida became convinced that only among those close to the soil and untainted by the corruption of wealth and high office could be found men selfless and fearless enough to overthrow the regime. To arouse these stalwarts of the countryside only dedicated leadership and an inspiring example of the true warrior spirit were needed.

Yoshida's call to action had in it the essential ingredients of a modern revolution: the overthrow of the hereditary feudal aristocracy and the raising up of the Japanese common man to a role of vital importance. Here were the seeds of epochal changes to be brought about by the Restoration—the abolition of feudalism, emancipation of the serfs, the arming of the peasantry in modernized forces—changes initiated by such youthful leaders and former disciples of Yoshida as Kido Kōin, a key figure in the dismantling of feudalism; Itō Hirobumi, framer of the Meiji Constitution; and Yamagata Aritomo, father of the modern Japanese army. But theirs was a revolution aiming more at the revitalization of national leadership than at the correction of social injustice or overturning of the social order. If Yoshida's dissatisfaction with the status quo was inspired by class consciousness at all, it did not concern the rights of any economic group but the heavy responsibilities and high destiny of the true samurai.

Typically, therefore, Yoshida's mind ran not to planning and organizing for political action, but to some spectacular act of bravery which would dramatize the need for selfless leadership. Thus he conceived the idea of assassinating the shogun's emissary to the imperial court, whose mission was to secure the emperor's approval for a treaty with the United States. Considering his impetuosity and the previous failure of his ill-considered plans, it is not surprising that this daring plot should have

been detected and smashed. Sent a prisoner to the shogunate capital at Edo, Yoshida was beheaded in 1859 at the age of thirty. But in death his dreams were fulfilled: he became a hero to a whole generation and his self-sacrifice the spark which fired the minds and hearts of Japan's new revolutionary leaders. Reverently his patriotic disciples, including Itō and Kido, bore home his last remains, and with deep emotion young Japanese of the new era repeated the two poems which were his last testament in prison:

Oya wo omō
Kokoro ni masaru
Oyagokoro
Kyō no otozure
Ika ni kikuran

The son's solicitude for his mother
Is surpassed by
Her solicitude for him.
When she hears what befell me to-
day,
How will she take it?

Kaku sureba
Kaku naru mono to
Shiri nagara
Yamu ni yamarenu
Yamato damashii

That such an act
Would have such a result
I knew well enough.
What made me do it anyhow
Was the spirit of Yamato.

YOSHIDA SHŌIN

On Leadership

[From *Zenshū*, II, 25-26; III, 145; V, 239, 334; VIII, 146]

What is important in a leader is a resolute will and determination. A man may be versatile and learned, but if he lacks resoluteness and determination, of what use will he be? [VIII, 146]

. . . .

Once the will is resolved, one's spirit is strengthened. Even a peasant's will is hard to deny, but a samurai of resolute will can sway ten thousand men. [V, 239]

. . . .

One who aspires to greatness should read and study, pursuing the True Way with such a firm resolve that he is perfectly straightforward

and open, rises above the superficialities of conventional behavior, and refuses to be satisfied with the petty or commonplace. [II, 26]

Once a man's will is set, he need no longer rely on others or expect anything from the world. His vision encompasses Heaven and earth, past and present, and the tranquility of his heart is undisturbed. [III, 145]

Life and death, union and separation, follow hard upon one another. Nothing is steadfast but the will, nothing endures but one's achievements. These alone count in life. [V, 334]

To consider oneself different from ordinary men is wrong, but it is right to hope that one will not remain like ordinary men. [II, 25]

On Being Direct

[From *Zenshū*, III, 239]

In relations with others, one should express resentment and anger openly and straightforwardly. If one cannot express them openly and straightforwardly, the only thing to do is forget about them. To harbor grievances in one's heart, awaiting some later opportunity to give vent to them, is to act like a weak and petty man—in truth, it can only be called cowardice. The mind of the superior man is like Heaven. When it is resentful or angry, it thunders forth its indignation. But once having loosed its feelings, it is like a sunny day with a clear sky: within the heart there remains not the trace of a cloud. Such is the beauty of true manliness.

Arms and Learning

These excerpts mark two important stages in Yoshida's intellectual development: first, when he was led by his studies in military science to seek a deeper knowledge of classical philosophy; and second, when he realized the vital importance of first-hand knowledge of the West. It is characteristic of him that this latter realization should be expressed in typically Confucian terms.

[From *Zenshū*, II, 145; IV, 115]

Those who take up the science of war must not fail to master the [Confucian] Classics. The reason is that arms are dangerous instruments and not necessarily forces for good. How can we safely entrust them to any but those who have schooled themselves in the precepts of the Classics and can use these weapons for the realization of Humanity and Righteousness? To quell violence and disorder, to repulse barbarians and brigands, to rescue living souls from agony and torture, to save the nation from imminent downfall—these are the true ends of Humanity and Righteousness. If, on the contrary, arms are taken up in a selfish struggle to win land, goods, people, and the implements of war, is it not the worst of all evils, the most heinous of all offenses? If, further, the study of offensive and defensive warfare, of the way to certain victory in all encounters, is not based on those principles which should govern their employment, who can say that such a venture will not result in just such a misfortune? Therefore I say that those who take up the science of war must not fail to master the Classics. [II, 145]

What I mean by the "pursuit of learning" is not the ability to read classical texts and study ancient history, but to be fully acquainted with conditions all over the world and to have a keen awareness of what is going on abroad and around us. Now from what I can see world trends and conditions are still unsettled, and as long as they remain unsettled there is still a chance that something can be done. First, therefore, we must rectify conditions in our own domain, after which conditions in other domains can be rectified. This having been done, conditions at court can be rectified and finally conditions throughout the whole world can be rectified. First one must set an example oneself and then it can be extended progressively to others.¹ This is what I mean by the "pursuit of learning." [IV, 115]

Facing Death

[From *Zenshū*, I, 101; IV, 238; VIII, 299]

From the beginning of the year to the end, day and night, morning and evening, in action and repose, in speech and in silence, the warrior must

¹ This type of reasoning follows the opening text attributed to Confucius in the *Great Learning*.

keep death constantly before him and have ever in mind that the one death [which he has to give] should not be suffered in vain. In other words [he must have perfect control over his own death] just as if he were holding an intemperate steed in rein. Only he who truly keeps death in mind this way can understand what is meant by [Yamaga Sokō's maxim of] "preparedness." [IV, 238]

.

If the body dies, it does no harm to the mind, but if the mind dies, one can no longer act as a man even though the body survives. [VIII, 299]

.

If a general and his men fear death and are apprehensive over possible defeat, then they will unavoidably suffer defeat and death. But if they make up their minds, from the general down to the last footsoldier, not to think of living but only of standing in one place and facing death together, then, though they may have no other thought than meeting death, they will instead hold on to life and gain victory. [I, 101]

Selfishness and Heroism

Through the following passages runs a strong undercurrent of antagonism toward the idle rich, which is inspired by the traditional disapproval of self-indulgence found in Confucianism and Buddhism. Here Yoshida stands as a link between the old samurai ideal of frugality and self-sacrificing service, and these same virtues as exemplified by peasant soldiers in the service of the twentieth-century Japanese nationalism.

The first passage is a commentary on a poem by the Chinese poet Li Po, who points out that the most beautiful things in the world, the beauties of nature, are no one's private possession and may be enjoyed by all free of charge.

[From *Zenshū*, IV, 175; V, 315; VI, 164; IX, 239, 286, 297]

Nowadays everyone lives selfishly and seeks only the leisure in which to indulge his own desires. They look on all the beauties of nature—the rivers and mountains, the breeze and the moon—as their own to enjoy, forgetting what the shrine of the Sun Goddess stands for [i.e., that everything is held in trust from Heaven]. The common man thinks of his life as his own and refuses to perform his duty to his lord. The samurai regards his household as his own private possession and refuses to sacrifice his life for his state. The feudal lords regard their domains

as their own and refuse to serve King and Country. Unwilling to serve King and Country, at home they cherish only the objects of desire and abroad they willingly yield to the foreign barbarian, inviting defeat and destruction. Thus the scenic beauties they enjoy will not long remain in their possession. [IV, 175]

.

As things stand now the feudal lords are content to look on while the shogunate carries on in a highhanded manner. Neither the lords nor the shogun can be depended upon [to save the country], and so our only hope lies in grass-roots heroes.² [V, 315]

.

When I consider the state of things in our fief, I find that those who hold official positions and receive official stipends are incapable of the utmost in loyalty and patriotic service. Loyalty of the usual sort—perhaps, but if it is true loyalty and service you seek, then you must abandon this fief and plan a grass-roots uprising. [IX, 239]

.

It seems hopeless, hopeless. Those who eat meat [at public expense] are a mean, selfish lot, and so the country is doomed. Our only hope lies in the grass-roots folk who eat our traditional food [i.e., rice]. [VI, 164]

.

If Heaven does not completely abandon this land of the Gods, there must be an uprising of grass-roots heroes. [IX, 297]

.

If the plan [to intercept the shogunate emissary to the Kyoto court] is to be carried out, it can only be done with men from the grass roots. To wear silk brocades, eat dainty food, hug beautiful women, and fondle darling children are the only things hereditary officials care about. To revere the emperor and expel the barbarian is no concern of theirs. If this time it should be my misfortune to die, may my death inspire at least one or two men of steadfast will to rise up and uphold this principle after my death. [IX, 286]

² *Sōmō eiya*, lit. "grass-clump heroes."

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI, PIONEER OF WESTERNIZATION

"Here lies," the epitaph on a monument to Fukuzawa reads, "a man of self-reliance and self-respect with a world-wide vision." And it is probably safe to say that no other Japanese in those turbulent pre-Restoration days had such wide vision as Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) did, nor in the reconstruction period which followed did any Japanese of his renown and ability live the life of an independent commoner with such native dignity.

Born in the Kyushu province of Bungo which had produced such progressive thinkers as Miura Baien and Hoashi Banri, Fukuzawa came from the lower levels of the feudal aristocracy. Always alert and energetic, he set about the study of Dutch very early in life, and then became a pioneer student of English. As early as 1860 he took advantage of an opportunity to visit America with a shogunate mission, made a return visit in 1867, and in between traveled through European countries, especially England. When at last he took up writing and lecturing about Western civilization and its achievements, it was on the basis of a wider firsthand knowledge of the West than any other Japanese of his time could boast. Hale, handsome, and of a sanguine nature, his personality radiated a lively enthusiasm that lent itself to the conveying of his ideas to others. Around him in his little school of Keio he drew ambitious young Japanese in growing numbers, men who were to become leaders of the new Japan in its work of political, economic, and social reconstruction. As a writer he probably excelled any of his contemporaries in versatility and persuasiveness. Among Confucians, Sorai had been the most proficient and forceful writer; among Buddhists, Rennyo had been the most eloquent. But Fukuzawa combined Sorai and Rennyo in one style with which he proclaimed the gospel of a new civilization. His books sold in millions of copies, bringing him a fortune and giving him the financial independence which enabled him to live the life of a commoner without having to accept a position in the government. It also provided him with the means to establish a newspaper through

which he could voice his opinions on current questions with complete freedom.

Fukuzawa's influence was the greater because of the practical and popular character of his writings. He aimed less at converting the scholarly elite to a new philosophy than at conveying to great numbers of Japanese his enthusiasm for the tangible advantages of life in the West. Nonetheless these advantages were not wholly of a material sort. Fukuzawa's appreciation of Western civilization was surprisingly broad, and while he lacked any deep knowledge of its background or traditions, he sensed that the meaning of the West was to be found as much in the moral tales told to its children or in the procedure for running meetings as in treatises on natural or political science. If there is any single influence from the West which Fukuzawa most clearly exemplified and fostered it is British utilitarianism and liberalism, a trend especially strong in the early decades of the Restoration. Linked closely to this was the prevailing belief in human progress through the wider application of the methods of the natural sciences. Increasingly toward the end of his life, however, Fukuzawa expressed the conviction that moral and religious regeneration of the Japanese was indispensable to their future progress.

Fukuzawa was never a Confucian, because the fastidious formalism and rigidity of Neo-Confucianism repelled him, though he did admire its orderliness and balance. Nor in spite of his appreciation for the simplicity, straightforwardness, and patriotism inculcated by Shinto, could he accept it as a genuine religion or personal faith. As for Buddhism, he came close to Zen in his insistence upon the dignity of man and upon facing the hard realities of life, but preferred a life of abundance to the poverty and frugality of Zen. The Shinran sect's emphasis upon universal salvation rather than enlightenment for the few had great appeal to him; for the otherworldliness of Jodoism, however, he had no taste at all. In Christianity what drew his wholehearted approval was its high regard for womanhood and also the high standard of personal morality it maintained. On the other hand he also had occasion to condemn the arrogance and impatience of many missionaries who were almost totally ignorant of the historic culture of the nations they sought to convert.

Among the scientific studies he took special pains to promote in his Keio school, physics stood foremost, since he thought it the basis of all

scientific inquiry. His interest in it was so deep and genuine that he sent his first son to America as a step toward further promotion of this line of inquiry. Next to physics came economics; indeed, Keio University became a symbol for economic research in Japan even during Fukuzawa's lifetime. Later Fukuzawa supported the medical researches of Kitazato Shibasaburō, the leading Japanese authority in bacteriology at that time. Today the medical department of the University, with its Rockefeller-sponsored hospital, stands near Meiji shrine in Tokyo as one of the foremost medical schools in the country. In this way the self-made leader of modern Japan, without official position or organized political support, helped reconstruct his country and build institutions through which others could achieve "independence and self-respect."

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI

Excerpts from His *Autobiography*

This book was dictated in 1898 shortly before Fukuzawa's death and was later translated into English by a grandson, Kiyooka Eikichi, under the title *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Tokyo, 1934). These selections pertain to his first visits to America and Europe, and to his founding of a private school for Western studies and also of a private newspaper.

[From the *Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, pp. 118-44, 222-31, 326-60]

I am willing to admit my pride in this accomplishment for Japan. The facts are these: It was not until the sixth year of Kaei (1853) that a steamship was seen for the first time; it was only in the second year of Ansei (1855) that we began to study navigation from the Dutch in Nagasaki; by 1860, the science was sufficiently understood to enable us to sail a ship across the Pacific. This means that about seven years after the first sight of a steamship, after only about five years of practice, the Japanese people made a trans-Pacific crossing without help from foreign experts. I think we can without undue pride boast before the world of this courage and skill. As I have shown, the Japanese officers were to receive no aid from Captain Brooke throughout the voyage. Even in taking observations, our officers and the Americans made them independently of each other. Sometimes they compared their results, but we were never in the least dependent on the Americans.

As I consider all the other peoples of the Orient as they exist today, I feel convinced that there is no other nation which has the ability or the courage to navigate a steamship across the Pacific after a period of five years of experience in navigation and engineering. Not only in the Orient would this feat stand as an act of unprecedented skill and daring. Even Peter the Great of Russia, who went to Holland to study navigation, with all his attainments in the science could not have equalled this feat of the Japanese. Without doubt, the famous Emperor of Russia was a man of exceptional genius, but his people did not respond to his leadership in the practice of science as did our Japanese in this great adventure. [pp. 118-19]

.

On our part there were many confusing and embarrassing moments, for we were quite ignorant of the customs and habits of American life. . . . Things social, political, and economic proved most inexplicable. One day, on a sudden thought, I asked a gentleman where the descendants of George Washington might be. He replied, "I think there is a woman who is directly descended from Washington. I don't know where she is now, but I think I have heard she is married." His answer was so very casual that it shocked me.

Of course, I knew that America was a republic with a new president every four years, but I could not help feeling that the family of Washington should be regarded as apart from all other families. My reasoning was based on the reverence in Japan for the founders of the great lines of rulers—like that for Ieyasu of the Tokugawa family of shoguns, really deified in the popular mind. So I remember the intense astonishment I felt at receiving this indifferent answer about the Washington family. As for scientific inventions and industrial machinery, there was no great novelty in them for me. It was more in matters of life and conventions of social custom and ways of thinking that I found myself at a loss in America. [pp. 121-25]

.

While we were in London, a certain member of the Parliament sent us a copy of a bill which he said he had proposed in the House under the name of the party to which he belonged. The bill was a protest against the arrogant attitude of the British minister to Japan, Alcock, who had at times acted as if Japan were a country conquered by military force.

One of the instances mentioned in the bill was that of Alcock's riding his horse into the sacred temple grounds of Shiba, an unpardonable insult to the Japanese.

On reading the copy of this bill, I felt as if "a load had been lifted from my chest." After all, the foreigners were not all "devils." I had felt that Japan was enduring some pointed affronts on the part of the foreign ministers who presumed on the ignorance of our government. But now that I had actually come to the minister's native land, I found that there were among them some truly impartial and warm-hearted human beings. So after this I grew even more determined in my doctrine of free intercourse with the rest of the world. [pp. 138-39]

During this mission in Europe I tried to learn some of the most commonplace details of foreign culture. I did not care to study scientific or technical subjects while on the journey, because I could study them as well from books after I had returned home. But I felt that I had to learn the more common matters of daily life directly from the people, because the Europeans would not describe them in books as being too obvious. Yet to us those common matters were the most difficult to comprehend.

For instance, when I saw a hospital, I wanted to know how it was run—who paid the running expenses; when I visited a bank, I wished to learn how the money was deposited and paid out. By similar firsthand queries, I learned something of the postal system and the military conscription then in force in France but not in England. A perplexing institution was representative government.

When I asked a gentleman what the "election law" was and what kind of an institution the Parliament really was, he simply replied with a smile, meaning I suppose that no intelligent person was expected to ask such a question. But these were the things most difficult of all for me to understand. In this connection, I learned that there were different political parties—the Liberal and the Conservative—who were always "fighting" against each other in the government.

For some time it was beyond my comprehension to understand what they were "fighting" for, and what was meant, anyway, by "fighting" in peace time. "This man and that man are 'enemies' in the House," they would tell me. But these "enemies" were to be seen at the same table,

eating and drinking with each other. I felt as if I could not make much out of this. It took me a long time, with some tedious thinking, before I could gather a general notion of these separate mysterious facts. In some of the more complicated matters, I might achieve an understanding five or ten days after they were explained to me. But all in all, I learned much from this initial tour of Europe. [pp. 142-44]

THE GROWTH OF A PRIVATE SCHOOL

It was during the fourth year of Keio (1868) that I moved my school from Teppozu to Shinsen-za in the Shiba ward. Now that it had taken on somewhat the status of a regular school, I gave it the name of Keio-gijuku, after the name of the era. Students who had scattered during the unsettled times were now returning and the school again prospered. . . . At that time all of the schools formerly supported by the government of the shogun had been broken up and all their teachers had scattered. The new regime had no time yet to concern itself with education. And so the only school in the whole country where any real teaching was being done was Keio-gijuku. . . . Indeed, I think it was until after the abolition of the clan system and organization of prefectural government that Keio remained the only school specializing in European studies. . . .

The final purpose of all my work was to create in Japan a civilized nation, as well equipped in both the arts of war and peace as those of the Western world. I acted as if I had become the sole functioning agent for the introduction of Western culture. It was natural then that I would be disliked by the older type of Japanese, and suspected of working for the benefit of foreigners.

In my interpretation of education, I try to be guided by the laws of nature in man and the universe, and I try to coordinate all the physical actions of human beings by the very simple laws of "number and reason."¹ In spiritual or moral training, I regard the human being as the most sacred and responsible of all orders, unable therefore, in reason, to do anything base. So in self-respect, a man cannot change his sense of humanity, his justice, his loyalty, or anything belonging to his manhood even when driven by circumstances to do so. In short, my creed is that a man should find his faith in independence and self-respect.

¹ By this he seems to have meant mathematics and rational inquiry as applied to such fields as accounting, economics, physical sciences, etc. [Ed.]

From my own observations in both the Occidental and Oriental civilizations, I find that each has certain strong points and weak points bound up in its moral teaching and scientific theory. But when I examine which excels the other as to wealth, armament, and general well-being, I have to put the Orient below the Occident. Granting that a nation's destiny depends upon the education of its people, there must be some fundamental difference in the education of the Western and Eastern peoples.

In the education of the East, so often saturated with Confucian teaching, I find two points lacking; that is to say, the lack of studies in "number and reason" in material culture, and the lack of the idea of independence in the spiritual culture. But in the West I think I see why their statesmen are successful in managing their national affairs, and the businessmen in theirs, and the people generally ardent in their patriotism and keen in their family circles.

I regret that in our country I have to acknowledge that people are not formed in these two principles, though I believe no one can escape the laws of "number and reason," nor can anyone depend on anything but the doctrine of independence as long as nations are to exist and mankind is to thrive. Japan could not assert herself among the great nations of the world without full recognition and practice of these two principles. And so I reason that Chinese philosophy as the root of education was responsible for our obvious shortcomings. . . .

It is not only that I hold little regard for the Chinese teachings, but I have even been endeavoring to drive its degenerate influences from my country. It is not unusual for scholars in Western learning and for interpreters of languages to make this denouncement. But too often they lack the knowledge of Chinese which would make their attacks truly effective. But I know a good deal of Chinese, and I have given real effort to the study of it under a strict teacher. And I am familiar with most of the references made from histories, ethics, and poetry. Even the peculiarly subtle philosophy of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, I have studied after hearing my teacher lecture on them. All of this experience I owe to the great scholar of Nakatsu, Shiraishi. So, while I frequently pretend that I do not know much, I often take advantage of the more delicate points for attack both in my writings and speeches. I realize that I am a pretty disagreeable opponent of the Chinese scholars—"a worm in the lion's body."

The true reason of my opposing the Chinese culture with such a vigor

is my belief that as long as the old retrogressive doctrine of the Chinese school remains at all in our young men's minds, our country can never enter the rank of civilized nations of the world. In my determination to save our coming generations from the detrimental influence, I was prepared even to face, single-handed, the Chinese scholars of the country as a whole. [pp. 222-31]

MY PRIVATE LIFE

I do not think it is particularly to be commended that I have a harmonious home and that I am faithful to my wife, for ours is not the only happy family there is. I am not fool enough to take pride in living a clean life as if that were the only and final purpose of a man's career. But strange is the reaction of society, for what I take to be simply ordinary behavior proves to be exemplary influence at times, and in unexpected quarters.

In the beginning my reputation in my lord's household was very bad, for I was simply an upstart samurai who had studied some foreign sciences, traveled in strange lands, and was now writing books to advocate very unconventional ideas; moreover I was finding fault with the venerable Chinese culture—a very dangerous heretic. I can imagine the kind of reports made about me to the inner household.

But when years passed and times had changed, the whole country turning inevitably toward the new culture, my clan came to find that this Fukuzawa was not so spiteful a person as was thought, and that he might really prove useful in some way. A certain chancellor named Shimazu Yutaro was the first to see the situation and speak well of me in the feudal household.

At that time there was a certain lady dowager in the household whom people called Horen-in Sama. She was of very noble lineage, having come from the great house of Hitotsu-bashi, and now at her advanced age she was held in particular respect by the whole household.

In conversing with this lady, Shimazu described much of the medicine and navigation and other sciences of the Western lands; also the customs which were very different from our own. The most remarkable of all the Western customs, he told her, was the relation between men and women; there men and women had equal rights, and monogamy was the strict

rule in any class of people—this, at least, might be a merit of the Western customs.

The lady dowager could not help being moved by this conversation, for she had had some unhappy trials in earlier days. As if her eyes were suddenly opened to something new, she expressed a desire to make the acquaintance of Fukuzawa. When I was admitted to her presence, she found that I was quite an ordinary man—though often called a heretic, I had no horns on my head nor tail beneath my formal skirt. So she gradually began to place confidence in me. Many years later Shimazu told me all about this, and then I learned how I was first admitted to the inner household of the lord.

By this incident I am inclined to think that the doctrine of monogamy does have a great deal of power in society though it usually passes unnoticed. There are people who hold that it is ridiculous to advocate the abolishing of polygamy in this age. But that is a poor excuse of those who are in the midst of difficulties. The doctrine of monogamy is not pedantic. I am sure that the majority of people in present-day Japan agree with it. Especially the ladies of the higher society are all on my side. So I intend to work as long as I live for the abolition of the unhealthy custom. It does not matter whom I may have to encounter. I will attempt to make our society more presentable if only on the surface. [pp. 326-28]

I DEVELOP A NEWSPAPER

To speak very honestly, the first reason for my avoiding a government post is my dislike of the arrogance of all officials. It might be argued that they need to put on dignity in their office. But in reality they enjoy bullying.

The titles of nobility ought to have been given up with feudalism, but those men in office would keep them, thus contriving to place distinction between officials and ordinary men as if the former belonged to a nobler race of people than the latter. Anyone joining this nobler group would have to lord it over the commoner as a natural consequence whether he considered it right or not. While he may bully those below him, he must at the same time receive the bullying of those above him. This would be a foolish game.

As long as I remain in private life, I can watch and laugh. But joining

the government would draw me into the practice of those ridiculous pretensions which I cannot allow myself to do.

The second reason, which cannot be but distasteful for me to go into, is the low moral standard of the average officials. They live in large houses, dress well, and are often very generous. They may show a splendid spirit in their political activities, clean and courageous. But in private life they have the sad habit of affecting the Chinese "heroes,"² disregarding the restraint that is a part of a man's moral duty. They would keep concubines in their own houses, committing the crime of polygamy, but they seem to feel no shame about it; they would not even endeavor to hide it. I must say that these men are promoting the new civilization on one hand and practicing the debased customs of the old on the other. So I cannot help feeling that they are in this regard below my standards and practice.

As long as I am keeping these men at a distance, they are not particularly objectionable. I do not mind meeting them for occasional business and social intercourse. But working together under the same roof and becoming really a member among them—that is another thing. I may be fastidious and narrow, but again, it is my nature, and I am as I am.

Still a third reason that kept me from taking office was the sad memory I had of these men at the time of the Restoration. When the crisis came and the shogun returned to Yedo defeated, great was the uproar from all his retainers and adherents. Hundreds volunteered suggestions and plans for the shogunate cause: "This great régime of three hundred years begun by the sacred ancestor of the Tokugawa must not be abandoned in a day"; "As loyal followers of the house of Tokugawa, we must not forget the three hundred years of benevolence bequeathed to us"; "Who are these men from Satsuma and Choshu, now attempting to attack us? Descendants of the men whom our ancestors overcame in the battle of Sekiga-hara. How can we bend our knees before them and bring shame to our proud forebears?"

Spirit ran high. Some tried to throw up a defense line on the Tokaido highway. Others entered ships of war and withdrew to plan some counter-attack. Many sought audience with the shogun to plead for a last stand against the oncoming forces. In the intensity of their ardor many raised their voices and wept. It was indeed like an exposition of patriots and would-be martyrs.

² A type of swashbuckler is meant here.

But after all, their zealous efforts bore no fruit; the shogun decided to surrender and retire. When his government was finally dissolved, some of the still ardent and undaunted escaped north to Hakodate; others led bands of soldiers and carried on chance fighting in the northern provinces, while still others concealed their humiliation in their bosoms and went with the shogun in his retirement to Shizuoka.

The most ardent of these loyal partisans began to call Tokyo the "land of the traitors." They would not even eat a piece of cake if it came from Tokyo. In going to bed at night they would not lie down with their heads pointing towards the capital. They would not even mention the word "Tokyo," nor listen to it spoken, lest it pollute their mouth and ears. Their actions were much like those of the faithful brothers in Chinese history—Po I and Shu Chi.³ And Shizuoka seemed to have become the Shou Yang mountain of the new era.

But one year passed, then two years—the "Po Is" and "Shu Chis" were probably beginning to feel the scarcity of "bracken" on "Shou Yang mountain." First they came down to the foot of the "mountain"; then they entered the "land of the traitors." And furthermore, it was not long before they appeared at the seat of the new government and were seeking office!

With no apparent embarrassment the once resolute "Po Is" and "Shu Chis" and the former vengeful counterrevolutionists, along with nearly everybody else in the empire, calmly presented themselves at the government headquarters and asked for employment. I wonder how they greeted the officials—the one time "traitors." They could hardly have spoken the usual salutation, "For the first time I behold your honored countenance," for the two sides had had frequent quarrels a few years before. Probably they composed themselves and said, "We are humble citizens of Japan whom, we think, you already know."

At any rate, they were received cordially enough, it seems, for in accordance with the old precept, "a highminded man never speaks of past misfortunes," these regenerated men from the old shogunate were all taken into the new government—all past bitterness forgotten. Now, this would seem a state of things for congratulation; hardly would anyone expect me to find fault with it. Nevertheless, I have something to say about it.

³ They remained loyal to their defeated king and starved to death in the mountains rather than accept any favors from the new ruler.

First of all, consider the essential basis of the division between them. Suppose the truth were that the shogunate had held the policy of free foreign intercourse; and suppose the imperialist party had been opposed to this. Then if, after the triumph of the imperialists in the dispute, they had come to see their own error and turned to adopt the policy of open intercourse, once held by their adversaries; and the shogunate, seeing their own policy adopted by the new government, had decided to join forces with it—if this supposition were the truth, I should certainly have nothing to find fault with.

But the truth is that at the time of the Restoration there was no one who argued on this point. The conduct of the shogunate party was entirely derived from the ancient doctrine of the retainer's duty to his master and the three hundred years of the Tokugawa regime which they had inherited. Yet when the old regime was lost, the retainers apparently felt that the basis of their stand was also gone. They turned around and offered their services to the new government, their one-time enemy, without the least show of embarrassment.

There should be no shame in being defeated in a dispute. I have no mind to accuse a man for having once made an error of judgment. But it seems to me that when a man fails in a dispute, it is his part to take his defeat and retire from active society. But there was nothing like that with these men. They have sought high positions in the rival government, and having obtained them, are proud. After all, the loyalists are not to be trusted; the doctrine of loyalty is a fickle idea. I should be much happier to remain an independent citizen than to associate with this kind of unreliable men.

Not that I believe in criticizing the career of others, but knowing the circumstances too well, I cannot help feeling sorry for the shifty, faint-hearted group who once called themselves the loyal retainers of the shogun. This, again, may be my fastidiousness, but it is one of the reasons why I am free from political ambition.

Now for the fourth reason—putting aside the matter of political allegiance and doctrine, I disliked that rush and disorderly struggle for office which passed through the whole country at the beginning of the new government. Not only the samurai, who of course have been accustomed to holding offices, but even the sons of merchants and farmers—men with any kind of education at all were swarming together like in-

sects around some fragrant food. Some who could not be appointed officials sought other connections for profit as if there could be no chance in the world for anyone outside the government. Nobody seemed to realize there was any virtue in human independence.

Many a time a young man returning from study abroad has come to me and has imparted his belief in an independent career, saying he would not think of relying on a government post. I usually listen to his proud declaration with half credulity. And sure enough, after a while I learn that the same young man has been appointed clerk in a certain department—sometimes he has been lucky enough to be placed in the higher office of a province.

Of course I have no business to be criticizing the choice of a man's career, but I have the feeling that this fallacy of the Japanese people is an evidence of the surviving influence of the Chinese teaching. To point out this fallacy to our people and lead them in the right way of modern civilization, someone must be an example. The independence of a nation springs from the independent spirit of its citizens. Our nation cannot hold its own if the old slavish spirit is so manifest among the people. I felt determined to make an example of myself whatever the consequence of my endeavor might be. If I should be the poorer for it, I should live poorer; if I chanced to make money, I should spend it as I wished. At least I would not depend upon the government or its officials. [pp. 331-37]

In the fifteenth year of Meiji (1882) I began to publish a newspaper which I called the *Jiji-shimpō*. It was the year following the political outbreak which had so stirred the country; and many of my alumni⁴ had urged me to start a paper.

I could see that our society was rapidly changing. The ever increasing competition was bringing about more and more of bitter rivalry and disputes. Recently the government had experienced a very provoking quarrel inside itself.⁵ It was logical to expect similar reaction in subsequent economic and industrial rivalry. The greatest need in such a time is for an instrument of nonpartisan, unbiased opinion. But it is easy to make satisfying theories about nonpartisan opinion and not so easy to realize it in practice, for the usual man, conscious of his own personal

⁴ Of Keio University, which he had founded. [Ed.]

⁵ The struggle between Itō and Ōkuma, ending in the latter's resignation in 1881. [Ed.]

interests, cannot lightly throw off his partisanship. As I looked about the country I decided to myself that there were not many besides myself who were independent in living, and who possessed worthwhile ideas in their heads, and who could yet be free from political and business ambitions.

With this reasoning I set myself to the task of establishing a newspaper which became the *Jiji-shimpō*. After I had determined on this project, I paid no attention to certain friends who appeared to warn me of the difficulty in such an undertaking. I decided that it should be entirely my own work, no help coming from outside whether the circulation be large or small. As I originated the paper, so I could destroy it. Even if I were to fail, I should not feel any regret or false shame; nor would my family suffer in the least. Thus forewarned and forearmed, I started publication with no regard for outside criticism. The journal has continued to be successful up to this day.

In editing the paper I encouraged the reporters to write bravely and freely. I have no objection to any severe criticism or extreme statements, but I warned them that they must limit their statements to what they would be willing to say to the victim face to face. Otherwise, they are what I would call *kage-benkei* [shadow-fighters] attacking from the security of their columns. It is very easy for *kage-benkei* to fall into mean abuses and irresponsible invectives which are the eternal shame of the writer's profession. [pp. 344-46]

A FINAL WORD ON THE GOOD LIFE

After all, the present is the result of the past. This glorious condition of our country cannot but be the fruit of the good inheritance from our ancestors. We are the fortunate ones who live today to enjoy this wonderful bequest. Yet I feel as though my second and greater ambition has been attained, for everything that I had hoped for and prayed for has been realized through the benevolence of Heaven and the virtues of those forebears. I have nothing to complain of on looking backward, nothing but full satisfaction and delight.

However, it seems that there is no end to man's capacity for desire. I can still point out some things I am yet hoping for. Not ideas in foreign diplomacy nor developments in our constitutional government—all these I leave to the statesmen. But I should like to put my further efforts towards elevating the moral standards of men and women of my land

to make them truly worthy of a civilized nation. Then I should like to encourage a religion—either Buddhism or Christianity—to pacify the minds of a large number of our people. And thirdly, I wish to have a large foundation created for the study of both the physical and metaphysical sciences.

It is these three things that I wish to see accomplished during the remaining years of my life. Though a man may grow old, he should keep active as long as he has his health both of mind and body. And so I intend to do all that lies within my power as long as it is granted to me.
[pp. 359-60]



CHAPTER XXV

THE MEIJI ERA

(1868-1912)

With the restoration of imperial rule under the young Emperor Meiji in 1868, Japan stepped up greatly the program of modernization already begun by the shogunate. Within a few decades, as the first Asian nation to bring herself abreast of the West, she came to hold a position of leadership and influence that was quite new to her. For centuries the Japanese had lived in the shadow of China; for over two hundred years they had been almost wholly cut off from the world. Now they found themselves a center of world attention, feared, admired, and imitated by backward nations seeking to benefit from Japan's example.

Yet in so vigorously responding to the challenge of the West, the Japanese had put their own way of life to a severe test. No one could predict, at the outset, the ultimate effects upon it of Japan's sudden and full exposure to the dynamic influences of Western ideas and institutions. Both by the opening of her own doors and by the sending of her ablest sons abroad for study, Japan was soon thrust into new worlds of thought and action—into the political world of Rousseau and the French Revolution, of British liberalism and the statism of Prussia; into the economic world of Malthus, Smith, Mill, and List; into the intellectual world of Kant, Hegel, Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer. It would not be long before each new current in Western thought would have its native spokesmen in Japan, its great works made available in translation. In the meantime there would be foreign advisers in the government, Western scholars teaching in the new universities, and young Japanese in great numbers studying abroad. Henceforth, in the minds of many in the rising generation the word of a Western philosopher or sociologist would carry far more weight than all the classics of the East.

Whatever the manifold effects of Western influence, however, they were not so deep or direct as to displace soon those traditional concepts

which had played a vital role in the Restoration itself. Not only is this true of the great mass of uneducated and inarticulate opinion, but it is especially true of the handful of men whose attitudes and ideals largely guided the course of Meiji Japan. If any group may be considered representative of the nation as a whole in this period, it is not the scholars or writers who sought to grasp the whole new world in one embrace, but this very uncommon band of leaders who proved themselves in action to have achieved a workable synthesis of new and old, East and West. Not since the seventh century, when a band of Sinophiles around the Throne tried to remake Japan on the Chinese model, had all aspects of Japanese life been so much altered by political action or Japanese thinking so much directed along lines laid down by a few master planners. As to just where those lines should run the ruling oligarchy itself was by no means always clear, but that their bold program of state action would inevitably make them leaders in the fields of economics, education, journalism, and even social reform, as well as in politics, was evident from the very outset. And even apart from the preponderant role of the state in initiating changes on such a wide scale, outside the government too an important part was played by men with the same samurai traditions of leadership as those in power. Their circumstances or convictions might keep them from taking office but not from pioneering in new fields of private endeavor.

LEADERS OF THE RESTORATION AND RENOVATION

The overall aim of the Meiji leaders, and of the country as a whole, is found in the slogan "Enrich the nation and strengthen its arms." To build up Japan's military power and gain equality with the Western powers was undoubtedly the most urgent desire of her samurai leaders. Still it is significant that they should have understood, as a necessary counterpart and even a prerequisite to this, the importance of "enriching the nation"; of strengthening its economy, developing its industry and commerce, more fully utilizing its human resources, and improving its social and political institutions. Progress in certain of these phases of reform may have lagged behind others in the forced march toward

modernization, but at least recognition was given to Japan's problem in all its magnitude. In principle no phase of life, no segment of society, was to be sacrificed to the juggernaut of military power. Thus the Meiji Restoration promised to remedy not only the weakness of Tokugawa arms, but also the economic weaknesses of the shogunate to which Japanese writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had increasingly drawn attention.

In the accomplishment of this ambitious goal the Meiji leadership displayed two striking characteristics: a readiness to try new methods and push ahead with them boldly, coupled with a tenacious adherence to traditional ideals and virtues. Only if both of these attitudes are kept in mind, can we appreciate how much actual progress was made, and how nevertheless the new nation could still have been more a product of its own past than of its recent contact with the West. The Restoration movement appealed at the start to the idea of reviving the golden age of imperial rule before the onset of feudalism and military government. This ideal was as much the product of recent invention as of earlier tradition, but the slogan used by the ideologists of the Restoration, "Restore the old order" (*fukko*, a phrase in the Neo-Confucian vocabulary which came down to them from Sung dynasty China), harked back to ancient times when the imperial power had been raised to new heights of glory by the wholesale adoption of Chinese institutions and ideals. Some of these same institutions, and much of their spirit, was to be preserved in the new regime.

Another important characteristic of the Meiji leadership, suggested by its capacity to bring together such divergent conservative and reformist tendencies, is its moderation. This did not exhibit itself, certainly, in any disinclination to take strong action, or in a mere desire to compromise between opposing extremes. It was marked rather by a constructive and determined pursuit of certain positive goals, from which these leaders refused to be turned away by doctrinaire slogans or partisan clamor. Thus this quality of moderation reflected a common acceptance of certain ultimate values, such as loyalty to the emperor and the nation, on the part of men who might differ widely on the best means of serving them, and it owed much to a sense of solidarity or *esprit de corps* among the samurai elite, who had long been conditioned to disciplined and concerted action. Meiji Japan was certainly not without its rugged individualists and

rebellious spirits, even in the ranks of the samurai. It lacked neither extremists of the left and right, nor those who stood where the very extremities of left and right conjoined. Even the samurai tradition of violent political action was vigorously perpetuated, as the long record of political assassinations and uprisings right down to the Second World War amply demonstrates. Yet in the midst of this Japan maintained a remarkably steady course toward her goal of "Enriching the nation and strengthening its arms." For this, and for simultaneous progress along so many fronts, credit must go to that group of men whose strong convictions and ambitions were combined with an equally strong sense of moderation, cohesion, and national loyalty.

As we turn to the actual work of building a new Japan, therefore, our attention must shift from those laying the intellectual foundations of the future, as the priests and scholars we have examined in the past had done for the Meiji Era, and instead be focused on the outstanding personalities and momentous decisions which were to shape the immediate present. First of all we take up the great symbol of Japan's modernization, the Emperor Meiji, and three leaders who became known as the "Triumvirate of the Restoration." Thereafter we shall be concerned with three broad movements which contributed to Japan's emergence as a modern state: the development of constitutional government, of party politics, and of the army as a powerful force in Japan's national life.

THE ENLIGHTENED RULE OF EMPEROR MEIJI

Little is known about the Emperor Meiji, owing to the aura of sanctity which always surrounded his person and activities. He was raised in the comparative seclusion of the Kyoto court, which for centuries had maintained a ceremonial existence withdrawn from the realities of Japanese life. But even after his removal to the former shogunate capital, thenceforth known as Tokyo, the "Eastern Capital," the young Emperor remained apart from the world; his assumption of actual rule, though making him much more a center of national attention, hardly brought him into closer touch with his subjects. The traditional view of the Throne as representing a divine and mystical power, exalted far beyond the reach of ordinary men, not only persisted but was greatly heightened by the role this monarch played in the government of the country. It

was a role much in keeping with his personality and temperament, insofar as we can discern them. Modest and reserved, but exceedingly conscientious in attending to matters of state, the Emperor worked quietly and without any impulse to dominate. He relied heavily upon his advisers, as the Confucian conception of the wise sovereign called for him to do, and was always ready to hear different points of view. Yet when momentous decisions had to be made, his own judgement commanded the respect of counsellors who might be deeply divided among themselves. Indeed there is no reason to question the sincere admiration for the Emperor expressed by the statesmen who served him most closely. In a situation which conferred great power and influence upon a single person, a man less understanding and self-disciplined might well have drawn the resentment of government leaders and encouraged attempts to limit imperial authority by constitutional means. As it was these leaders no doubt felt more secure in the service of a sympathetic and patient ruler than of a fickle public. They therefore joined all the more willingly in raising the Throne to a position of overwhelming prestige and inviolability.

In such a position the Emperor Meiji effectively symbolized and inspired two of the most powerful forces for social unity in the new Japan. One of these was nationalism, a sentiment already well-nourished in Tokugawa times and requiring little stimulus from the West, but which quickly grew into an all-pervasive creed and cult. Often enough in the modern world such nationalism has taken on a religious character. In Japan, with the help of Neo-Shintoism and a tradition of imperial absolutism inherited from the Chinese, a nationalistic cult centered upon the God-Emperor became in fact the most widely accepted and compelling belief among the people. Increasingly, as a result of the profound changes affected by the Meiji leadership, the lives and activities of the Japanese were organized around the imperial house and directed to the fulfillment of its divine mission. But national consciousness and emperor worship would have been powerless to move Japan's millions without the strong support of Confucian ethics, which provided the order and discipline Shinto theology lacked. Of this vital moral force, too, the Emperor was more than a passive symbol. His personal tutor and mentor was a Confucian scholar of the old school. In the imperial rescripts by which his thoughts and wishes were made known to his subjects, Meiji spoke less

like a modern chief of state than like the ancient sage-king, imparting moral guidance to his children and exhorting them diligently to practice the traditional virtues. Today this may appear to have been no more than a convenient and accepted means of keeping people in line. It remains a fact, however, that the leaders of the regime, no less than the Emperor's humblest subjects, submitted to the requirements of this exacting code and in their basic outlook were more profoundly influenced by Confucian philosophy than by any Western school of thought.

In recognizing the vital role of tradition, however, we must not neglect the central fact of Meiji's rule—that it brought Japan out of the feudal past and into the modern world. Indeed, this long reign from 1868 to 1912 was best known for its enlightened and progressive character. The name Meiji, which means "enlightened or illustrious rule," was originally a reign title, only posthumously applied to the sovereign himself. Yet no one questioned the appropriateness of this name for the ruler who became known, even to reformers in nineteenth century China, as a symbol of the modern East. If subsequently the imperial institution has been able to withstand the shocks of the twentieth century, and survive in the esteem of the people, it is due largely to the prestige won for it by Meiji, in demonstrating that the Throne could be a constructive and steadying force in the new era.

The Charter Oath

Of all the declarations made in the name of the Emperor Meiji the Charter Oath of April 1868 best symbolized the progressive side of his reign. It was drawn up by a few young advisers, representative of the low-ranking samurai who provided the real leadership of the Western clans opposed to the Tokugawa. Generally hostile to the old aristocracy and eager to make room for new leadership, they nevertheless confined themselves to a statement of general principles which might attract the most support to the Restoration by assuring everyone of a part in the new regime, while threatening no one with a diminution of his power. Its vagueness, reminiscent of the constitution of Prince Shōtoku, was by no means wholly a defect, but left room for adjustment in a rapidly changing situation. Thus the deliberative assembly referred to in the first article was in early drafts of the Oath specifically to be a council of the feudal clans, but in its final form was general enough to be applicable even after the abolition of feudalism, when advocates of parliamentary government often invoked its authority.

[From *Meiji boshin*, pp. 81-82]

By this oath we set up as our aim the establishment of the national weal on a broad basis and the framing of a constitution and laws.

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion.

2. All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the administration of affairs of state.

3. The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall each be allowed to pursue his own calling so that there may be no discontent.

4. Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature.

5. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.

The Constitution of 1868

The Constitution of June 1868, hastily drawn up to implement the Charter Oath, throws light on the original intentions of the Restoration leadership. Articles II, III, V, and IX make it clear that the framers were influenced by Western concepts of representative government and the separation of powers, though the provisions to this effect soon proved unworkable and inoperative. The significance of the other articles lies in their attempt to assert the supremacy of the imperial government throughout the land and reserve certain powers to it without directly attacking feudal authority. In the same way, while reaffirming the principle of noble rank, the intent is to enhance the position of those at court and limit the social prerogatives of the feudal aristocracy. The appendices to this document, not reproduced here, set forth a governmental organization based largely on the model of a centralized state imported from China in the seventh century. This was, in fact, better suited to the kind of strong government administered by the ruling oligarchy than were the democratic institutions of the West, with which Japanese had no real familiarity or experience.

[From *Meiji boshin*, pp. 87-89; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 8-10]

The first article, deleted here, restates the Charter Oath as a preamble to the main text.

II. All power and authority in the empire shall be vested in a Council of State, and thus the grievances of divided government shall be done

away with. The power and authority of the Council of State shall be threefold, legislative, executive, and judicial. Thus the imbalance of authority among the different branches of the government shall be avoided.

III. The legislative organ shall not be permitted to perform executive functions, nor shall the executive organ be permitted to perform legislative functions. However, on extraordinary occasions the legislative organ may still perform such functions as tours of inspection of cities and the conduct of foreign affairs.

IV. Attainment to offices of the first rank shall be limited to princes of the blood, court nobles, and territorial lords, and shall be by virtue of [the sovereign's] intimate trust in the great ministers of state. A law governing ministers summoned from the provinces (*chōshi*) shall be adopted, clan officials of whatever status may attain offices of the second rank on the basis of worth and talent.

V. Each great city, clan, and imperial prefecture shall furnish qualified men to be members of the Assembly. A deliberative body shall be instituted so that the views of the people may be discussed openly.

VI. A system of official ranks shall be instituted so that each [official] may know the importance of his office and not dare to hold it in contempt.

VII. Princes of the blood, court nobles, and territorial lords shall be accompanied by [no more than] six two-sworded men and three commoners, and persons of lower rank by [no more than] two two-sworded men and one commoner, so that the appearance of pomp and grandeur may be done away with and the evils of class barriers may be avoided.

VIII. Officers shall not discuss the affairs of the government in their own houses with unofficial persons. If any persons desire interviews with them for the purpose of giving expression to their own opinions, they shall be sent to the office of the appropriate department and the matter shall be discussed openly.

IX. All officials shall be changed after four years' service. They shall be selected by means of public balloting. However, at the first expiration of terms hereafter, half of the officials shall retain office for two additional years, after which their terms shall expire, so that [the government] may be caused to continue without interruption. Those whose relief is undesirable because they enjoy the approval of the people may be retained for an additional period of years.

X. A system shall be established for levying taxes on territorial lords,

farmers, artisans, and merchants, so that government revenue may be supplemented, military installations strengthened, and public security maintained. For this purpose, even persons with rank or office shall have taxes levied upon them equivalent to one thirtieth of their income or salaries.

XI. Each large city, clan, and imperial prefecture shall promulgate regulations, and these shall comply with the Charter Oath. The laws peculiar to one locality shall not be generalized to apply to other localities. There shall be no private conferral of titles or rank, no private coinage, no private employment of foreigners, and no conclusion of alliances with neighboring clans or with foreign countries, lest inferior authorities be confounded with superior and the government be thrown into confusion.

The Imperial Rescript on Education

If the preceding documents bespeak the more progressive side of Meiji's rule, the following represents the strong traditionalist element which he also symbolized. Copies of this rescript were distributed to every school in Japan and hung alongside the Emperor's portrait, where all made obeisance to them. In such awe were they held that on occasion teachers and principals risked their lives to rescue them from burning buildings. All moral and civic instruction after 1890 was based on the principles—largely Confucian—set forth here. Issuance of the rescript at that time reflected a powerful reaction to the Westernizing tendencies of the early Meiji Period, yet there can be no doubt that this type of thinking was already strongly prevalent and only reinforced by the systematic indoctrination of the new public schools.

This rescript was the work of many hands, as were most of Emperor Meiji's pronouncements, but principally those of Inoue Kowashi, a Kumamoto samurai known for his Chinese learning and later minister of education.

[From Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, pp. 2-3]

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear

yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

October 30, 1890

KIDO KŌIN AND THE NEW REGIME

The real leadership of the new regime came not from among the feudal lords of the rebellious states, but from very young, low-ranking samurai who had furnished the zeal and drive which made the Restoration a success. Answering very closely to Yoshida Shōin's description of the "grass-roots hero" who would rise up and overthrow the effete aristocracy, they possessed the samurai sense of leadership and hierarchical order, but no great love for the feudal system which favored hereditary right over individual merit. Nevertheless, they brought into the new government a strong spirit of clannishness, which kept power in the hands of a ruling oligarchy dominated by Satsuma and Chōshū.

A Chōshū samurai and disciple of Yoshida Shōin, Kido Kōin (1833-1877) realized early the futility of his fellow-clansmen's violent anti-foreign demonstrations while they remained militarily so weak. Though physically frail and of an introspective temperament, he showed remarkable energy and genius in modernizing the Chōshū forces and leading them against the Shogunate. Moreover he was an able negotiator, who engineered the coalition of forces which eventually overthrew the Tokugawa. And when the Emperor had reassumed the powers formerly held by the shogun as military overlord of a feudal Japan, it was Kido who

saw the necessity for abolishing feudalism itself, if the new imperial government were to possess the power proper to a modern state.

KIDO KŌIN

The Voluntary Surrender of the Feudal Domains

Rather than precipitate a civil war over this issue, Kido used his talents of persuasion to convince the daimyo of the victorious coalition that they should surrender their fiefs as a patriotic gesture. The other feudal lords could then hardly refuse to follow suit. The text of the surrender offer bespeaks the overriding importance in Kido's mind of a single centralized authority.

[From *Meiji bunka zenshū*, vol. 2; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 29-32]

Your servants venture to address Your Majesty with profound reverence. We respectfully suggest that two things are essential to Your Majesty's administration. There must be one national polity and one sovereign authority. Since the Imperial Ancestor founded the country and established a basis of government, there has been one imperial line for countless generations without change, making the farthest limits of heaven and earth its realm and all mankind its subjects. This is what is meant by the national polity. And the sole power of giving and taking away ranks and fiefs, by which the foundation is maintained, makes it impossible for a foot of ground to be held for private ends, or for one subject to be wantonly robbed. This is what is meant by sovereign authority. . . .

Here the memorial describes the usurpation of imperial authority by the shogunate and the establishment of independent domains under the great feudal houses.

It was commonly said [by members of these families]: "These possessions of ours were gained by the military power of our ancestors." But wherein did this differ from defying the death penalty to plunder the imperial storehouses and steal their treasures? If a man were to break into a storehouse, others would know him to be a robber, yet no one thought it strange when these families plundered lands and robbed people. Is this not a great confounding of principle?

Now that we are about to establish an entirely new form of government, the national polity and the sovereign authority must not in the

slightest degree be yielded to subordinates. The place where your servants live is the emperor's land, and those whom they rule are the emperor's people. How can these be made the property of subjects? Your servants accordingly beg respectfully to surrender their fiefs to Your Majesty. They ask that the court act on the basis of what is right, giving what should be given and taking away what should be taken away; and that Your Majesty issue edicts redispensing of the enfeoffed land of our clans. Furthermore, they ask that the court lay down regulations regarding all things, from the administration of troops to uniform and military equipment, so that everyone in the empire both great and small shall be caused to submit to one [authority]. Thus, in the future, in name and in fact our country can begin to take its place among the nations of the world.

As this is the most urgent affair of the day, Your Majesty's servants also share the responsibility for dealing with it. Therefore, Your Majesty's servants, though they are without judgment, dare to present their foolish opinions for Your Majesty's consideration.

Observations on Returning from the West, 1873

As one of the drafters of the Charter Oath, Kido is said to have insisted on the fourth article: "Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based on the just laws of Nature." On his visit to Europe, which he made as a member of the official Iwakura mission in 1871, Kido was still more greatly impressed by the backwardness of his own people in comparison to the West. To achieve thoroughgoing reform would require years of patient effort and freedom from military involvements. While not necessarily abandoning any of his ultimate aspirations for the expansion of Japanese power, Kido opposed war in Korea or Formosa in order to concentrate on internal reform. Nevertheless, the speed and ruthlessness with which the government pushed some of these changes, and especially the commutation of samurai pensions, offended his sense of justice and he withdrew from the government. Thereafter until his premature death at the age of forty-three he remained in peaceful opposition to, but spurned open rebellion against, the regime now dominated by Ōkubo.

The statement of Kido which follows shows the evolution of his thinking from an initial concern for centralized authority to one for the exercise of that authority according to law. In this sense he remained true to the progressive impulses of the Restoration and was a herald of the constitutional movement in later decades. What struck Kido most in the West were the constitutional

processes which limited those in power and provided a sound basis for orderly change. Indeed in a long preamble to the passage quoted here he asserts as a universal law of history that the rise and fall of nations is determined by their fidelity to constitutional order.

[From *Shōgi-ku Kido-kō den*, II, 1563-68; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 571-75]

It was thought advisable, as early as the spring of 1868 when the northern provinces were still unsubdued, to summon together at the palace all the officials and nobles of the empire. The Emperor then prayed to the gods of Heaven and earth and pronounced an Oath containing five clauses, which was thereupon published throughout the empire, indicating to what end the Constitution should tend, and guiding the ideas of the people in one fixed direction. The heading of this Oath states: "By this Oath We set up as Our aim the establishment of the national weal on a broad basis and the framing of a constitution and laws." This led at last to granting the petitions for leave to restore the fiefs to the Emperor, which occasioned the abolition of feudal titles and the unification of the divided national authority. Is not all this consonant with the prevailing view in the powerful countries of the five great continents? And if this be so, then surely we must consider those five clauses as the foundation of our Constitution. Now the Constitution is a thing which sets on a firm basis the weal of the entire nation, which prevents officials from taking unauthorized steps on their own judgment, and which by placing under one control all the business of administration, renders it necessary that all measures conform to it. Is there at the present time any subject of the empire who does not gratefully acknowledge its profound and farsighted policy and admire the loftiness of the Emperor's views?

However, in enlightened countries, though there may be a sovereign, still he does not hold sway in an arbitrary fashion. The people of the whole country give expression to their united and harmonious wishes, and the business of the State is arranged accordingly, a department (styled the government) being charged with the execution of their judgments, and officials appointed to transact business. For this reason all who hold office respect the wishes of the whole nation and serve their country under a deep sense of responsibility, so that even in extraordinary crises, they take no arbitrary step contrary to the people's will. The strictness [of the constitution] of these governments is such as I have just described,

but as an additional check upon illegal acts, the people have parliamentary representatives whose duty it is to inspect everything that is done and to check arbitrary proceedings on the part of officials. Herein lies the best quality of these governments. But if the people are not yet sufficiently enlightened, it becomes necessary, at least for a time, that the Sovereign should by his superior discernment anticipate their unanimous wishes and act for them in arranging the affairs of State and in entrusting to officials the execution of their wishes. By this means he will gradually lead them forward in the path of enlightenment. Such a course is consonant with natural principles, and I am inclined to believe that the thought of the Emperor when he inaugurated by an oath his energetic policy was based on this idea. My belief is that although Japan is not yet ready for parliamentary inspection of the affairs of state, in the importance of its laws and the magnitude of its affairs it is no different from those countries of Europe and America the conduct of whose governments embodies the will of the people. It is important that our officials should not be forgetful of their responsibility and should take as their model our five-clause Constitution. . . .

Every citizen's object in life is to preserve his natural liberty by exercising his rights, and to assist in carrying on the government by sharing its obligations. Therefore, [these rights and obligations] are specified exactly in writing and men bind themselves by a solemn promise to permit no infringement of them, but to act as mutual checks on each other in maintaining them. These writings are what we call laws. The laws grow out of the Constitution, for the Constitution is the root of every part of the government, and there is nothing which does not branch out from it. For this reason, every country, when the time comes for changing its constitution, bestows on it the greatest care and the ripest consideration and ascertains to the full the general wishes. No new measures are put in force unless they are imperatively called for by the circumstances, [nor are any adopted] lightly or hastily. In a country whose sovereign generously decides to meet the wishes of the people, the greatest care must be taken to ascertain them with accuracy, the internal conditions of the country must be profoundly studied, what the people produce must be taken into account, and, most important of all, policies must be suited to the degree of civilization of the people.

Again, in ordering the affairs of a nation, its strength must be taken

into account. If not, one good will be converted into a hundred evils. The poor man's son who tries to rival the son of the rich man ruins his property and his house, and in the end does not make a show equal to his rival. Those who order the affairs of a nation should remember, before taking action, to consider the due sequence of measures, and should proceed by gradual steps in nourishing its strength, for no nation ever attained to a perfect state of civilization in a single morning. . . .

When I consider the results of the measures of the past few years with reference to the present condition of our country it appears to me that the trend of the times still lacks direction. The people's minds are perversely turned in one direction, and instead of exercising their rights, many of them mimic idly the arts of civilization; instead of discharging their responsibilities to the state, they are much given to ill-judged pretensions to enlightenment. The consequence is that although they are gradually acquiring the outward appearance of refinement, and the old rustic coarseness is gradually changing, they have not suddenly become enlightened in their hearts.

The Need for News of the West

To raise the general cultural level of his people Kido believed that they must be better informed of conditions and developments in the West. In December of 1871 he wrote to Shinagawa Yajirō, who had been sent by the government to observe the Franco-Prussian War, asking his cooperation in a project for the dissemination of news about the West in Japan. It is significant that Kido, though a member of the ruling oligarchy, recognized that more could be accomplished through an independent, private organization than through an official propaganda agency.

[From *Shōgiku Kido-kō den*, II, 1394-1402]

It is my plan to open a news office which will publish all the news—both domestic and foreign—for the edification of our people in every province and fief. I feel that it will contribute to their enlightenment. I therefore request you to write me at every opportunity on anything that will help educate our people, starting with accounts of the great war between the countries. As our country's cultural standard is considerably lower than that of the countries of Europe, I hope that you will make the articles as easy as possible for our people to read. As you know, our people—eight- or nine-tenths of them—are obdurate and stubborn. Thus, if this

newspaper office is opened by the government, they will suspect that it is at the government's disposal, and they will pay little attention to it. Therefore, I should like to have it opened as if the government had nothing to do with it. I feel that it should be permitted to discuss the government's affairs to a certain degree—and even critically, if there is anything unreasonable about them. I mention this, of course, in the event of such an exigency.

The other day one of your letters from New York reached me. Some of the information in it has already appeared in foreign language newspapers, but as it also contained news yet unknown to us, I submitted it to His Majesty's attention. That letter contained much that was highly instructive; and therefore I wish you to bear in mind my plans for a news office and to discuss it with Samejima. If it is feasible I should like to have Samejima write me steadily on the affairs of European countries which would be of interest to our people. I shall forthwith forward them to the news office to be published. Kindly inform Mori Kinnojō, who has been dispatched to America, and Nawa Kan, who has accompanied him, about our plans for this newspaper office. If they will write about America and on other matters of interest to our people, and send them to my address I shall forward them for publication in the same newspaper. I shall be especially obliged if you will be good enough to make the arrangements with Nawa.

[Excerpts from Shinagawa's reply to Kido:]

Because of Your Excellency's advice on the occasion of my appointment to go abroad, I did not entertain the thought of going home after a mere glance at Europe. I was anxious to do something for my country, when the thought occurred to me to start a newspaper. Immediately upon my arrival in America, Yamamoto Jinsuke and I went directly to a newspaper office to pay a visit. We were shown the printing presses and were told of the importance of the newspaper in the daily life of the people. A subsequent visit I made to England, Germany, and France increased my convictions about the indispensability of the newspaper to contemporary life. Such was my enthusiasm in this regard that Ōyama and others have been calling me "Newspaper." As I have been looking forward to the day when I could return to my country and start a newspaper of my own, the coincidence in our plans of which I learned from Your Excellency's letter made me jump with joy. I shall be praying from

this side of the world for the success of Your Excellency's publication venture. When European newspapers are translated for publication under Your Excellency's personal direction, the benefits to the country, if I may be permitted to say, would far exceed any that might come from the addition of two or three Ministers to the State Council.

SAIGŌ TAKAMORI AND THE SAMURAI SPIRIT

The oldest among the "Triumvirate" of the Restoration and its most popular figure, Saigō Takamori (1827-1877), was the military leader of the Satsuma forces which joined with Kido and the Chōshū armies to overthrow the Tokugawa. A giant for a Japanese—almost six feet tall and weighing two hundred pounds—he had enormous shoulders, a bull-neck with a collar size of nineteen and a half, and large piercing eyes under big bushy eyebrows. So commanding was he in appearance that it is said almost everyone introduced to him "bowed his head in spite of himself." But he was known less for his fearsome appearance than for his heartiness, which attracted young men to him in great numbers; and for his magnanimity and forbearance, which, when he was chief of staff of the imperial armies at Edo, caused him to spare the shogunate capital from the final carnage of war.

After the Restoration, Saigō enjoyed great popularity and the unique rank of field marshal, but he proved to have less influence in government councils than those who urged rapid changes in Japanese society to which he was opposed. Disturbed especially by the treatment of the old warrior class and by a process of Westernization which he felt would undermine traditional values, he wished to strengthen the position and spirit of the samurai by employing them to improve Japan's military situation. Japan could not resist the West, he was convinced, unless she had Korea and China at her side. Fearing Russia especially, he felt that Korea must be won over quickly, by force if necessary. In the face of obvious hostility from the Korean government, however, Saigō favored first sending an ambassador whose certain execution by the contemptuous Koreans would provide ample pretext for war. As the emissary who would thus meet death he offered himself.

When his plan was rejected in favor of Ōkubo's policy of peace and internal reform, Saigō withdrew from the government along with other

prominent Restoration leaders in 1873. Having often in earlier years suffered patiently in exile for his royalist convictions and activities, he was prepared to retire quietly to Satsuma and bide his time. Nevertheless when his more hot-blooded followers became involved in open resistance to government forces, his sense of loyalty and comradeship impelled him to join them. With the crushing of that rebellion in 1877, the life that Saigō had hoped to give to his country he gave up for his friends. But his death, much like that of Yoshida Shōin, made him a hero to future generations of Japanese patriots. The soldiers who later gave their lives on the battlegrounds of Asia, and the *kamikaze* suicide pilots of the Second World War, were spiritual descendants of Saigō Takamori, the death-defying ambassador.

SAIGŌ TAKAMORI

Letters to Itagaki on the Korean Question

In the summer of 1873 Saigō wrote his friend Itagaki a total of eight letters on the Korean question. The three which follow reflect not only his contempt of danger but also his simplicity of speech and taste and his repugnance for display. Though Saigō eventually broke with the government on this issue and died an enemy of the state, it was for these qualities that he was subsequently honored with a pardon from the emperor and regarded by later generations as a martyred hero whose life exemplified the samurai spirit.

[Ōkawa, *Dai Saigō zenshū*, II, 736-56]

July 29 [1873]

Thank you so much for coming all the way to visit me the other day.

Has any decision been made on Korea, now that Soejima is back? ¹ If the meeting has yet to take place, I should like to be present despite my illness if I am informed on what day I may attend. Please let me know.

When a decision is at last reached, what will it involve if we send troops first? The Koreans will unquestionably demand their withdrawal, and a refusal on our part will lead to war. We shall then have fomented a war in a manner very different from the one you originally had in mind. Would it not be far better therefore to send an envoy first? It is clear that if we did so the Koreans would resort to violence, and would certainly afford us the excuse for attacking them.

¹ Soejima Taneomi, foreign minister, returned from China on July 26.

In the event that it is decided to send troops first, difficulties may arise in the future [elsewhere]. Russia has fortified Saghalien and other islands, and there have already been frequent incidents of violence. I am convinced that we should send troops to defend these places before we send them to Korea.

If it is decided to send an envoy officially, I feel sure that he will be murdered. I therefore beseech you to send me. I cannot claim to make as splendid an envoy as Soejima, but if it is a question of dying, that, I assure you, I am prepared to do. [pp. 735-38]

August 14 [1873]

Should there be any hesitation at your place with reference to my being sent, it will mean further and further delays. I ask you therefore please to cut short deliberations, and to speak out in favor of my being sent. If we fail to seize this chance to bring us into war, it will be very difficult to find another. By enticing the Koreans with such a gentle approach we will certainly cause them to furnish us with an opportunity for war. But this plan is doomed to fail if you feel it would be unfortunate for me to die before the war, or if you have any thoughts of temporizing. The only difference is whether [my death comes] before or after the event. I shall be deeply grateful to you, even after death, if you exert yourself now on my behalf with the warm friendship you have always shown me. [pp. 751-52]

August 17 [1873]

Last evening I visited the Prime Minister's residence and discussed my plan with him in great detail. . . . However, I could not help feeling uneasy when he said that he would wait until the return of the [Iwakura] mission. I have never meant to suggest an immediate outbreak of hostilities. War is the second step. Even under the present circumstances grounds for starting a conflict might be found from an examination of international law, but they would be entirely a pretext, and the people of the nation would not accept them. If, on the other hand, we send an envoy to tell the Koreans that we have never to this day harbored hostile intentions, and to reproach them for weakening the relations between our countries; at the same time asking them to correct their arrogance of the past and strive for improved relations in the future, I am sure that

the contemptuous attitude of the Koreans will reveal itself. They are absolutely certain, moreover, to kill the envoy. This will bring home to the entire nation the necessity of punishing their crimes. This is the situation which we must bring to pass if our plan is to succeed. I need hardly say that it is at the same time a far-reaching scheme which will divert abroad the attention of those who desire civil strife, and thereby benefit the country. The [adherents of the] former government will lose the opportunity to act, and having to refrain from creating any internal disturbance, will lose the country once and for all. [pp. 754-56]

The following poem, not a part of the above letter, is believed to have been composed by Saigō during one of his periods of exile on an island off the coast of Kagoshima.

[*Dai Saigō zenshū*, III, 1201]

Shikishima no	I am a boat
Michi ni	Given to my country;
Waga mi o sute obune	If the winds blow, let them!
Kaze fukaba fuke	If the waves rise, let them!
Nami tataba tate.	

ŌKUBO TOSHIMICHI AND THE KOREAN QUESTION

A less colorful figure than Saigō, his boyhood friend, Ōkubo (1830-1878) was as selflessly dedicated to politics as Saigō was to war. It was this basic difference in outlook and political aptitude which eventually brought a cleavage over the Korean issue between these two fellow-clansmen who had been such close colleagues in the Restoration movement. Ōkubo's consuming passion was internal order and systematic progress, which were incompatible with Saigō's plans to direct Japanese energies abroad. As the personification of those virtues which were to distinguish the Meiji bureaucrat, Ōkubo had long-range vision, unshakable tenacity, and a remarkable gift for spotting young men of talent who could help realize his plans. Particularly noteworthy was his ability to transcend clan loyalties and bring to his side capable lieutenants from other fiefs, such as Itō of Chōshū and Ōkuma of Hizen. Ōkubo had already become the driving force and chief engineer of Japan's

modernization, when the final defeat of the Satsuma rebellion created the conditions for fulfilling his master plan of internal development. But unexpectedly this task was left to his protégés when Ōkubo died at the hands of an assassin in 1878. The three heroes of the Restoration, Kido, Saigō, and Ōkubo, had all died in the prime of life within a year of each other, but thanks to the foresight of Ōkubo the men who were to carry on their leadership in the long reign of Meiji were well prepared for their job.

ŌKUBO TOSHIMICHI

Reasons for Opposing the Korean Expedition

It was the sort of cold reasoning presented in the following paper by Ōkubo, which won out in the councils of state over Saigō's impetuous and dramatic call for war in Korea. The date of this document is not known, but it is believed to have been prepared for Prince Sanjō, then presiding over the council of state, in the early fall of 1873.

[From Kiyozawa, *Ōkubo Toshimichi*, pp. 28-31]

The most mature consideration and forethought is essential in order to govern the nation and to protect the land and the people. Every action, whether progressive or conservative, should be taken in response to the occasion, and if it develops unfavorably should be abandoned. This may entail shame, but it is to be endured; justice may be with us, but we are not to choose that course. We must act as our greatest needs dictate, taking into account the importance of any problem and examining the exigencies. We have here the problem of dispatching an envoy to Korea. The reasons why I am in no great haste to subscribe to the proposal come from much careful and earnest reflection on the problem. The gist of my arguments is as follows:

I. Because of His Majesty's supreme virtue, sovereignty has been restored and extraordinary achievements have been made to bring about today's prosperity. However, His Majesty's reign is still young and the foundations of his reign are not yet firmly laid. The sudden abolition of feudal fiefs and the establishment of prefectures are indeed a drastic change unusual in history. A look at the situation in the capital seems to indicate that the change has been accomplished. But in the remote sections of the country there are not a few who have lost their homes

and property and who are extremely bitter and restless because of this measure. . . . Within the last two years, how many scenes of bloodshed have taken place unavoidably? Due to their misunderstanding of the purport of public proclamations, or their misgivings about rising taxes, the ignorant, uninformed people of the remote areas have become easy victims of agitation and have started riots. A careful consideration of these facts constitutes the first argument against any hasty action regarding Korea.

II. Government expenditure today is already tremendous, and there is the difficulty of matching the annual revenues with the annual expenditures. To start a war and to send tens of thousands of troops abroad would raise expenditures by the day to colossal figures; and should war be prolonged, expenditures will continue to soar so as to necessitate heavy taxes, or a foreign loan, with no prospect of repayment, or the issuance of paper notes with no hope of redemption. . . . Our loans from foreign countries now exceed five million, but we have no definite plan for their repayment. Even if a definite plan is evolved, the undertaking of the Korean venture would, in all likelihood, lead to a considerable deviation from our plans. It would be so disastrous as to preclude any chance of salvation. This constitutes my second reason against any hasty action regarding Korea.

III. The government's present undertakings intended to enrich and strengthen the country must await many years for their fulfillment. These projects, in the areas of the army, navy, education, justice, industry, and colonization, are matters which cannot be expected to produce results overnight. To launch a meaningless war now and waste the government's efforts and attention needlessly, increase annual expenditures to enormous figures, suffer the loss of countless lives, and add to the sufferings of the people so as to allow no time for other matters, will lead to the abandonment of the government's undertakings before their completion. In order to resume these undertakings, they would have to be started anew. . . . This is the third reason against the hasty commencement of a Korean war.

IV. In looking at the sum total of our country's exports and imports there is an annual shortage of exports of approximately one million. This deficit must be made up in gold. If gold in such quantity leaves the country, there will be a corresponding decrease in the gold reserves of the

country. At the present time the currency in use in the country consists of gold and paper. If gold is reduced it will, of itself, impair the credit of the government, reduce the value of the paper notes, and cause considerable hardship to the people. It will produce a situation for which there may be no remedy later. . . . If now, without examining the wealth or poverty of our country, or without clarifying the strength or weakness of our army, we should hastily launch a war, our able-bodied youths would be subjected to hardships both at home and abroad, and their parents, out of worry and trouble, would lose their will to be thrifty or to work hard. . . . It would lead inevitably to the impoverishment of our country. Such a state of affairs would be a matter of serious concern, which constitutes the fourth reason against any hasty venture in Korea.

V. Turning to foreign relations, we note that for our country Russia and England occupy the position of foremost and greatest importance. Russia, situated in the north, could send her troops southward to Saghalien and could, with one blow, strike south. . . . Thus, should we cross arms with Korea and become like the two water-birds fighting over a fish, Russia will be the fisherman standing by to snare the fish. This is a matter for constant vigilance and constitutes the fifth reason against a hasty venture in Korea.

VI. England's influence is particularly strong in Asia. She has occupied land everywhere and has settled her people and stationed her troops thereon. Her warships are poised for any emergency, keeping a silent, vigilant watch, and ready to jump at a moment's notice. However, our country has been largely dependent on England for its foreign loans. If our country becomes involved in an unexpected misfortune, causing our stores to be depleted and our people reduced to poverty, our inability to repay our debts to England will become England's pretext for interfering in our internal affairs which would lead to baneful consequences beyond description. . . . This is the sixth reason against hasty action in Korea.

VII. The treaties our country has concluded with the countries of Europe and America are not equal, there being many terms in them which impair the dignity of an independent nation. The restraints they impose may bring some benefit, but there are, on the other hand, harmful aspects to these treaties. England and France, for example, on the pretext that our country's internal administration is not yet in order and that it

cannot protect their subjects, have built barracks and stationed troops in our land as if our country were a territory of theirs. Externally, from the standpoint of foreign relations, is this not as much a disgrace as it is internally, from the standpoint of our nation's sovereignty? The time for treaty-revision is well-nigh at hand. The ministers in the present government, by giving their zealous and thorough attention, must evolve a way to rid the country of its bondage and to secure for our country the dignity of an independent nation. This is an urgent matter of the moment which provides the seventh reason why a hasty venture in Korea should not be undertaken.

I have argued in the foregoing paragraphs that a hasty Korean war should not be precipitated. . . . Prior to the dispatch of an envoy, the question of whether or not to embark on a war should be settled. Should the decision be to wage war, then more than a hundred thousand men for the campaign abroad and for the defense of the country should be raised. Moreover, additional tens of thousands of men should be called to escort the envoy. Although it is difficult to estimate in advance the enormous cost of ammunition, weapons, warships, transports, and other expenses, it may well reach into tens of thousands daily. Even if the campaign makes a favorable start, it is unlikely that the gains made will ever pay for the losses incurred. What will happen should the campaign drag on for months and years? Suppose total victory is gained, the entire country occupied, and the Koreans permitted to sue for peace and to indemnify us. Still, for many years, we shall have to man garrisons to defend vital areas and to prevent their breach of the treaty terms. When the entire country is occupied it is certain that there will be many discontented people who will cause disturbances everywhere, making it well-nigh impossible for us to hold the country. In considering the cost of the campaign, and of occupation and defense of Korea, it is unlikely that it could be met by the products of the entire country of Korea. Then there is Russia, and there is China. Although it is argued, on the basis of one or two conversations between officials or on the tacit understanding of officials, that Russia and China will not interfere in the Korean affair, there is no actual document to confirm it. Even if such a document existed, who can say that the governments of these two countries will not plot and take advantage of the opportunity to bring about a sudden and unexpected calamity. It is certainly no difficult matter to find an

excuse to break a prior promise. If we permit the initiation of such a great venture, blithely and with no consideration for such an eventuality, we shall in all probability have cause for much regret in the future. . . .

Some argue that the arrogance of Korea toward our country is intolerable. But as far as I can see, the reasons for the sending of an Envoy Extraordinary seem to be to look for a positive excuse for war by having him treated arrogantly and discourteously. We would then dispatch troops to punish them. If this be the case, it is clear that this venture is to be undertaken, not because the situation makes it unavoidable or because there is no other way, but rather because the honor of the country will have been sullied and our sovereignty humiliated. I consider such a venture entirely beyond comprehension, as it completely disregards the safety of our nation and ignores the interests of the people. It will be an incident occasioned by the whims of individuals without serious evaluation of eventualities or implications. These are the reasons why I cannot accept the arguments for the undertaking of this venture.

ITÔ AND THE CONSTITUTION

A fundamental aim of the reforms undertaken in Meiji Japan was to win the respect of the Western nations, and to redeem the Japanese from the humiliation suffered by the forcible opening of the country. It was under Itô Hirobumi (1841-1909) that Japan accomplished this aim, first, by establishing a constitutional regime embodying the rule of law; second, by demonstrating her new military strength in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894; and shortly thereafter, by winning revision of the unequal treaties imposed upon Japan only a few decades before. Of these achievements the adoption of a constitution had the most far-reaching significance; it also illustrated the manner in which Meiji Japan, typified by Itô, kept one eye on the West and the other on its own national individuality. This individuality Itô and his colleagues referred to as Japan's "national polity" (*kokutai*), a term which, as we have seen, embraced both its political structure and the distinctive moral values considered to underlie it. Itô's own life was intimately bound up with both of these.

The fact that Itô was once a "barefoot boy," who rose through an aristocratic society to the heights of power, has a peculiar significance in

his case. It is not that he came from a lowly stratum of society where the humblest samurai was almost indistinguishable from the peasant, but that as part of his rigorous induction into the code of the warrior his teacher insisted that he go barefoot, prepared as any footsoldier must be to endure whatever hardships may come. (This practice, incidentally, is said to account for Itō's unusually big feet.) From this teacher also, and from his next mentor, Yoshida Shōin, both of whom died for their convictions, he learned to be ready for death at any time. Like so many other Restoration leaders who met violent ends, Itō eventually died at the hands of an assassin.

Thus strongly imbued with the Confucian ideals of loyalty and self-discipline to be put to the service of the Throne, Itō was at the same time convinced by Shōin of the need for acquiring a firsthand knowledge of the West. This he accomplished by working his way to Europe as a deckhand on an English ship in 1862, in defiance of the Tokugawa seclusion laws. On his return he became a leading advocate in Chōshū of learning to live with the West, and after the Restoration an effective member of the inner group of government leaders seeking to reform Japan along Western lines. A second visit to the West as virtual chief-of-staff to the Iwakura mission gave him a further opportunity to study the economic and political organization of the most advanced Western nations, and also to cement his relationship with Ōkubo, who increasingly dominated government councils in those years.

After Ōkubo's assassination, however, when Itō's colleague, Ōkuma, pressed for a change from oligarchical rule to representative government, Itō became the leader of the bureaucratic group which opposed any immediate step in this direction, and instead proposed an extended study of constitutional systems which might be suited to Japan's needs. Entrusted by the emperor with conducting such a study in 1881, after Ōkuma's ouster from the government, Itō took his constitutional commission on another tour of the West, during which his admiration for the new Germany of Bismarck and his sympathy with Prussian statism became apparent. Even so the Prussian state served less as a model for the Japanese constitution finally enacted in 1889 than as a means of dignifying an arrangement which had already taken shape in Itō's mind. He had been convinced from the outset that the emperor should be the axis of the new constitutional order, since the whole Restoration

movement had centered on the Throne and it alone of native political institutions remained in the modern age as a bulwark and symbol of Japan's traditional political structure (*kokutai*). Itō was also determined that the new parliament should not be so powerful that it could disrupt the strong leadership provided in the past by the clan oligarchy—the group of former samurai around him whose traditions of leadership, spartan discipline, and *esprit de corps* had equipped them so well to face the challenges of the modern world. Thus when the new Constitution was promulgated by the emperor, it affirmed the rule of the imperial house as “eternal,” the emperor as “sacred” and “inviolable,” and the constitution as an “immutable fundamental law” granted to the people by virtue of “the supreme prerogative inherited from our imperial ancestors.” Moreover, the ministers of state were left responsible to the emperor alone and not to parliament. The army and navy too remained under direct imperial command, instead of being answerable to the civil administration.

But if the new constitution followed a pattern already well established in Japan more than it did any Western system, Itō's frequent references to the Prussian example and German constitutional theories are nonetheless significant. It was important to him that the new regime, besides conforming to the Japanese traditions Itō valued most, also be “modern.” For years he had listened to the exponents of Western liberalism identify themselves with progress and represent popular sovereignty as the basis of the most advanced societies. Now, having just returned from the West for which these progressives claimed to speak, he could meet them on their own ground. It was his opponents who were behind the times, Itō implied, and his own point of view which had the sanction of political scientists and constitutional authorities in Germany, the rising star on the Western horizon.

Was this, then, the only value which the West had for Itō? Had the young reformer of the Meiji Restoration become merely an adroit defender of the status quo, a confirmed bureaucrat who used his knowledge of the West only to outmaneuver the opposition and block any changes which might seriously threaten his own power? Not by any means. Itō thought of himself always as a middle-of-the-roader, and, though he had resisted the pressure of impatient progressives on the constitutional question, he also showed himself capable of taking a firm stand against the

more reactionary elements in the government. After all, it was under his auspices that the first parliament east of Suez had come into being, and he believed firmly in its potential usefulness to the nation. It is true that he saw the Diet's function as service to the emperor, contributing its share to the harmonious workings of the Confucian family-state. But he also recognized that the new political party system could exert a decisive influence on the balance of power, and when in 1900 reactionary, military-minded bureaucrats sought to curtail that influence, Itō did not hesitate to give up his powers as prime minister and take the lead in organizing a new political party. Thereafter he emphasized increasingly the importance of the people's exercise of their political rights—as a duty more than as an inherent power, yet still as an indispensable element in Japan's national life. For a Confucian traditionalist to stress the importance of the people was not wholly unprecedented, but to attach such a high value to their active participation in politics was. Itō obviously had been impressed by the West's fuller development of its human potential, and he looked upon the more active role of his own people as an asset, not a danger, to the country.

Perhaps to some extent this attitude reflected his own sense of personal accomplishment in rising from the humble role of footsoldier to the highest offices of the land. In any case, when this four-time premier became Viceroy of Korea in the last years of his life—achieving even the unfulfilled ambition of that other former footsoldier, Hideyoshi—he could not suppress a certain boyish delight in being permitted, for the first time, to wear the resplendent uniform of a field-marshal.

ITŌ HIROBUMI

Memorandum of Ōkubo's Views on Constitutional Government

The guiding principles of Japan's constitutional regime had already been suggested by Ōkubo in a series of discussions within the government during the early years of the Restoration. Ōkubo believed that constitutional government for Japan was desirable and inevitable, but he wished to steer a middle course between despotism and democracy toward a limited monarchy based on traditional Confucian ideals—the course Itō himself tried to steer. Dated 1873, this brief memorandum found in Itō's private collection and in his own handwriting, records Ōkubo's views on the subject.

[From Tokutomi, *Ōkubo Kōtō Sensei*, p. 253]

Since the Restoration it has been the aim of our government to excel the nations of the whole world. Still, the administration, following conventional and long-established customs, preserves the form of a despotic monarchy. This form may well be applicable for the present . . . but it must not be insisted upon for the future. If this be so, must our government assume the form of a democracy? I say no. . . . Democracy must not be adopted, nor should despotic monarchy be retained. In the framing of a constitution our aims should be determined by the ideal of a government which conforms with our country's geography, customs and sentiments of the people, and the spirit of the times.

When our forebears founded our country, their government had only the people in mind. It was a government dedicated to the people. Likewise, the people maintained the government for their sovereign. Therefore, a constitutional government which is eminently fair and just, and which is neither the private domain of the sovereign nor of the people, should be one of joint effort by both the sovereign and the people, with the rights of the sovereign above defined and the rights of the people below limited.

*From an Address on the Constitution to the Conference of
Presidents of Prefectural Assemblies, February 15, 1889*

[From *Itô Hirobumi den*, II, 651-57]

The Constitution recently promulgated is, needless to say, a constitution by imperial grant. As you well know, the term "imperial grant" means that it was initiated by the sovereign himself and that it was sanctioned and granted to his subjects by the sovereign. It is my hope that you will always remember this fact—and inscribe it in your hearts—that this Constitution is the gift of a benevolent and charitable emperor to the people of his country.

Our Constitution consists of seven chapters and seventy-six articles, and as you have probably read and re-read it carefully, there is no need now to discuss it article by article. Let me, therefore, take this occasion to compare our Constitution with those of other countries. The differences between our Constitution and their constitutions are considerable. For example, Chapter I which clarifies sovereignty in connection with the prerogative of the sovereign has no parallel in the constitutions of

other countries. The reason for this difference can be understood at a moment's reflection. Our country was founded and ruled by the emperor himself since the very beginning of our history. Thus, to state this fact in the opening article of the Constitution is truly compatible with our national polity. And this fact distinguishes our Constitution in structure and form from those of other countries.

Chapter II states the rights enjoyed by subjects and the duties owed by them. The rights properly due to subjects within the limits of the law are generally enumerated there without exception. Chapter III prescribes the system of deliberative assembly to be established so that the emperor, in the exercise of his constitutional rights, might consult in advance with the representatives of his subjects and obtain their cooperation and consent. As for the other chapters and articles, there is no need for any special comment. . . .

It may be asked why is it necessary to establish a diet to deliberate on the pros and cons of government? In the first place, the enactment of law requires consultation with representatives of the subjects. Secondly, the fixing of the state budget, i.e., the annual income and expenditures, requires the discussion of the many. The annual revenues of the state treasury consist of taxes levied on the people, and as the annual revenues are used to meet the expenditures necessary for the existence of the state, the consultation and decision of the diet should, in all fairness, be asked. This, in short, is the most valid reason for the establishment of a diet to deliberate on the pros and cons of government. One may see that in our Constitution these two elements are provided for systematically.

In explaining the nature of our government, it must be said that . . . its control and operation rests on sovereignty, which, in our country, is united in the august person of the emperor. . . . In Europe at a time when controversy raged on the subject of sovereignty in the medieval period Montesquieu advanced the theory of the separation of powers. Separation of powers, as you know, is the division of the three powers of legislation, justice, and administration into three independent organs. However, according to a theory based on careful study and on actual experience and advanced by recent scholars,¹ sovereignty is one and indivisible. It is like the human body which has limbs and bones but

¹ No doubt Itô had in mind such authorities as the German von Gneist and the Austrian von Stein.

whose source of spiritual life is the mind. Thus, present-day scholars who discuss sovereignty agree in general that it is one and indivisible. That this theory coincides with our interpretation of sovereignty based on our national polity (*kokutai*) is significant.

On the Constitution of 1889

These excerpts from a speech by Itō just after adoption of the Constitution stress the peculiar circumstances surrounding this development in Japan as compared with Western experience. It is significant that he should try to establish a greater antiquity for representative government in Germany than in England, in order to assert the superiority of that system which in spirit was closest to his own.

[From McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 617-22]

If we reflect upon the history of civilization in this country it will be perceived, I think, that while several influences have been at work, still the introduction of such alien religious systems as Confucianism and Buddhism, which were largely instrumental in elevating our people, and the development of such works as have conduced to their welfare, have been due to the benevolent guidance and encouragement of the sovereign. We may therefore say with truth that the civilization which we now possess is a gift from the Throne. . . .

I shall now proceed to discuss the subject of the participation of the people in the government of the state. It is only by the protection of the law that the happiness of the nation can be promoted and the safety of person and property secured, and to attain these ends the people may elect their representatives and empower the latter to deliberate on laws with a view to the promotion of their own happiness and the safeguarding of their rights. This, gentlemen, is enacted by the Constitution, and I think you will agree that it constitutes a concession to the people of a most valuable right. Under an absolute system of government the sovereign's will is his command, and the sovereign's command at once becomes law. In a constitutional country, however, the consent of that assembly which represents the people must be obtained. It will be evident, however, that as the supreme right is one and indivisible, the legislative power remains in the hands of the sovereign and is not bestowed on the people. While the supreme right extends to everything, and its exercise is wide and comprehensive, its legislative and executive functions are undoubtedly

the most important. These are in the hands of the sovereign; the rights pertaining thereto cannot be held in common by the sovereign and his subjects; but the latter are permitted to take part in legislation according to the provisions of the Constitution. In a country which is under absolute rule the view of the sovereign is at once law; in a constitutional country, on the other hand, nothing being law without a concurrence of views between the sovereign and the people, the latter elect representatives to meet at an appointed place and carry out the view of the sovereign. In other words, law in a constitutional state is the result of a concord of ideas between the sovereign and subject; but there can be no law when these two are in opposition to each other. . . .

If we trace back to its origin the principle of a representative body, we find that it first manifested itself among an ancient German people. It has been, and still is indeed, affirmed that it is a growth of the English people, but it is not so in fact, for in an old German law, that in the levying of a tax the taxpayer should be consulted, we find the germ of the popular representative principle. The system prevailing in England must be an offshoot from the seedling that appeared in Germany, and from which the principle developed largely in later times in the west of Europe, though it never gained a hold in the central and eastern parts. Till about a century ago it was held that representative bodies should have a monopoly of the legislative right, and the theory of thus dividing the supreme right found much favor. But this conclusion has been held to be illogical by modern scholars. They say the state is like a human body. Just as one brain controls the diverse actions of the limbs and other parts, so should one supreme power superintend and control all the other members of a nation, though such members may play various parts in the whole. This view is perhaps in its turn a little antiquated, but it is sufficient to show the absurdity of the tripartite theory which maintains that the representative body should monopolize the right of legislation. If we remember that the legislative right is a part of the supreme prerogative and that the latter is the sole possession of the emperor, it will be apparent that no such monopoly is possible. But the sovereign may permit the representative body to take part in the process of practically applying the legislative right. Since the tripartite theory lost favor it has come to be recognized that the supreme right must be vested in one person and be indivisible. . . .

If we look back into the history of the world to the origin of the representative body, we shall find that the principle has undergone an extraordinary degree of development. At the Restoration the institution, then well grown in Europe, was by an enlargement and extension of the scope of our national policy adopted in Japan. Now, by carefully adapting the principle to our national characteristics, manners, and customs, and by retaining what is excellent and discarding what is faulty, we are about to put into practice a system of constitutional politics that is without rival in the East. And this leads us not unnaturally to discuss briefly the English constitution, which in many quarters has been thought worthy of imitation. I shall, however, speak solely of the difference in the history and evolution of the two constitutions, and shall not attempt to define their relative merits. In England there is no codified constitution, and you must bear in mind how the English people obtained the so-called Great Charter. The nobles of England, as you no doubt are aware, not only form a large section of the population, but they were, and are still, powerful. The sovereign of that day, having engaged in unnecessary warfare with a foreign country, levied heavy burdens on the people, which policy led to much discontent. But the complaints were not confined to the mass of the people; the nobles were also angered by the monarch's actions and refused to obey his commands. Eventually they combined and required him to sign the Magna Carta; he at first refused but was at length compelled by force to comply. You will see then that while it is quite true that the king had oppressed the people, as a matter of fact this Magna Carta pledge was extorted from him by the nobles at the point of the sword. The case of Japan is totally different. The most cordial relations prevail between the Throne and the people while our Constitution is granted. The position of our court cannot be at all compared with that of England when the Magna Carta was granted, for we know that our Imperial House has a single aim—the welfare and happiness of the nation. Not only were there no such discontented barons in this country, but our feudal lords, great and small, joined in requesting the Crown to take back the military and political rights which for centuries they had enjoyed. Could any two things be more radically different than the origins of the English and Japanese Constitutions? If the English people felicitate themselves on the influence exercised in promoting and developing the national welfare and interest, by a Charter given under such ominous circumstances as was theirs, how much more

should we congratulate ourselves on having received from our benevolent sovereign, under the most happy and peaceful auspices, the Constitution of the Japanese empire! . . .

The course which lies now before the Japanese empire is plain. Both ruler and ruled should apply their efforts smoothly and harmoniously to preserve tranquility; to elevate the status of the people; to secure the rights and promote the welfare of each individual; and finally, by manifesting abroad the dignity and power of Japan, to secure and maintain her integrity and independence.

Reminiscences on the Drafting of the New Constitution

These observations first appeared in Japanese in 1908 and the following year in this English translation. Written just before Itō's death, they present the framing of the Constitution in a new perspective, reflecting the development of Itō's own position with respect to the changing political scene. His earlier role he sees as that of a moderator between impatient radicals and die-hard reactionaries, one who upholds what is of value in the Japanese tradition and seeks patiently to remedy its evils. He credits the Emperor Meiji, too, with acting on the whole in favor of liberalism and progress.

For the sake of brevity his opening remarks are paraphrased in the first paragraph below.

[From Ōkuma, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, I, 122-31]

The advent of Commodore Perry, followed by a rapid succession of great events too well known to be repeated here, roughly awakened us to the consciousness of mighty forces at work to change the face of the outside world. We were ill-prepared to bear the brunt of these forces, but once awakened to the need, were not slow to grapple with them. So, first of all, the whole fabric of the feudal system, which with its obsolete shackles and formalities hindered us in every branch of free development, had to be uprooted and destroyed. The annihilation of centrifugal forces taking the form of autocratic feudal provinces was a necessary step to the unification of the country under a strong central government, without which we would not have been able to offer a united front to the outside forces or stand up as a united whole to maintain the country's very existence.

SOURCES OF JAPANESE CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE

I must, however, disabuse my readers of the very common illusion that there was no education and an entire absence of public spirit during

feudal times. It is this false impression which has led superficial observers to believe that our civilization has been so recent that its continuance is doubtful—in short, that our civilization is nothing but a hastily donned, superficial veneer. On the contrary, I am not exaggerating when I say that, for generations and centuries, we have been enjoying a moral education of the highest type. The great ideals offered by philosophy and by historical examples of the golden ages of China and India, Japanicized in the form of a “crust of customs,” developed and sanctified by the continual usage of centuries under the comprehensive name of *bushidō*, offered us splendid standards of morality, rigorously enforced in the everyday life of the educated classes. The result, as everyone who is acquainted with Old Japan knows, was an education which aspired to the attainment of Stoic heroism, a rustic simplicity and a self-sacrificing spirit unsurpassed in Sparta, and the aesthetic culture and intellectual refinement of Athens. Art, delicacy of sentiment, higher ideals of morality and of philosophy, as well as the highest types of valor and chivalry—all these we have tried to combine in the man as he ought to be. We laid great stress on the harmonious combination of all the known accomplishments of a developed human being, and it is only since the introduction of modern technical sciences that we have been obliged to pay more attention to specialized technical attainments than to the harmonious development of the whole. Let me remark, *en passant*, that the humanitarian efforts which in the course of the recent war were so much in evidence and which so much surprised Western nations were not, as might have been thought, the products of the new civilization, but survivals of our ancient feudal chivalry. If further instance were needed, we may direct attention to the numbers of our renowned warriors and statesmen who have left behind them works of religious and moral devotions, of philosophical contemplations, as well as splendid specimens of calligraphy, painting, and poetry, to an extent probably unparalleled in the feudalism of other nations.

Thus it will be seen that what was lacking in our countrymen of the feudal era was not mental or moral fiber, but the scientific, technical, and materialistic side of modern civilization. Our present condition is not the result of the ingrafting of a civilization entirely different from our own, as foreign observers are apt to believe, but simply a different training and nursing of a strongly vital character already existent.

DRAFT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

It was in the month of March, 1882, that His Majesty ordered me to work out a draft of a constitution to be submitted to his approval. No time was to be lost, so I started on the 15th of the same month for an extended journey to different constitutional countries to make as thorough a study as possible of the actual workings of different systems of constitutional government, of their various provisions, as well as of theories and opinions actually entertained by influential persons on the actual stage itself of constitutional life. I took young men with me, who all belonged to the élite of the rising generation, to assist and to cooperate with me in my studies. I sojourned about a year and a half in Europe, and having gathered the necessary materials, in so far as it was possible in so short a space of time, I returned home in September, 1883. Immediately after my return I set to work to draw up the Constitution. I was assisted in my work by my secretaries, prominent among whom were the late Viscount K. Inouyé, and the Barons M. Itō and K. Kanéko, and by foreign advisers, such as Professor Roesler, Mr. Piggott, and others.

PECULIAR FEATURES OF THE NATIONAL LIFE

It was evident from the outset that mere imitation of foreign models would not suffice, for there were historical peculiarities of our country which had to be taken into consideration. For example, the Crown was, with us, an institution far more deeply rooted in the national sentiment and in our history than in other countries. It was indeed the very essence of a once theocratic State, so that in formulating the restrictions on its prerogatives in the new Constitution, we had to take care to safeguard the future realness or vitality of these prerogatives, and not to let the institution degenerate into an ornamental crowning piece of the edifice. At the same time, it was also evident that any form of constitutional régime was impossible without full and extended protection of honor, liberty, property, and personal security of citizens, entailing necessarily many important restrictions on the powers of the Crown.

EMOTIONAL ELEMENTS IN SOCIAL LIFE OF PEOPLE

On the other hand, there was one peculiarity of our social conditions that is without parallel in any other civilized country. Homogeneous in

race, language, religion, and sentiments, so long secluded from the outside world, with the centuries-long traditions and inertia of the feudal system, in which the family and quasi-family ties permeated and formed the essence of every social organization, and moreover with such moral and religious tenets as laid undue stress on duties of fraternal aid and mutual succor, we had during the course of our seclusion unconsciously become a vast village community where cold intellect and calculation of public events were always restrained and even often hindered by warm emotions between man and man. Those who have closely observed the effects of the commercial crises of our country—that is, of the events wherein cold-blooded calculation ought to have the precedence of every other factor—and compared them with those of other countries, must have observed a remarkable distinction between them. In other countries they serve in a certain measure as the scavengers of the commercial world, the solid undertakings surviving the shock, while enterprises founded solely on speculative bases are sure to vanish thereafter. But, generally speaking, this is not the case in our country. Moral and emotional factors come into play. Solid undertakings are dragged into the whirlpool, and the speculative ones are saved from the abyss—the general standard of prosperity is lowered for the moment, but the commercial fabric escapes violent shocks. In industry, also, in spite of the recent enormous developments of manufactures in our country, our laborers have not yet degenerated into spiritless machines and toiling beasts. There still survives the bond of patron and protégé between them and the capitalist employers. It is this moral and emotional factor which will, in the future, form a healthy barrier against the threatening advance of socialistic ideas. It must, of course, be admitted that this social peculiarity is not without beneficial influences. It mitigates the conflict, serves as the lubricator of social organisms, and tends generally to act as a powerful lever for the practical application of the moral principle of mutual assistance between fellow citizens. But unless curbed and held in restraint, it too may exercise baneful influences on society, for in a village community, where feelings and emotions hold a higher place than intellect, free discussion is apt to be smothered, attainment and transference of power liable to become a family question of a powerful oligarchy, and the realization of such a régime as constitutional monarchy to become an impossibility, simply because in any representative régime free discussion

is a matter of prime necessity, because emotions and passions have to be stopped for the sake of the cool calculation of national welfare, and even the best of friends have often to be sacrificed if the best abilities and highest intellects are to guide the helm. Besides, the dissensions between brothers and relatives, deprived as they usually are of safety-valves for giving free and hearty vent to their own opinions or discontents, are apt to degenerate into passionate quarrels and overstep the bounds of simple differences of opinion. The good side of this social peculiarity had to be retained as much as possible, while its baneful influences had to be safeguarded. These and many other peculiarities had to be taken into account in order to have a constitution adapted to the actual condition of the country.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW THOUGHTS

Another difficulty equally grave had to be taken into consideration. We were just then in an age of transition. The opinions prevailing in the country were extremely heterogeneous, and often diametrically opposed to each other. We had survivors of former generations who were still full of theocratic ideas, and who believed that any attempt to restrict an imperial prerogative amounted to something like high treason. On the other hand there was a large and powerful body of the younger generation educated at the time when the Manchester theory was in vogue, and who in consequence were ultra-radical in their ideas of freedom. Members of the bureaucracy were prone to lend willing ears to the German doctrinaires of the reactionary period, while, on the other hand, the educated politicians among the people having not yet tasted the bitter significance of administrative responsibility, were liable to be more influenced by the dazzling words and lucid theories of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and other similar French writers. A work entitled *History of Civilization*, by Buckle, which denounced every form of government as an unnecessary evil, became the great favorite of students of all the higher schools, including the Imperial University. On the other hand, these same students would not have dared to expound the theories of Buckle before their own conservative fathers. At that time we had not yet arrived at the stage of distinguishing clearly between political opposition on the one hand, and treason to the established order of things on the other. The virtues necessary for the smooth working of any constitution, such as

love of freedom of speech, love of publicity of proceedings, the spirit of tolerance for opinions opposed to one's own, etc., had yet to be learned by long experience.

DRAFT OF THE CONSTITUTION COMPLETED

It was under these circumstances that the first draft of the Constitution was made and submitted to His Majesty, after which it was handed over to the mature deliberation of the Privy Council. The Sovereign himself presided over these deliberations, and he had full opportunities of hearing and giving due consideration to all the conflicting opinions above hinted at. I believe nothing evidences more vividly the intelligence of our august Master than the fact that in spite of the existence of strong undercurrents of an ultra-conservative nature in the council, and also in the country at large, His Majesty's decisions inclined almost invariably towards liberal and progressive ideas, so that we have been ultimately able to obtain the Constitution as it exists at present.

Speech on the Restoration and Constitutional Government

Delivered in the intimate atmosphere of a homecoming celebration, this speech by Itō in his native town of Hagi on June 2, 1899, was an attempt to explain in the language of the layman the guiding principles of the Restoration and the Constitution. He stresses that in order to win for Japan a place of equality in the world community it was necessary to raise the general level of the Japanese people to that of other civilized peoples, which has been attempted through the adoption of certain Western institutions and freedoms. Since these rights have been granted to the people by the emperor, in a manner compatible with the traditional "national polity" (*kokutai*), the duties or obligations attached to these rights are emphasized more strongly than the enjoyment of personal liberties. Nevertheless, Itō insists that the future of constitutional government in Japan depends upon the responsible exercise of these rights by the people. Thus, just prior to his entry into party politics, he shows an increased realization of the importance of popular support for the government.

[From *Itō-kō zenshū*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, pp. 142-49]

When our enlightened emperor decided to accept the open-door principle as an imperial policy . . . it became a matter of urgent necessity to develop the intellectual faculties of our people and to increase their business activities. This led to the abolition of the feudal system and made

it possible for the Japanese people to live in a new political environment and to have diverse freedoms. . . . The first of these freedoms was the freedom of movement, followed by the freedom to pursue an occupation of one's own choosing. Moreover, the freedom to study at any place of one's choosing was given to all. There was also granted freedom of speech in political affairs. Thus, the Japanese today enjoy freedom, each according to his own desires, within the limits of the law. These rights belong to people who live in a civilized government. If these rights are withheld and their enjoyment refused, a people cannot develop. And if the people cannot develop, the nation's wealth and the nation's strength cannot develop. . . . But the fact is that because of the imperial policy of the open-door, we have established a government which is civilized. And as we have advanced to such a position, it has become necessary to establish a fixed definition of the fundamental laws. This, in short, is the reason for the establishment of constitutional government.

A constitutional government makes a clear distinction between the realms of the ruler and the ruled, and thereby defines what the people and the sovereign should do; that is, the rights which the sovereign should exercise and the rights which the people should enjoy, followed by the procedure for the management of the government. According to the Constitution the people have the right to participate in government, but this right is at once an important obligation as well as a right. Government is a prerogative of the emperor. As you will be participating in government—which is the emperor's prerogative—you must regard this right as the responsibility of the people, the honor of the people, and the glory of the people. It is therefore a matter of the greatest importance.

In this connection what all Japanese must bear in mind is Japan's national polity [*kokutai*]. It is history which defines the national polity; thus the Japanese people have a duty to know their history. . . . The national polity of the various countries differs one from another, but it is the testimony of the history of Japan to this day that the unification of the country was achieved around the Imperial House. So I say that the understanding of the national polity of Japan is the first important duty of our people.

In the next place we must know the aims and the policies of our country. Political parties may have their arguments, and others may have their views about the government, but they must be kept within the

bounds of the aims and policies of the government. What then is the aim of the nation? It is the imperial aim decided upon at the time of the Restoration of imperial rule. . . . The aim of our country has been from the very beginning, to attain among the nations of the world the status of a civilized nation and to become a member of the comity of European and American nations which occupy the position of civilized countries. To join this comity of nations means to become one of them, but in this connection, we must consider the rights and duties attendant upon membership. Among fellow men of civilized nations there is a thing called common justice. To become a member of this comity of nations it is necessary to respect this common justice. Generally speaking, all Oriental countries—China and Japan included—have the habit of holding foreign countries in contempt and of holding their own country in esteem. But in carrying on relations according to civilized standards of common justice, it is done according to a procedure of mutual equality without contempt for the other and esteem for oneself, or vice versa. . . .

From the standpoint of the sovereign power, that is, the emperor's prerogative to rule the country, the people are one and equal under the constitutional government. They are all direct subjects of the emperor. The so-called "indirect subjects" no longer exist. This means that the Japanese people have been able to raise their status and to achieve for themselves a great honor. They now have the right to share in legislative rights, which come from the emperor's sovereign powers, and to elect and send representatives. Having the right to send representatives they can, indirectly, voice their opinions on the advisability and the faults of their country's administration. Thus, every member of the nation—be he a farmer, craftsman, or merchant—must become familiar beforehand with the merits and demerits of questions of government. Not only on questions of government, but also on matters concerning his own occupation, the citizen must give due thought and become prosperous. When every man becomes wealthy, the village, the county, and the prefecture in turn become wealthy, and the accumulated total of that wealth becomes the wealth of Japan. The expansion of military strength and the promotion of national prestige depend upon the power of the individual members of the country. Therefore, in order to promote the development of military strength and national prestige, it is only proper

and necessary to diffuse education so that the people can understand the changes and improvements with respect to their government and their society. In a constitutional government the occasions for secrecy are few—except for laws not yet proclaimed—in contradistinction to a despotic government. The principle of keeping the people uninformed in order to make them obedient has no place here. To inform them well so that they will serve well is the way of constitutional government. . . .

Since government is concerned with the administration of the country as a whole it does not follow that its acts are always favorable to all individuals. The nation's affairs, of their own nature, are not personal and concerned with the individual. They must be carried out according to the nation's aims, the nation's prestige, and the nation's honor. It is for this reason that the people have an obligation to understand the nation's aims. They must regard the nation as their own, meet the military obligation to defend it and to pay for the cost of defending it. And what happens when this cost is paid? In the past the people remitted their payments to the authorities above, beyond which they were no longer concerned. It is not so today. Government is conducted today so that one may know clearly how the money is spent and what relation the payments have to the state of the nation. If one believes that an expenditure is unwise, he may readily avail himself of the freedom of speech which he possesses as a citizen and raise his voice in objection. To resolve a situation in which the opinions of the people are so diverse as to seem impossible of reaching a decision we have established a parliament to make the decision on the basis of majority rule of its members. If you do not send representatives who are well informed on matters of government, the rights which you have earned by great effort will prove ineffective in practice.

ŌKUMA AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

One of the chief contributions to the Meiji Constitution, a close aide of Itō once acknowledged, was made by a man who had no hand in its preparation—Ōkuma Shigenobu. His memorial in 1881, calling for establishment of representative government under a constitution, resulted in Ōkuma's abrupt dismissal from the government after years of distin-

guished service, but it also won from the emperor a promise that parliamentary government would be inaugurated within ten years. Thereafter, though Ōkuma found himself a perennial leader of the opposition, the fact that even in this role he should have contributed greatly to the building of political democracy in Japan tells us much about the man and his age. If Itō may be taken as the great symbol of cohesive unity, stability, and continuity in Meiji Japan, Ōkuma represents constructive opposition, vigorous but gradual reform, and optimistic acceptance of the West. More than all of these, however, he represents that characteristic of Meiji Japan which perhaps best accounts for its rapid progress along Western lines: its capacity to hold contending forces in a dynamic balance and foster the growth of new and varied activities contributing to the national welfare—in short, its diversity in a vital unity.

The Restoration, we should remember, was the work of a coalition rather than of a single dominant power. From the beginning it brought together diverse interests in a common cause. One of the least of the states so joined in the coalition of southwestern fiefs was that of the Nabeshima family in Hizen, whose sole contribution to the top leadership of the movement was Ōkuma (1838–1922). Born in a samurai family near Nagasaki, the only port which had remained open to the West in Tokugawa times, Ōkuma absorbed much of its cosmopolitan and mercantile spirit. His knowledge of Dutch and English, acquired early, together with his powers of speech, forceful personality and impressive size, all recommended him for his first assignment under the new regime handling foreign relations in Nagasaki. Subsequently he became the government's leading expert in both financial matters and foreign affairs. Had his own fief been stronger and Ōkuma less dependent on the support of other clan leaders, such as Kido, from Chōshū, and then Ōkubo, from Satsuma, he might well have emerged as the dominant figure within the ruling oligarchy after Ōkubo's assassination. Fortunately for the future of Japanese democracy, however, when the alliance of Satsuma and Chōshū bureaucrats forced him from the government over the constitutional issue, Ōkuma's great talents and personal prestige were unexpectedly put to the service of the political party movement.

Ōkuma was not, however, the first champion of this movement in Meiji Japan. The real pioneer had been Itagaki Taisuke (1837–1919), a Tosa samurai who had left the government along with Saigō over the

Korean issue seven years earlier. First he organized several patriotic societies, which combined ultranationalism and a concern for the welfare of ex-samurai with the egalitarian slogans and radical reformism of the French Revolution. Then Itagaki founded Japan's first political association on a national basis, the Liberal Party. Attempting to carry on open political activity in a part of the world which had known as its nearest equivalent only factionalism at court or covert conspiracy, the Liberal Party nevertheless proved an unsuccessful blend of divergent political traditions. Itagaki's followers were radical enough to be distrusted by the majority of Japanese, but still so steeped in the feudal past that democracy to them meant primarily a wider sharing of political power among the heirs of the feudal aristocracy. The rather factious opposition of the Liberals themselves lent substance to the view that their party was a pressure group advancing the personal ambitions of political "outs," a vestige of the old feudal struggle for position and power.

In any case Ōkuma, who regarded the Liberals as an irresponsible opposition, and was more sympathetic to the gradualism and orderly progress of the British than to the revolutionary extremism of the French Revolution, chose to establish his own organization, the Progressive Party, to work for orderly change in the direction of British constitutional democracy. In the 1880s his party fared little better than the Liberals, owing to the government's repressive acts and some of the same internal weaknesses which had afflicted their rivals. But there can be no doubt that Ōkuma spoke for a much wider segment of Japanese opinion than Itagaki, and one which grew with the years. After the inauguration of parliament in 1889, it was Ōkuma who led the struggle to make the government representative of and responsible to the parties in the Diet. Throughout the late years of Meiji his prestige and influence as the champion of representative government rose, until it reached a peak with his appointment as premier in the First World War. During the heyday of the political parties, in the late 'teens and 'twenties, the liberal statesmen who largely dominated the national scene were often his protégés, and the succession to party leadership even after the Second World War could still be traced back to this towering figure.

The measure of Ōkuma's liberalism, however, is not to be found in the record of his political acts or policies alone. Indeed, his continued respect for imperial institutions, his ready acceptance of Itō's Constitution as a

sound basis for further progress, and his strong nationalism, kept Ōkuma from pursuing a course of invariable opposition to the ruling bureaucracy and involved him in compromises hardly consonant with a doctrinaire liberalism. It was, nevertheless, wholly in conformity with his larger view of the new Japan and the needs of a democratic society that Ōkuma diverted some of his tremendous energies from party politics to other spheres of national life. Almost simultaneously with his founding of the Progressive Party Ōkuma had established a new university, Waseda, aiming to develop a new type of citizen whose conception of service to the state would not be narrowly political or bureaucratic. This represented a fundamental departure from the traditional Confucian ideal of the educated man whose success was chiefly to be found in government service. Whereas Tokyo Imperial University reflected the philosophy of Itō and served as a training ground for government officials, Waseda was premised on a belief in educational pluralism, on the value of private institutions neither subject to government control nor conforming to a single pattern. It is particularly to the credit of Ōkuma, moreover, that he lent his support to other private institutions besides his own, including Japan Women's College and Dōshisha University, the latter founded by an outstanding Christian convert, Joseph Neesima.

Three significant features of Waseda reflect Ōkuma's range of interests and associations. One is that, while the graduates of Tokyo Imperial University virtually monopolized government office, Waseda graduates became leaders in journalism. In this respect Ōkuma contributed substantially to a field of endeavor in which his close friend and ally, Fukuzawa Yukichi, had already pioneered. In turn, Japanese journalism gave strong support to political democracy by informing and mobilizing public opinion. The second significant feature is that as a private institution Waseda relied heavily on financial support from the business world, one of its principal benefactors being Baron Iwasaki, the head of the Mitsubishi interests. But it was also Japanese business, stimulated to no small degree by the policies which Ōkuma had pursued in the early years of Meiji, which became closely identified with the political parties of the twentieth century. Thirdly, Waseda was known for its international outlook, as was Ōkuma throughout his career. Especially in his later years, he who had borne the chief responsibility for revision of the un-

equal treaties found foreign affairs and international relations his consuming interest. His ardent nationalism neither inhibited his frank acceptance of the West, nor required him to denigrate other cultures than his own. The new Japan, he believed, had drawn strength both from its own best traditions and from the enormous contributions of Western civilization. For the last six years of his life, therefore, he met regularly with a group of Waseda professors to work on a vast study, *The Reconciliation of Eastern and Western Civilization*. Through such varied and forward-looking activities as these, Ōkuma, in association with some of the newest and most vital movements of his time, helped to give democracy strong roots in Japanese society.

ITAGAKI TAISUKE

Memorial on the Establishment of a Representative Assembly

This petition, submitted on January 17, 1874, by Itagaki and eight associates, followed shortly upon the former's resignation from the government because of his defeat along with Saigō on the Korean issue. It touched off a long debate and public agitation for representative government throughout the '70s.

[From Itagaki, *Jiyū-tō-shi*, I, 86-89; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 426-32]

When we humbly reflect upon the quarter in which the governing power lies, we find that it is not the Imperial House above, nor the people below, but the officials alone. We do not deny that the officials revere the Imperial House, nor that they protect the people. Yet, the manifold decrees of the government appear in the morning and are changed in the evening, the administration is influenced by private considerations, rewards and punishments depend on personal favor or disfavor, the channel by which the people should communicate with the government is blocked, and they cannot state their grievances. We hope in this manner to rule the country, yet even an infant knows that this cannot be done. We fear, therefore, that if a reform is not effected the state will be ruined. Unable to resist the promptings of our patriotic feelings, we have sought to devise a means of rescuing it from this danger. We find this means to consist in developing public discussion in the empire. The means of developing public discussion is the establishment of a council-chamber

chosen by the people. Then a limit will be placed on the power of the officials, and high and low will obtain peace and prosperity. We ask leave then to make some remarks on this subject.

The people whose duty it is to pay taxes to the government have the right of sharing in their government's affairs and of approving or condemning. Since this is a universally acknowledged principle, it is not necessary to waste words in discussing it. . . .

How is the government to be made strong? By the people's being of one mind. We shall not cite events of the distant past to prove this, but shall illustrate it with the governmental change of last October. How great was the peril! Why does our government stand alone? How many of the people of the empire rejoiced at or grieved over the change in the government of last October? Not only was there neither grief nor joy on account of it, but eight or nine out of every ten people in the empire were utterly ignorant that it had taken place, and they were only surprised at the disbanding of the troops. The establishment of a council chamber chosen by the people will create community of feeling between the government and the people, and they will unite into one body. Then and only then will the country become strong. . . .

We are informed that the present officials . . . are generally averse to progress and call those who advocate reforms "rash progressives." . . . If "rash progress" means measures which are heedlessly initiated, then a council chamber chosen by the people will remedy this heedlessness. Does it mean the want of harmony between the different branches of the administration, and in times of change, the postponement of urgent matters in favor of those less urgent, so that the measures carried out are wanting in unity of plan? Then the cause of this is the want of a fixed law in the country and the fact that the officials act in accordance with their own inclinations. These two facts suffice to show why it is necessary to establish a council chamber chosen by the people. Progress is the most beautiful thing in the world, and is the law of all things moral and physical. Men actuated by principle cannot condemn this word "progress," so their condemnation must be intended for the word "rash"; but the word "rash" has no application to a council chamber chosen by the people. . . .

Another argument of the officials is that the council chambers now existing in European and American states were not formed in a day, but

were only brought into their present state by gradual progress, and therefore we cannot today copy them suddenly. But is this true only of council chambers? It is the same with all branches of knowledge, science, and mechanical arts. The reason why [foreigners] developed them only after the lapse of centuries is that no examples existed previously and they had to be discovered by actual experience. If we can select from among their examples, why can we not apply them successfully? If we were to postpone using steam engines until we had discovered for ourselves the principles of steam, or postpone laying telegraph lines until we had discovered the principles of electricity, the government should by the same token never set to work.

Address on Liberty

Itagaki is known as the foremost apostle of liberty in the Meiji Period, a sort of Japanese Patrick Henry who is remembered especially for his dramatic declaration, just after being stabbed by an assassin, "Itagaki may die, but liberty will never die." It is noteworthy, therefore, that in this address to members of his Liberal Party in 1882, Itagaki should stress liberty as a means to achieving greater national unity, requiring a strong sense of personal responsibility and discipline in the promotion of the public interest. This emphasis upon social responsibility rather than individual freedom probably reflects not only his own samurai origins but also the difficulties he experienced in achieving some sort of party discipline.

[From Itagaki, *Jiyū-tō-shi*, II, 442-48; McLaren, *Japanese Government Documents*, pp. 605-13]

When the country was under the feudal system the people were kept in submission by the military power of their lords and had no voice in their own government. The rulers did not govern with the consent of the common people, and the people did not participate in national affairs. Moreover, the people were like slaves, so they felt remote from the nation and lacked the slightest sense of community among themselves. Even the samurai, though they enjoyed the status of citizens, conceived their sole duty as obedience to the commands of their lords, and ignored all other obligations. Each one harbored a spirit of individuality, and all were lacking in a feeling of community. They were aware of their own personal freedom, but they knew nothing of public freedom. Society within the country was maintained solely by means of the ties between lord and subject, so that if the ties were broken, the total absence of har-

mony among people could not be repaired. Freedom was likely to degenerate into extravagant license and [no one] knew how to bend his personal freedom in order to extend it into public freedom. . . .

Capable men acted despotically; they wished to control others, so they did not allow the others to govern themselves. On the other hand, those who were without power and were ruled by others accepted submission to tyranny as their lot; they cherished the spirit of dependence, and had no will to freedom. Deprived of self-government and self-protection, they wished to depend on others. They joined forces with other men, but knew nothing of enlisting in a cause. The old abuses of our country's tyranny were almost ineradicable. . . .

In the Middle Ages the system of governing divided everyone into two classes, the samurai and the people. The samurai occupied the position of rulers, while the people were the ones whom they ruled. Hereditary tradition creates common custom. Power was vested solely in the rulers, and the samurai made it their business to participate in the affairs of state, so they were well versed in political theory; the people on the other hand accepted being ruled as their lot, and had nothing to do with affairs of state, so they were deficient in political theory. Since this system of government was fostered for so many years, the ignorant masses declined in the knowledge of political theory, and in the end had none at all. Though it has been said that the people of our country never developed political thought, this is true only of the ignorant masses. The political thought of the informed classes developed to a very high level. Truly the difference in the appreciation of politics between our informed and ignorant classes is as wide as the distance between heaven and earth. To maintain balance and harmony between them is most difficult, for as the wise add to their wisdom the foolish progress in their ignorance. . . .

Our national education is of three kinds, Shinto, Confucian, and Buddhist. The first is a relic of the old theocratic rule, and was long of valuable assistance to the ancient sovereign administration. Buddhism is an imported creed, and almost became the state religion, but was always subservient to politics, holding that government and religion have the same end. Confucianism, too, mixed politics and ethics. It laid down a single path both for disciplining oneself and for governing the country, and set forth the doctrine that the government was like a teacher or father and should instruct the people. Thus government and religion have usurped each other's domain and have interfered on the one side

with the private life of the people and on the other with the administration of public affairs, doing injury to both. . . .

In order for our party to organize a constitutional government and perfect the freedom of all, each individual must cast away selfishness and assume a spirit of community. The people must become accustomed to banding together by depending on one another. A nation and its government exist so that all the people may pool their strength and guard their rights. Hence, if a man wishes to enjoy liberty through the protection of his government he must strive to acquire a national liberty. If an individual can live satisfactorily in a state of isolation without caring for the common weal, he may be as selfish and extravagant as he pleases, without sacrificing any of his personal freedom. Nevertheless, people can only enjoy life by mixing with their fellows and depending on the community, and therefore their aim should be to secure civil liberty by making mutual concessions. The extension of national liberty is the means by which individual liberty is perfected and is the basis of social organization. The people of our country are deficient in community spirit; each holds to his own individuality. Their ignorance of the fact that individual liberty has been compromised for the sake of public freedom has caused the perpetuation of despotism. Therefore, the only way to correct this abuse is to give the people the right of participating in government, to move forward in national unity, and to foster the understanding that there is no disparity between public and private benefit. . . .

The aim of our party is to work for self-discipline, not the control of others. Ruling others is easy, but self-control is hard. Everyone prefers ease to hardship, but those who undertake to lead society should leave the easy way to others and take the difficult way for themselves. . . .

If our party wishes to cement its union and vanquish its opponents, each member should suppress his spirit of independence and strengthen mutual confidence. In this way the cause will be furthered without creating factions around individuals. The freedom to which we so earnestly aspire is the principle which pervades Heaven and earth, and not merely a selfish attribute. A party centered around one individual alone is nothing but a private faction, but one that bands together in mutual trust and cooperation around a cause can be called a public party. . . . If each of its members holds firmly to his own principles and the party is unified behind a cause rather than an individual, then even if the individual should die, the cause will live on.

One urgent need of our party is to enlist the strength of the masses. In general, men of intelligence are highly liberal, men of wealth tend toward conservatism, and men of experience value their own opinions. Thus in the people we find many grades of opinion, but as long as their object is identical with our own, we should do our best to draw them to ourselves, caring nothing for minor differences of opinion. For example, even among those who agree that there should be a change in the form of government and that people should be permitted to participate in politics, [there are differences of opinion] as to whether the legislature should have one chamber or two, or whether suffrage should be universal or restricted by property qualifications. The decision of such questions can well be postponed until the form of government has been reconstituted. . . . In Western nations political parties contend with one another, and each one tests its principles thoroughly. Often the intensity of party strife is conducive to party welfare, but this is because these parties are well established and mature. Since our party is newly organized and immature, we must not follow their example. It would be a great mistake for our new, immature party to thrash out its principles thoroughly and thus fall into disputes over trifles. . . .

The object of our union is to institute a form of government wherein the people shall have a voice in public affairs. Public opinion is the axis around which government policy should revolve. On its prosperity or decay depends the prosperity or decay of the government. For its promotion and a simultaneous inauguration of a beneficial policy we must educate the people in politics. The means by which good government and the happiness of the people can be assured is for the governed to control their rulers through the force of public opinion and prevent them from using their power arbitrarily. If those who are governed lack political knowledge and are ignorant of the technique by which public opinion can be made to control their rulers, even a good government and just laws can suddenly degenerate into despotism and oppression, and the people will be deprived of their just benefits.

Good governments depend on good people. Therefore, to reform the government and ensure lasting benefits from it, we should reform the national character and foster good people. We cannot hope for reform of the national character so long as the educated and the ignorant classes are so far apart in their understanding of politics as to lack a feeling of concord with each other. Therefore, our party should help the educated lead

the ignorant and the ignorant to follow the educated onward, and thus spread political understanding and establish the welfare of the people on a sound foundation. . . .

The West has achieved its present enlightened systems of government and constitutions by gradual maturation in accordance with the law of nature. If our country, already of advanced age, wants to overtake the West, it must take a short cut. The hidebound Confucianists are likely to say: "How can one govern a country without first disciplining oneself and putting one's own house in order?" Or: "The enlightenment of the West has come about in accordance with the law of nature. How can our country attain civilization by a short cut?" This is an obstinate way of looking at things. Human affairs are living things and should not be treated as though they were dead. Our party must not adopt such obsolete and uninformed opinions, but must work to increase the speed of national progress and thus overtake the West. . . .

Our party desires a liberal, not an interfering, government. The interference of a government with the private affairs of the people is due to its ignorance of the distinction between politics and religion or between public and personal matters. Government interference means the loss of independence. Our party should discriminate between politics and religion, and oppose government interference with private affairs. Propagation of liberal principles by our party is a public, not a private, venture. Those who agree with us in public matters are good friends of liberty, and, although they may not be in harmony with us in private affairs, we can still be in perfect accord with them otherwise. On the other hand, those who, no matter how intimate they may be with us privately, oppose the cause of liberty, cannot tread the same road with us.

OZAKI YUKIO

Factions and Parties

The significance of the foregoing address by Itagaki to the Liberal Party may be more readily appreciated in the light of these observations on Japanese party politics made later, in 1918, by the veteran progressive leader Ozaki Yukio.

[From Ozaki, *The Voice of Japanese Democracy*, pp. 93-94]

Here in the Orient we have had the conception of a faction; but none of a public party. A political party is an association of people having for its

exclusive object the discussion of public affairs of state and the enforcement of their views thereon. But when political parties are transplanted into the East, they at once partake of the nature of factions, pursuing private and personal interests instead of the interests of the state—as witnessed by the fact of their joining hands by turns with the clan cliques or using the construction of railways, ports and harbors, schools, etc., as means for extending party influence. Besides, the customs and usages of feudal times are so deeply impressed upon the minds of men here that even the idea of political parties, as soon as it enters the brains of our countrymen, germinates and grows according to feudal notions. Such being the case, even political parties, which should be based and dissolved solely on principle and political views, are really affairs of personal connections and sentiments, the relations between the leader and the members of a party being similar to those which subsisted between a feudal lord and his liegemen, or to those between a “boss” of gamblers and his followers in this country. A politician scrupulous enough to join or desert a party for the sake of principle is denounced as a political traitor or renegade. That political faith should be kept not *vis-à-vis* its leader or its officers but *vis-à-vis* its principles and views is not understood. They foolishly think that the proverb “A faithful servant never serves two masters: a chaste wife never sees two husbands” is equally applicable to the members of a political party. In their erroneous opinion, it is a loyal act on the part of a member of a party to change his principles and views in accordance with orders from headquarters, while in the event of headquarters changing their views it is unfaithful to desert them.

ŌKUMA SHIGENOBU

Suggestions to the Emperor, 1881

The proposals below, moderate and inoffensive though they may seem today, marked an important turning point in the history of the Meiji government, since they forced the issue of constitutionalism within the ruling regime. Though Ōkuma was compelled to resign from the government for having pressed his case, he won from the emperor a positive assurance that steps would be taken toward the establishment of representative government.

[From Watanabe, *Ōkuma Shigenobu*, p. 61]

1. That the date of the opening of a national deliberative body be proclaimed.

2. That due regard be given to the wishes of the people in the appointment of prominent ministers of the government.
3. That there be a distinction between offices for party men and offices for career men.
4. That a constitution be instituted at the emperor's direction.
5. That representatives be elected at the end of the 15th year of Meiji [1882], and that a national deliberative body be convened at the beginning of the 16th year [1883].
6. That policies for its administration be determined.

On the Launching of the Progressive Party

This interview was conducted by Fujita Ichirō, a reporter for the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, and published March 18, 1882. Ōkuma had been a member of the government until October of the previous year.

[From Watanabe, *Ōkuma Shigenobu*, pp. 87-88]

Question. On October 18 of last year, Your Excellency informed me that you intended to become a model of those who resigned by imperial command from the Meiji government. You expressed the opinion that no one as yet had left office properly, and you promised to set an example. I recorded your statement and have never forgotten it. Since then I have seen from time to time in the newspapers accounts of your activities, saying variously that you intended to go to Shimōsa and begin a land reclamation project, or that you would travel abroad. Each time I have read such an article I have been pleased, for it showed you still held to the views you expressed to me. However, I have been rather perturbed to read now that you plan to organize a political party. Is this in fact true? If it is true, there is likely to be criticism of Your Excellency. I have also felt obliged to mention it.

Answer. It is quite true that I intend to organize a political party. I did indeed inform you last year that I planned to set an example for those resigning by imperial command from the Meiji government. How could I forget it? I referred by "setting an example" to the proper way of leaving office. When I appeared at the Council of State last year to announce to its members that I was leaving the government, I asked them to remember that whether I was in or out of office my principles would not change. This fact is well known to everyone at court. I should never dream of behaving like Itagaki Taisuke who, barely a few

months after he left the Cabinet over the Korean Expedition, submitted a memorial to the Throne for the establishment of a popularly elected parliament.¹ I left the government over principles, and I shall appeal to the people on those principles. There is nothing improper about such a course. My close observation of recent conditions in Japan convinces me that the formation of political parties and the discussion of political issues must not come to a halt, but must continue to expand from day to day.

Again, the behavior of members of existent political parties cannot but be of grave concern to both of us. They attack anyone belonging to the government—down to the last provincial official or policeman—without examining individual merits. They believe that popular rights are won by opposing the government. The worst such offenders are in the Liberal Party. If left to themselves they will in the end destroy society. Unworthy though I am, I wish to take it upon myself as a private citizen to correct this situation, and by preserving the security of the nation offer my thanks to the emperor. How could it be supposed that I acted as a mere mischief-maker?

To the Members of the Progressive Party

Ōkuma delivered the following address at the founding of the Progressive Party, on March 14, 1882, to explain its purposes. His real forte was public speaking, not writing, and this eloquent statement of his gospel of progress is characteristic of the rhetorical style for which he was famous.

[From Watanabe, *Ōkuma Shigenobu*, pp. 92-95]

The magnificent achievement of the Restoration had as its object the destruction of the monopoly of political power by a few families. Is it not the true function of our government to pursue this original concept to its ultimate realization by exerting itself on behalf of the dignity and prosperity of the Imperial Household and the happiness of the entire people? Nay, is it not incumbent on the Meiji government to encourage the whole nation to work as one man for these ends? But have the various cabinet ministers in fact the moral qualities to achieve this? Have they

¹ Ōkuma implies here that Itagaki is opportunistic; that he did nothing to help the establishment of a deliberative assembly while in the government and in a position to do so. Ōkuma also suggests the impropriety, for one who had had intimate knowledge of the studies and deliberations conducted within the government on this question, of making political capital out of it through a widely publicized memorial.

been performing their duties as they should? The discerning people of the nation surely know the true state of affairs.

I was one of those who labored in support of the glorious work of the Restoration in order that the monopoly of the political power of the empire by the few families might be destroyed, and I do not imagine that my adherence to these principles will change in the future. Nay, I hope always to work with an ever firmer resolve for the achievement of the glorious work of the Restoration; for the laying of a foundation for our empire which will last through all eternity; and for the everlasting preservation of the dignity and prosperity of the Imperial Household and the happiness of the people.

There are some who, though they style themselves the party of "respect for the Emperor" and wear the trappings of that virtue, actually seek mainly to establish a few families as the bulwark of the Imperial Household or else to protect the Imperial Household with troops. The extremists of this group would push the sovereign to the very forefront, and make him bear directly the brunt of the administration. They would by their support of the Imperial Household place it in a position of danger.

Is it actually possible to promote the dignity and prosperity of the Imperial Household by such means? No, it is not possible to promote the dignity and prosperity of the Imperial Household by such means. Even if it were possible, the prosperity would be transitory, and such fleeting glory could not satisfy me. I need hardly say that a way does exist for preserving the dignity and prosperity of the Imperial Household, and that rules exist which would ensure that the entire nation enjoy happiness. If this way and these rules are not discovered, we may wish for the one and hope for the other result, but we will never obtain either. Gentlemen, if any among you do not desire that our party reform the government and lead it forward, that it preserve the everlasting dignity and prosperity of the Imperial Household and seek the realization of the eternal happiness of the people, I do not wish to travel farther with you. The chains which bound us within our country have been sundered and will not be fastened again. The tides of progress from abroad reach us unhindered, and their strength is enormous. Today, when public opinion is universally inclined to progress, any attempt to run counter to this trend should be dismissed with scorn. Indeed, an examination of natural prin-

ciples shows that reform and progress are the invariable law of all creation. Consider any objects, whatever their species, and you will see that not one but advances from crude to refined, and from coarse to pure; each improves without cease from day to day, and progresses from month to month. To resist these forces stubbornly or to attempt to oppose the grand scheme of Nature is surely a mistake. . . .

Ever since the early days of the Meiji Era I have considered political reform to be my personal responsibility. I participated in the administration of the Restoration government and, as far as my feeble powers permitted, I worked for reform and progress. My greatest regret is that I have not been able fully to satisfy my own hopes, and that I have accordingly disappointed you gentlemen frequently in yours. However, the course of our empire is at last pointed in the direction of progress. . . . Political reform and progress is the unanimous wish of our party and has ever been my abiding purpose. It must, however, be achieved by sound and proper means. . . . Some, the spiritual descendants of Rousseau,² would seek to arrive by direct action at their ultimate objectives, but such endeavors would upset the social order and end by actually impeding political reform. Our party entertains no such desire. We seek political reform and progress by sound and proper means, and hope to reach our objectives step by step. Because we desire reform and progress by such means, if any among you follow Rousseau and would re-enact the violent drama of the Jacobins in the hope of achieving precipitous changes, I reject your support and have no wish to travel farther with you. And while I am emphatic in my rejection of precipitous changes, I feel it is important to distinguish our party from those which mask their real conservatism by pretending to stand for gradual progress.

Our party is the party which stands for political progress. We wish to effect by sound and proper means political reform and progress as complete as possible. We differ categorically from those parties which fail to act when the occasion demands it, and which under the guise of working for gradual progress seek private advantage through deliberate procrastination.

Party Politics and Public Opinion

The following has a historical as well as a political interest: it was the first recording made of a speech by a modern Japanese leader for the purpose of

² Itagaki and his followers.

wider public consumption. When the suggestion was made to him by his supporters, he at first questioned the rectitude of using such a method to reach a larger audience, remarking, "It is like acting!" Later, however, he acceded and the recording was made on March 2, 1915, while Ōkuma was Premier.

Ōkuma's warning of the dangers that lie ahead if public opinion is not exerted to clean up party politics, almost prophesies the fate of party government in the 1920s and '30s.

[From *Ōkuma kō hachijūgonen-shi*, III, 234-36]

The rights and duties given to the people by the Constitution are of great importance. The Constitution itself is the basis whereon our nation is built. And the rights of the people as subjects, that is, the duties of the people given by the Constitution, are a matter of vital importance. Among them, the most important is that of participating in elections. The complaints we hear today throughout the country about high taxes and the maladministration of government are like those of the servile people of the autocratic period. Under the Constitution nothing is performed—including the collection and spending of taxes, the prescription of the rights and duties of the people, and the making of all laws—without the approval of the Diet. . . . Remember that His Majesty, the Emperor Meiji, handed over to the people an extremely important key. What foolishness it is to allow this priceless key, which controls the state and which influences legislation, to be stolen by mean, vulgar, and designing men, who bring misfortune upon the people and cause endless complaints. Yet these misfortunes are retribution for the people's own errors, for their own lack of self-respect. Why do they not value their rights more? . . .

Now the allied powers of England, France, and Russia are engaged in war against the great power of Germany. Our empire is in the process of effecting a great change in the present world situation. Without a doubt our empire is advancing toward the attainment of a status of parity with the most civilized nations of the world. What foolishness it is, at such a time, to engage in petty quarrels based on political partisanship in our internal relations and in financial matters, as well as on the question of national defense and in other matters of government. There is a need to mobilize the great power of public opinion against such practices and to crush them. The unquestionable fact of the evils of all of our political parties to date—despite their disavowals—is present everywhere. This should be the reason, on the eve of the election, to move the people to a firm resolve. It is my hope that the power of public opinion will make its

influence felt. It is my faith that if the people arouse themselves and resolve to carry out their sacred obligation to the state the elections will prove very effective. Japan is now at a turning point. If Japan errs in her steps, such important matters as her national destiny, her honor and her reputation, would be affected. This I believe is a matter to which our people must give serious thought. In this connection I recognize the great power of public opinion. It is my faith that the power of public opinion controls the destiny of our country.

Education—A Pluralistic View

In contrast to Itō, who was closely identified with the state-supported Imperial University of Tokyo and provided its graduates with a virtual monopoly of bureaucratic posts, Ōkuma was a vigorous exponent of independent educational institutions. In 1882, after his withdrawal from the government, he helped to found Waseda University and later gave this speech during a fund-raising campaign in January 1901.

[From *Ōkuma kō hachijūgonen-shi*, II, 547]

Although the State expends a great deal of effort for common education, it is extremely doubtful whether it is beneficial to carry out higher education in state-maintained institutions. The State has the power to do so, but there are times when the aims of the State are actually those of the government in power and they are not truly representative of the aims of the people. There may also be times when the aims of the State are in error.

If a state is the creation of an aggregation of people, it is difficult to maintain that it will not on occasion fall into error. Thus, I feel that all kinds of schools are necessary—governmental, public, and private. And as they vie with each other in their search for truth, they will illuminate the truth and will in the end bring forth new doctrines. It is my belief that Waseda University will develop to a greater or lesser degree its own characteristics in comparison with the Imperial University and other institutions and will, in the competition for study and research, exert a wholesome influence over education in general.

Citizenship in the New World

On October 17, 1913, the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of Waseda University, Ōkuma set forth his conception of the educated man, combining

the intellectual independence and practical knowledge of the West with the social virtues of Confucianism.

[From *Ōkuma kō hachijūgonen-shi*, III, 426-29]

The true aims of education of Waseda University are the realization of the independence of study, the practical application of study, and the cultivation of model citizens. As Waseda University considers independence of study its true aim, it has emphasized freedom of investigation and originality of research with the hope that it might contribute to the world's scholarship. As the practical application of study is also one of Waseda University's aims, it has taught, along with the study of theory for its own sake, ways to apply theory in practice. It hopes thereby to contribute to progress. As the making of model citizens is also an aim of Waseda University, it expects to cultivate good, loyal subjects of our constitutional empire who will be self-respecting, promote the welfare of their own families, prove useful to state and society, and who will participate widely in world affairs.

This requires an explanation. The civilization of the world never remains stationary. It progresses from day to day. All the ideas and sentiments and all the social conditions of the world are undergoing change from day to day and month to month. To build a state and to form a society at such a time, or to establish university education for the betterment of this state and society, there must be a great ideal. Japan today stands at the point of contact between the civilizations of the East and the West. Our great ideal lies in effecting the harmony of these civilizations and in raising the civilization of the Orient to the high level of that of the Occident so that the two might co-exist in harmony. We must strive toward the realization of this ideal. In order to realize it we must, first of all, make our principal aim independence of study and the application thereof; we must strive to prosecute original research and then practically apply the results of such studies. Those who would engage in such a pursuit must respect their own individuality, strive for the welfare of their own families, work for the benefit of their state and society, and participate in world affairs. This, in effect, is the model citizen.

In general there are not many students who can go to college. They constitute a minority. It is this small minority of students who set the example for the nation at large. They are the leaders of the nation. They are the strength of the nation. They form the foundation for the steady

progress of the nation. They are the ones who become the vanguards of civilizing enterprises. In order to become a model citizen, knowledge alone is not sufficient; the building of a moral personality is necessary. And he must aspire to make a contribution not only to himself, his family, and his nation, but also to the world. If I may explain this in terms of an ancient Chinese expression, it is "the cultivation of the personality, regulating of the family, ordering of the country, achieving of peace in the world."¹ To plan for the peace of the world we must stabilize our country first. According to present usage, the term "nation" has two parts. The one is the state, the other is society. If society does not develop in an orderly way, the nation cannot be stable. And at the very root of this relationship is the family. The family is the basis of the state. Morality and ethics find their source in family life. Customs of behavior also spring from the family. Thus, the fundamental principle of education must be the cultivation of character. Man becomes self-seeking if he strives only to acquire specialized knowledge and ignores what I have said above. Moreover, the spirit of self-sacrifice among men for their country and for the world will gradually decline. This would be deplorable. It will be the curse of civilization. To avoid this curse and to acquire the benefits of civilization is the responsibility of the model citizen. This is the essence of Waseda University's basic principles of education.

Conclusion to *Fifty Years of New Japan* 1907-8

[From Ōkuma, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Vol. II, pp. 554-55, 571-72]

By comparing the Japan of fifty years ago with the Japan of today, it will be seen that she has gained considerably in the extent of her territory, as well as in her population, which now numbers nearly fifty million. Her government has become constitutional not only in name, but in fact, and her national education has attained to a high degree of excellence. In commerce and industry, the emblems of peace, she has also made rapid strides, until her import and export trades together amounted in 1907 to the enormous sum of 926,000,000 *yen* (£94,877,000), an increase of 84,000,000 *yen* (£8,606,000) on the previous year. Her general progress, during the short space of half a century, has been so sudden and swift

¹ From the Confucian classic, *Great Learning*.

that it presents a spectacle rare in the history of the world. This leap forward is the result of the stimulus which the country received on coming into contact with the civilization of Europe and America, and may well, in its broad sense, be regarded as a boon conferred by foreign intercourse. Foreign intercourse it was that animated the national consciousness of our people, who under the feudal system lived localized and disunited, and foreign intercourse it is that has enabled Japan to stand up as a world power. We possess today a powerful army and navy, but it was after Western models that we laid their foundations by establishing a system of conscription in pursuance of the principle "all our sons are soldiers," by promoting military education, and by encouraging the manufacture of arms and the art of ship building. We have reorganized the systems of central and local administration, and effected reforms in the educational system of the empire. All this is nothing but the result of adopting the superior features of Western institutions. That Japan has been enabled to do so is a boon conferred on her by foreign intercourse, and it may be said that the nation has succeeded in this grand metamorphosis through the promptings and the influence of foreign civilization. . . .

In the foregoing pages frequent references have been made to the susceptibility of the Japanese to the influences of foreign civilization. If Japan has been endowed from the earliest days with this peculiarly sensitive faculty, she is gifted also with a strong retentive power which enables her to preserve and retain all that is good in and about herself. For twenty centuries the nation has drunk freely of the civilizations of Korea, China, and India, being always open to the different influences impressed on her in succession. Yet we remain today politically unaltered under one Imperial House and sovereign, that has descended in an unbroken line for a length of time absolutely unexampled in the world. This fact furnishes at least an incontestable proof that the Japanese are not a race of people who, inconstant and capricious, are given to loving all that is new and curious, always running after passing fashions. They have welcomed Occidental civilization while preserving their old Oriental civilization. They have attached great importance to *bushidō*, and at the same time held in the highest respect the spirit of charity and humanity. They have ever made a point of choosing the middle course in everything, and have aimed at being always well balanced. To keep exclusively in one

direction, or to run to extremes, or to look forward only without looking backward, or to remember one side of a thing, forgetting the other, is not a characteristic of our people. We are conservative simultaneously with being progressive; we are aristocratic and at the same time democratic; we are individualistic while being also socialistic. In these respects we may be said to somewhat resemble the Anglo-Saxon race.

YAMAGATA AND THE ARMY

Of the so-called Big Three of the Meiji Era, Itō was usually identified in the popular mind with the Constitution, Ōkuma with "public opinion," and Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922) with the Army. Among them Yamagata also most conspicuously represented the forces of traditionalism. Yet just as the progressive Ōkuma stopped well short of a complete break with the past, so even Yamagata, stern and redoubtable samurai though he was, had one foot set squarely in the modern world. Like his fellow oligarchs, too, the soldier Yamagata shared in those eminently political virtues of moderation and conciliation, without which the collaboration of such divergent elements in the Meiji government would have quickly been disrupted. It is understandable, despite his reputation as an arch-reactionary and militarist, that some of the most hot-blooded nationalists and expansionists of the next generation should have written Yamagata off as just another compromising and conniving bureaucrat. But it was an ironic fate for one known in his youth as "The Wild One" and later by the pen-name "Pure Madness."

A Chōshū man, like Kido and Itō he had studied under Yoshida Shōin. As if Shōin's example of self-sacrifice were not inspiration enough, Yamagata also had that of his grandmother: after bringing the orphaned boy up from the age of five, she is said to have committed suicide lest he be more concerned for her welfare than for his patriotic duties. Having mastered the traditional military arts of Japan, Yamagata helped to organize some of the "grass-roots heroes" Shōin had spoken of into an auxiliary force, drawn from all classes, to aid in the defense of his fief against the expected Western attack. Later in the disastrous engagement at Shimonoseki with naval forces of the Western powers, Yamagata made two vital discoveries: first, that his peasant lads were at least the equals

of the samurai in combat; and second, that fighting spirit was no substitute for modern arms. These were lessons he did not forget when later, by distinguishing himself in the field against the forces of the shogunate, he rose high in the councils of the Restoration regime. At the earliest opportunity Yamagata set off on a world tour to study the military organization of the most advanced powers, and on his return took a leading part in the establishment of the new conscription system. The value of this conscript army was fully demonstrated by its victory, under Yamagata's command, over the samurai rebels of Satsuma's Saigō Takamori. Thereafter the triumphant warrior went on to achieve not only the highest military honors—Army Minister, Chief of the General Staff, Field Marshal—but the heights of political power as well. Twice Home Minister, twice Premier, three times President of the Privy Council, and finally a Prince of the new titular aristocracy, Yamagata became, after Itō's assassination, the senior elder statesman and adviser to the Throne. Like Ōkuma, too, he had able protégés to perpetuate his influence well after his death in 1922.

For the modern reader it may be difficult to appreciate how radical an innovator Yamagata's introduction of conscription in 1872 made him. What we take for granted as an almost inevitable part of national defense was for Japan at that time not only a striking change in the military establishment but a virtual social revolution. The samurai, who for centuries had guarded jealously their right to bear arms, found the sharing of this privilege with the lower classes as hard a blow to their pride and morale as the loss of their traditional pensions was to their livelihood. Yamagata, however, saw it as a gain rather than a loss, even in samurai terms. To him it was not a question of the old aristocracy being reduced to the level of the peasantry, but of the peasant being raised to the dignity of the samurai. Thenceforward every citizen would be expected to meet the rigorous standards and fulfill the high ideals of the old warrior caste.

We may more readily understand, then, Yamagata's interest in other aspects of Meiji policy than the strictly military. The samurai had been distinguished both by his military functions and by his prerogatives as a member of an elite ruling class. Justice required, then, that the new citizen-conscript likewise enjoy a participation in government in return for his military service. Just as the idea of a "social contract" in modern Europe had echoed the feudal contract of medieval times, so in Yama-

gata's mind arose the notion that the granting of local self-rule, though on a limited scale, would be a fitting means of sharing power in return for service to the Throne. Accordingly he took an active part in planning and inaugurating a system of local self-government in 1888.

Also deriving from Yamagata's conception of the citizen-samurai was his deep interest in education. This was expressed in part by the issuance of the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors in 1882, setting forth the traditional ethical precepts, essentially Confucian in character, that had governed the conduct of the samurai and should now guide their modern successors. Even wider application was given to this idea in the Imperial Rescript on Education (reproduced in an earlier section), which was promulgated while Yamagata was Premier in 1890 and served to establish traditional moral training as the basis of public school education.

Yamagata was a firm believer in constitutional government, but had his own understanding of it. To him it meant ruling in strict accordance with established law and precedent—consistent and well-ordered administration as contrasted to the arbitrary or capricious rule he associated with popular sovereignty. His opinion of parliamentary institutions was low, and party politics, marked by factional strife and corrupt dealings, seemed to him the very antithesis of impartial and stable government. (During his first ministry Yamagata seems to have agreed reluctantly to the buying of Diet votes by his lieutenants, but the bad aftertaste of such dealings only confirmed his detestation of party politics.) Above all, Yamagata was determined that the deleterious effects of the party system should not extend to the military establishment. In the framing of the Constitution and the promulgation of imperial ordinances which followed, his influence was exerted to keep the armed services under the direct command of the emperor and largely independent of the civil administration. Finally, recognizing the steady rise in power of the parties after the turn of the century, he gave his support to a kind of third party which he hoped would rise above politics and exert a steadying and restraining influence upon the Diet.

Thus, as the years passed restraint and the avoidance of ill-considered action became more and more the guiding principles of Yamagata. Indeed it is this very sense of realism and caution which distinguishes him sharply from the militarists of later decades, who had never experienced, as he did early in life, the sobering effects of overwhelming defeat at

Shimonoseki. In foreign policy his overriding concern was that Japan be able to maintain her independence and yet not be forced to stand alone against the world. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 he supported vigorously. Fearful in his later years of an impending racial struggle between East and West, Yamagata also urged that the friendship of the United States and Russia be cultivated so as to prevent the coalescing of the Western powers against an isolated Japan. For the same reason the friendship and support of China seemed to him indispensable. Ironically, when the famous Twenty-One Demands were thrust at China by a party government under Ōkuma, it was Yamagata who argued that force would fail and a more conciliatory policy should be pursued.

Insight born of experience and the self-restraint of the samurai were manifested in another, perhaps unexpected, side of Yamagata's life and character—his love of poetry. From the early days of his travels through Europe to his last years as an elder statesman, this creative discipline revealed in Yamagata a depth of feeling and sensibility which did credit to the traditional Japanese ideal of the warrior who was a man of culture as well. In the classic 31-syllable form, which required the utmost in precision and restraint of expression, he recorded the experiences of a lifetime. One such poem recalls the tragic end of fiery Saigō Takamori and the powerful emotions his young antagonist must have held back when gazing at the heights on which the hero of the Restoration gave his life:

Kidomeyama shiramu toride no	Kidome heights looked white
Sutekagari kemuru to mireba	As if from the smoke of campfires.
Sakura narikeri.	But then I saw
	It was the cherry blossoms. ¹

YAMAGATA ARITOMO

Military Conscription Ordinance

Although there were several proponents of universal military conscription, among them Ōmura Masujirō, it was Yamagata who was chiefly instrumental in its establishment in 1872. The following is the Official Notice or Instructions issued together with the imperial decree promulgating the conscription system on November 28, 1872. Though issued in the name of the Council of State, it is believed to embody largely the views of Yamagata.

[From Tokutomi, *Kōshaku Yamagata Aritomo den*, II, 194-96]

¹ Symbols of the evanescence of life, as well as of Spring.

In the system in effect in our country in the ancient past everyone was a soldier. In an emergency the emperor became the Marshal, mobilizing the able-bodied youth for military service and thereby suppressing rebellion. When the campaign was over the men returned to their homes and their occupations, whether that of farmer, artisan, or merchant. They differed from the soldiers of a later period who carried two swords and called themselves warriors, living presumptuously without working, and in extreme instances cutting down people in cold blood while officials turned their faces.

Following the appointment of Uzuhiko as Governor of Katsuragi by Emperor Jimmu, military contingents were established as were the systems of imperial guards and coast guards. During the Jinki [724-28] and Tempyō [729-49] eras the system of Six Headquarters and Two Military Outposts was established for the first time. Following the Hōgen [1156-58] and Heiji [1159-60] eras, the court became lax, and military control passed into the hands of the warrior class. Feudal conditions spread throughout the country, and there appeared among the people a distinction between the farmer and the soldier. Still later, the distinction between the ruler and the ruled collapsed, giving rise to indescribable evils. Then came the great Restoration of the government. All feudatories returned their fiefs to the Throne, and in 1871 the old prefectural system was restored. On the one hand, warriors who lived without labor for generations have had their stipends reduced and have been stripped of their swords; on the other hand, the four classes of the people are about to receive their right to freedom. This is the way to restore the balance between the high and the low and to grant equal rights to all. It is, in short, the basis of uniting the farmer and the soldier into one. Thus, the soldier is not the soldier of former days. The people are not the people of former days. They are now equally the people of the empire, and there is no distinction between them in their obligations to the State.

No one in the world is exempt from taxation with which the state defrays its expenditures. In this way, everyone should endeavor to repay one's country. The Occidentals call military obligation "blood tax," for it is one's repayment in life-blood to one's country. When the State suffers disaster, the people cannot escape being affected. Thus, the people can ward off disaster to themselves by striving to ward off disaster to the State. And where there is a state, there is military defense;

and if there is military defense there must be military service. It follows, therefore, that the law providing for a militia is the law of nature and not an accidental, man-made law. As for the system itself, it should be made after a survey of the past and the present, and adapted to the time and circumstance. The Occidental countries established their military systems after several hundred years of study and experience. Thus, their regulations are exact and detailed. However, the difference in geography rules out their wholesale adoption here. We should now select only what is good in them, use them to supplement our traditional military system, establish an army and a navy, require all males who attain the age of twenty—irrespective of class—to register for military service, and have them in readiness for all emergencies. Heads of communities and chiefs of villages should keep this aim in mind and they should instruct the people so that they will understand the fundamental principle of national defense.

Imperial Precepts to Soldiers and Sailors, 1882

This rescript, formally accepted from the emperor by Yamagata in behalf of the army, expresses the latter's own views on moral guidance for the conscripts of the modernized armed forces. Note especially the cautious tone. It is not fanatic bravery so much as prudence, self-control, and disciplined loyalty that constitute the martial virtues.

After recalling the imperial ancestors' supreme command of a unified military organization, and the subsequent usurpation of this power in the feudal period, the rescript continues:

[From *Imperial Precepts*, pp. 3-14]

When in youth We succeeded to the Imperial Throne, the shōgun returned into Our hands the administrative power, and all the feudal lords their fiefs; thus, in a few years, Our entire realm was unified and the ancient regime restored. Due as this was to the meritorious services of Our loyal officers and wise councillors, civil and military, and to the abiding influence of Our Ancestors' benevolence towards the people, yet it must also be attributed to Our subjects' true sense of loyalty and their conviction of the importance of "Great Righteousness."¹ . . . Soldiers and Sailors, We are your supreme Commander-in-Chief. Our relations with you will be most intimate when We rely upon you as Our limbs and

¹ Or "the highest duty" (*taigi*) as earlier stressed by Yamaga Sokō.

you look up to Us as your head. Whether We are able to guard the Empire, and so prove Ourselves worthy of Heaven's blessings and repay the benevolence of Our Ancestors, depends upon the faithful discharge of your duties as soldiers and sailors. If the majesty and power of Our Empire be impaired, do you share with Us the sorrow; if the glory of Our arms shine resplendent, We will share with you the honor. If you all do your duty, and being one with Us in spirit do your utmost for the protection of the state, Our people will long enjoy the blessings of peace, and the might and dignity of Our Empire will shine in the world. As We thus expect much of you, Soldiers and Sailors, We give you the following precepts:

1. The soldier and sailor should consider loyalty their essential duty. Who that is born in this land can be wanting in the spirit of grateful service to it? No soldier or sailor, especially, can be considered efficient unless this spirit be strong within him. A soldier or a sailor in whom this spirit is not strong, however skilled in art or proficient in science, is a mere puppet; and a body of soldiers or sailors wanting in loyalty, however well ordered and disciplined it may be, is in an emergency no better than a rabble. Remember that, as the protection of the state and the maintenance of its power depend upon the strength of its arms, the growth or decline of this strength must affect the nation's destiny for good or for evil; therefore neither be led astray by current opinions nor meddle in politics, but with single heart fulfil your essential duty of loyalty, and bear in mind that duty is weightier than a mountain, while death is lighter than a feather. Never by failing in moral principle fall into disgrace and bring dishonor upon your name.

The second article concerns the respect due to superiors and consideration to be shown inferiors.

3. The soldier and the sailor should esteem valor. . . . To be incited by mere impetuosity to violent action cannot be called true valor. The soldier and the sailor should have sound discrimination of right and wrong, cultivate self-possession, and form their plans with deliberation. Never to despise an inferior enemy or fear a superior, but to do one's duty as soldier or sailor—this is true valor. Those who thus appreciate true valor should in their daily intercourse set gentleness first and aim

to win the love and esteem of others. If you affect valor and act with violence, the world will in the end detest you and look upon you as wild beasts. Of this you should take heed.

4. The soldier and the sailor should highly value faithfulness and righteousness. . . . Faithfulness implies the keeping of one's word, and righteousness the fulfilment of one's duty. If then you wish to be faithful and righteous in any thing, you must carefully consider at the outset whether you can accomplish it or not. If you thoughtlessly agree to do something that is vague in its nature and bind yourself to unwise obligations, and then try to prove yourself faithful and righteous, you may find yourself in great straits from which there is no escape. . . . Ever since ancient times there have been repeated instances of great men and heroes who, overwhelmed by misfortune, have perished and left a tarnished name to posterity, simply because in their effort to be faithful in small matters they failed to discern right and wrong with reference to fundamental principles, or because, losing sight of the true path of public duty, they kept faith in private relations. You should, then, take serious warning by these examples.

5. The soldier and sailor should make simplicity their aim. If you do not make simplicity your aim, you will become effeminate and frivolous and acquire fondness for luxurious and extravagant ways; you will finally grow selfish and sordid and sink to the last degree of baseness, so that neither loyalty nor valor will avail to save you from the contempt of the world.

These five articles should not be disregarded even for a moment by soldiers and sailors. Now for putting them into practice, the all important thing is sincerity. These five articles are the soul of Our soldiers and sailors, and sincerity is the soul of these articles. If the heart be not sincere, words and deeds, however good, are all mere outward show and can avail nothing. If only the heart be sincere, anything can be accomplished. Moreover these five articles are the "Grand Way" of Heaven and earth and the universal law of humanity, easy to observe and to practice. If you, Soldiers and Sailors, in obedience to Our instruction, will observe and practice these principles and fulfil your duty of grateful service to the country, it will be a source of joy, not to Ourselves alone, but to all the people of Japan.

Local Self-Government

Yamagata, who is remembered chiefly for his contributions to Japan's military development, also had a large part in initiating local self-rule in 1887. For him it was not difficult to reconcile a strong military organization, established primarily for national defense, with a system of local autonomy; the latter was owed to the citizen by the government for the military service which the citizen owed to the state. He saw this as the primary training ground of the people in their new political responsibilities, and as a means of preserving the local echelons of administration from the divisive effects of party politics on the national level. Otherwise politics threatened to become a sort of tyranny, subordinating all other considerations in life to the drive for partisan advantage. This excerpt is from an address to a conference of local officials on February 13, 1890, when Yamagata was Home Minister.

[From Tokutomi, *Kōshaku Yamagata Aritomo den*, II, 1097-1103]

I sense, first of all, many evils in the actual administration of the system of city, town and village governments. In the organizational scheme of the nation, the city, town, and village constitute the lowest body; but being at the base of the administrative scheme, they constitute the very foundation of the state. The city, town and village regulations are intended to let these bodies administer their own affairs within the limits prescribed by law. Thus, if sound self-governing bodies are established, the spirit of self-rule developed, and the people of the cities, towns and villages given experience in public administration so that they might gradually acquire the ability to assume the nation's duties, then the fundamental basis of constitutional government will have been laid and the foundation of the nation will have been strengthened. A sound administrative system for the city, town and village—one which will steer a middle course and produce good results—will not be affected by the political upheavals of the central government. It will retain its middle course in the midst of party strife and avoid the evils of administrative practice. Thus, the nation can expect to return to a more prosperous state of affairs.

If, on the contrary, there are mistakes in the administration of local government, then the system of self-rule becomes the instrument for party rivalry, and the people of the city, town, and village will be thrown into confusion. If, actually, the situation should fall into such a state of affairs, it would be impossible to promote the well-being of the

state and to reap the benefits of constitutional government. In this way, the results of the actual administration of the system of city, town, and village government is closely related to the lasting interests and fortunes of the nation. We must be conscientious in this regard. According to what I have heard, discord between political parties has gradually extended into every aspect of community life. Hardly a person in social, business, and economic relations, and in education, has remained untouched by this situation. . . . There are some people who abandon what they should be doing and expend both time and effort in unproductive political debate, and some who, losing their sense of purpose, even run afoul of the law. These evils are spreading their influence, morally, economically, and politically, throughout the country. They will impair the people's happiness and exert a harmful effect on the prosperity of the nation. In general, if a new government, in the course of its establishment, is abused for reasons of personal interests, the results could be extremely harmful. They could affect the strength and the cohesion of the entire people and become the cause of the decline of the nation. The history of our country and that of other countries provides many such examples in every age. The people, if they wish to prevent the growth of such evil influences, must regard at all times the unified endeavor of all as their highest aim. And the responsibility of those in a position to guide the people must be to apply themselves as administrators of the government to this ideal.

His Majesty the Emperor has granted the constitutional system to his ministers and subjects for the purpose of elevating their morals and of promoting their happiness. By virtue of this constitution ministers and subjects have been enabled to gain a higher degree of freedom and to improve their lot in life so that they can stand on an equal footing with peoples of other civilized nations. But if, unfortunately, we should err—however little—in putting this constitutional system into operation, we the people will have lost our position of honor. And thus, today, the duty of a loyal subject is to cultivate true constitutional liberty and to enjoy its benefits in peace.

If men lack self-respect and self-restraint, there cannot be freedom in its true sense. One who respects himself will of necessity respect others. One who wishes others to respect his own opinions must respect the views of others. There is no logic in the position that only one's own

opinions are correct. Irrespective of place, diverse opinions are inevitable when the interests of people are not the same. Thus, we must make every effort to tolerate the views of others and to resolve differences mutually. If this is not done contention will not cease. The constitutional system is an instrument for the adjustment of diverse views: the use of force and violence will not only fail to eradicate differences in viewpoints but will also aggravate them.

Political problems do not encompass the entire field of human interests. The people who might entertain different political views very frequently hold mutually identical views in religious and moral matters, and in matters of personal and social relations. It is not the way of a loyal, trustworthy man to set aside his religious, moral, personal, and social relationships in the sole interest of politics. Thus, to promote party rivalry to extremes is a human misfortune. Nay, to resort to violence and to use obstructionist methods against an opponent to promote one's political position is to permit personal passions to enslave him. It is against the principle of the observance of the law. It is against the spirit of the constitutional system.

It is especially undesirable that one abandon his occupational pursuit for the sake of a political cause. It is against his own interest as well as that of society as a whole. The economic strength of a country is dependent mainly on productive labor. Thus, it is not the way of the good citizen to indulge in needless arguments to the neglect of his calling. Not only will he thus fail to add his bit to the national wealth but he will also fail to induce others to develop industrious habits of self-reliance.

On the Unity of the Cabinet

A strong sense of unity, joint responsibility, and loyalty to the Throne had enabled the early Meiji oligarchy to provide strong leadership in modernizing the country. Ōkuma's ouster from the government in 1881 had resulted from an alleged breach of the strict, unwritten code governing the conduct of its members. With the inauguration of constitutional government, however, the unity of the cabinet was seriously affected by party politics, as during the Kuroda ministry in 1888-89. The situation prompted Yamagata to present the following memorial to the Throne.

[From Tokutomi, *Kōshaku Yamagata Aritomo den*, II, 1093-95]

To have a sense of personal responsibility is a constitutional obligation of members of the cabinet. Constitutionally, a minister's opinion may be acceptable, but it is his obligation to the Throne not to publicize his personal views to the Diet or to the people without the express sanction of the sovereign. Once a minister disregards this rule, he has, legally and morally, forfeited his right to his office. It is fundamental in the organization of the cabinet to have unity and accord. The individual members of the cabinet, notwithstanding minor differences of opinion among themselves, must spare no effort to be united in their public announcements and enactments of the government. To maintain this unity of the cabinet, secrecy of cabinet activities must be strictly observed. Although a constitutional government should be open and above board, and the activities of the Diet should be open and public, the deliberations of the cabinet must be secret so that the individual views of its members will not leak to the public to become the cause of public debate. A member of the cabinet may tender his resignation over the refusal of the sovereign to approve his views or over his inability to obtain the support of the majority of his colleagues for his views. But even so, it is the obligation of men in politics to maintain silence for some time on matters and events which transpire during their tenure. This is a moral responsibility of cabinet ministers. Such a practice of constitutional ethics must be cultivated at the very outset. If it is not done, it will be a hundred years before the evil is eradicated. If we do not firmly establish this ethical practice of cabinet members now—which is essential to constitutional government—its consequences will affect the Diet and the public, and the government will become the scene of political opportunism and tactical maneuvering for power and advantage. The future will suffer the consequences of an incurable disease. Your ministers, conscious of this fact, and out of a deep concern for the future, have each pledged their conscience to work together for the unity of the cabinet. I implore Your Majesty's attention.

Yamagata's Political Faith

Yamagata's answer to the divisive effects of a two-party system was the creation of a kind of "third force" on the Right. It was not intended to operate as a vote-getting machine, but as an acknowledged minority of men of high

integrity and unquestioned patriotism, who would serve as the conscience of the Diet and a counterweight to the rival parties. In effect Yamagata hoped by this means to perpetuate the same sort of highly motivated, self-sacrificing leadership which had successfully guided the Restoration. His views are contained in an essay dated February 18, 1917, found among the papers of a former secretary of the Privy Council. Earlier in June 1898, he had proposed the creation of a Loyalist Party for the same purpose.

[From Takahashi, *San-kō Iretsu*, pp. 139-41]

Recently the evils of party strife have become increasingly acute. Even the great and unprecedented World War has become, in relation to this struggle for political advantage, like a fire on the far side of the river. Hardly a thought is given to the question of the fate of our neighbor China which is fraught with danger so far as the Far East is concerned. The parties seem smugly unconcerned over the danger to our country of having to stand alone and without support in the future among the powers of the world. The evils of partisan politics are indeed deplorable. If this trend is permitted to develop unchecked, I fear that the spirit of the Meiji Restoration will die and the splendid achievements of the late emperor will soon come to naught. The actual situation with respect to political parties in our country today indicates that when one party is excessively strong in Parliament, that party becomes reckless and arbitrary. When two parties are evenly matched, the struggle between them becomes extremely violent. Thus, to eliminate arbitrary actions and violent political struggles, it would seem advisable to divide their strength and to have them restrain each other mutually. I have faith in a plan to establish a three-party system in the Diet which would eliminate excesses and help foster moderation. If the third party is organized by men who are impartial and moderate, and possessed of intelligence and a sincere concern for the well-being of the country, it is my belief that it can make a contribution to the state toward the achievement of constitutional government, and it will set an example to others. At present there are two parties—the Kensei-kai and the Seiyū-kai—which are evenly balanced. We must organize a group consisting of fair and intelligent men who will stand between the two existing parties and be partial to neither; who can check party excesses and irregularities; who can restrain the ambitions of those who seek to satisfy their avarice or their desire for political power through the instrument of the party; who can

transcend the common run of politicians for whom politics is a means of livelihood; and who can go forward, resolutely and firmly, with but the one thought in mind of service to the state. Only by the conduct of a central core of such men who would not be corrupted by thoughts of personal gain or fame, and only by having as a nucleus in the Diet men who would not falter in their public devotion, can the secret of true constitutional government be achieved.

The greater the number of such representatives we can gather, the better it will be. However, the number of such men, both economically established and patriotically inclined, need not be numerous. Only a sufficient number capable of standing between the two large parties and of checking their excesses is necessary. The immediate need is to find someone who would take it upon himself to rally such people together. So long as he is a man of true devotion to the country, it matters not whether he is a farmer, craftsman, or merchant. There must be several million among our population of seventy million who have fixed property and are economically secure, and who therefore are above corruption. If such men come forward to organize a solid nucleus in the Diet, the empire will be on a firm and secure foundation, and there need be no anxiety in the country. The epoch-making task of establishing our sovereign and our country was accomplished by thousands of devoted and self-sacrificing patriots of the period prior to and after the Restoration. Today, fifty years since the Restoration, when our national fortunes continue to rise, are there no patriots who would step forward to save our country from the dangers which are imminent? It is my fervent hope that such men will brace themselves and rouse themselves to action.

Racial Conflict and Japan's Foreign Policy

Yamagata in his later years viewed world conflict as fundamentally racial in character, and lamented the fact that China was not strong enough to stand beside Japan in resisting the onslaught of the white races, which he predicted would be intensified after the First World War. To meet this danger, however, he urged neither a whipping-up of racial feeling among Orientals nor a heavy-handed self-assertion by Japan on the Continent. He sought rather to win the confidence of China in promoting their common defense, and to forestall the impending coalition of Western powers against the yellow peoples by seeking the friendship of both Russia and the United States.

These excerpts are taken from a letter to Premier Ōkuma in August, 1914.
[From Tokutomi, *Kōshaku Yamagata Aritomo den*, III, 920-28]

There are people in our country who rely excessively on the military prowess of our empire and who believe that against China the application of force alone will suffice to gain our objectives. But the problems of life are not so simple as to permit of their solution by the use of force alone. The principal aim of our plan today should be to improve Sino-Japanese relations and to instill in China a sense of abiding trust in us. . . .

The recent international situation points to an increasing intensity in racial rivalry from year to year. It is a striking fact that the Turkish and Balkan wars of former years and the Austro-Serbian and the Russo-German wars of today all had their inception in racial rivalry and hatred. The anti-Japanese movement in the state of California in the United States, and the discrimination against Hindus in British Africa are also manifestations of the same racial problem. Thus, the possibility of the rivalry between the white and colored races henceforth growing in intensity and leading eventually to a clash between them cannot be ruled out entirely. When the present great conflict in Europe is over and when the political and economic order are restored, the various countries will again focus their attention on the Far East and the benefits and rights they might derive from this region. When that day comes, the rivalry between the white and the non-white races will become violent, and who can say that the white races will not unite with one another to oppose the colored peoples?

Now among the colored peoples of the Orient, Japan and China are the only two countries that have the semblance of an independent state. True, India compares favorably with China in its expansive territory and teeming population, but she has long since lost her independence, and there seems to be no reason today to believe that she will recover it. Thus, if the colored races of the Orient hope to compete with the so-called culturally advanced white races and maintain friendly relations with them while retaining their own cultural identity and independence, China and Japan, which are culturally and racially alike, must become friendly and promote each other's interests. China in the past has been invaded by other races and even subjugated by them. Thus, it is not difficult to understand

why China, in the rivalry with white races, is not as deeply sensitive as Japan is in this regard. But the Chinese ought to know that China in her four thousand years of history has never been under the yoke of the white man. And thus, if she is approached with reason it will not be entirely hopeless to make her change her attitude and to instill in her the feeling of trust and reliance in our empire.

In the formulation and execution of our Chinese policy, an indispensable consideration is our American policy. America is rich, and of late she is giving great attention to the commerce, industry, and trade of China. Moreover, the great European war has not deterred her in the least. On the contrary, America enjoys, because of the war, the full advantages of the proverbial fisherman [who makes off with the catch while the birds quarrel over it]. And the government of China, suspicious of the true motives of our empire, and as a means of restraining our activities in China, has been turning to America. If we fail to dissipate China's suspicion of us, she will rapidly turn against us and instead turn more and more to America. America herself will take advantage of such a situation and will increasingly extend her influence over China.

The immigration problem in California has made for an unhappy situation in the relations between the empire and America. It is regrettable that this problem still awaits settlement. But the empire has never regarded America as a foe. Therefore, it is advisable, for the realization of our China policy, not to aggravate America's feelings toward us nor needlessly to arouse her suspicions over our actions. For the maintenance of peace in the Orient in the future, and the promotion of China's independence, I deem it a matter of utmost importance to negotiate in a frank and open manner with America.

I have explained above the prevailing trend of racial problems and my premonitions of a bitter clash in the future between the white and colored peoples. However, I consider it more prudent, as far as China is concerned, not to raise the issue of a league of colored peoples. Our empire is now in alliance with England; it has agreements with Russia and France; and we are mutually striving to promote both the peace of the Orient and the independence of China. But we must also realize the need to negotiate with America. Our politicians must be sternly warned against raising the issue of racialism which would hurt the feelings of other countries and impair their friendship for us. The crux of the matter

is that China must be won over by hints and suggestions, and only gradually, before we can realize our plans in the future.

China and the Twenty-One Demands

Yamagata believed that Japan's dominance in Manchuria was essential not only to her own growth and security but also to the protection of a weak China from Russia. Tactful diplomacy could make the Chinese government under Yuan Shih-k'ai recognize this, he thought, whereas the petty bullying represented by the Twenty-One Demands would only alienate the Chinese. In this case Yamagata's political outlook disposed him toward a conciliatory approach to the conservative Yuan, whereas the liberal government of Ōkuma, more sympathetic to Sun Yat-sen, did not hesitate to demand of Yuan the same concessions already promised by Sun if he came to power. The following is taken from the record of a private conversation in Yamagata's home on May 14, 1915.

[From Takahashi, *San-kō Iretsu*, pp. 95-100]

Last year, when an ultimatum was sent to Germany [demanding surrender of her interests in China] I offered a number of suggestions on the possible aftermath of such a move. Again, this year, I disclosed my frank thoughts to [Foreign Minister] Katō. I told him that if it became necessary to resort to arms in order to dispose of the present Manchurian problem, I would throw my support to the move immediately. Manchuria is for the Japanese the only region for expansion. Manchuria is Japan's life-line. Thus, we must secure for our people the guarantee that they can settle there and pursue their occupations in peace. If this problem cannot be disposed of by diplomatic means, then we have no other alternative but to resort to arms. However, while a nation must resort to arms when it is involved in a national peril, it would, on the other hand, disgrace the honor of Japan—which stands among the nations of the world on the principle of fair play and justice—to apply force on China for the disposition of such trifling matters as the acceptance of Japanese advisers, purchase of Japanese arms, and free access for Japanese missionaries, as stated in Article V of the current negotiations. Thus it is that I have been making every effort to halt the present negotiations. As certain as fate, when the ultimatum [to China] was about to be dispatched, a note was received from the British Foreign Minister Grey sharply stating that such demands on China as the employment of Japa-

nese advisers and the purchase of arms which would give Japan predominant rights in China were contrary to the spirit of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and that he, Grey, would be unable to explain Japan's actions should he be interpellated upon them in the British Parliament. There was great confusion at the receipt of this note, but even without the Grey objections, I could not have given my approval to the mistaken proposal of dispatching an ultimatum with the threat of resorting to arms on the questions involved. Thus, Article V of the ultimatum was stricken out. However, I deem it foolish to leave the matter of Chinese diplomacy in the hands of Minister Hioki at the present juncture. The head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should go to China when the opportunity presents itself—and we have the examples of Ōkubo and Itō—and shake Yuan [Shih-k'ai]'s hand and frankly divulge Japan's true aims and explain Japan's position. So long as Yuan is not a log or a stone or an unreasonable fellow, I am sure that this would be a step toward ameliorating ill-feeling between the two countries.

In their essence Sino-Japanese relations are extremely simple and clear. What I should like to explain to Yuan is that the cause of war in various parts of the world today is, in general, racial in character. A recent example is the conflict between Turkey and Italy. The current European war is also basically a manifestation of the racial problem. The racial problem is likewise the key to the solution of the Asia problem. Now, are not Japan and China the only true states in Asia? Is it not true that other than these two countries there is no other which can control all of Asia? In short, we must attempt the solution of our myriad problems on the premise of "Asia for the Asians." However, Japan is an island country. She is a small, narrow island country which cannot hope to support within its island confines any further increase in population. Thus, she has no alternative but to expand into Manchuria or elsewhere. That is, as Asians the Japanese must of necessity live in Asia. China may object to the Japanese setting foot in Manchuria, but had not Japan fought and repelled Russia from Manchuria, even Peking might not be Chinese territory today. Thus, while the expansion of Japan into Manchuria may be a move for her own betterment and that of her people, it would also be a necessary move for the self-protection of Asians and for the co-existence and co-prosperity of China and Japan.



CHAPTER XXVI

THE HIGH TIDE OF PREWAR LIBERALISM

The prewar Japanese liberal movement reached its height in the 1920s when for a time it appeared that the principles espoused by that movement had become the guiding light of Japanese political life. These principles might roughly be stated as follows: 1) that the government be conducted by party cabinets responsible to the majority in the lower house of the Diet; 2) that the lower house be elected by universal manhood suffrage; 3) that the people be guaranteed the full exercise of their civil liberties; 4) that Japan abandon a policy of force and aggression in China and do no more than maintain the rights she already possessed in Manchuria; 5) that Japan follow a policy of international cooperation, particularly with regard to disarmament.

The movement drew its main support from five groups: party politicians, businessmen, journalists, educators, and certain diplomats. Of course, not all of the principles stated above received an equal amount of support from each of these groups. The party politicians insisted very strongly on the principle of party cabinets, but they were not so consistently enthusiastic about the other four principles. Indeed, when the opposition of the Privy Council and the Peers to universal manhood suffrage suddenly evaporated, the party politicians displayed a surprising reluctance to enact the measure into law. To them it merely meant further complications in the business of getting elected, a point which was not lost upon the Peers, who seem to have been reasoning much along the lines followed by Disraeli when he extended the vote to English labor.

The liberal businessmen were primarily concerned with the first, fourth, and fifth principles. They favored party cabinets for the simple reason that these seemed to offer them the best chance for influencing the government's economic and social policies. In addition, those business-

men who either traded with China or produced for the China trade felt they had suffered great losses from the boycotts which Japanese aggression had sparked. Consequently, they were very anxious for a more conciliatory policy to be adopted toward China. Japanese financiers also believed that Japan had to cooperate with the Western Powers if she wished to retain access to international short term credits and investment funds. For this reason they desired to have Japan give an earnest of its peaceful intentions by entering into disarmament agreements.

The business world in general as well as the agricultural interests also backed these agreements in the hope that there would be a reduction in the military budget and therefore in the tax burden. In their support of these international policies they were joined by diplomats such as Baron Shidehara Kijūrō, whose study of the international situation in general and of the China situation in particular had led them to conclude that these were the only feasible policies for Japan. It is to be noted that though Shidehara was well known for his liberal position on international affairs he never publicly expressed a correspondingly liberal view with regard to domestic politics.

The only persons who can be said to have given an unqualified support to the whole liberal creed were the liberal journalists and educators. The journalists were the shock troops of the movement and at several critical moments in its history they helped to carry the day by utilizing the news and editorial columns of their newspapers to arouse public opinion. The educators, particularly university professors such as Yoshino Sakuzō and Minobe Tatsukichi, provided the intellectual foundations for Japanese liberalism and in their writings showed how the democratic ideal could be adapted to the Japanese scene. They also implanted liberal ideas in the minds of the students who passed through their lecture halls, frequently taking the initiative in organizing student groups dedicated to the spread and implementation of these ideas. During and after the First World War a number of these students, mostly the younger sons of wealthy landlord or business class families, entered politics and contributed greatly to the attempt to establish responsible parliamentary government. They constituted the only group of politicians who were seriously concerned with the civil rights issue.

It will be noted that organized labor has not been included among the groups giving important support to the liberal movement. Organized

labor accepted many of the principles of Japanese liberalism and was quite willing to cooperate with the liberals in the accomplishment of common objectives, e.g., in the universal manhood suffrage movement. However, Japanese liberalism did not manifest much solicitude for social and economic reforms, matters which were of great interest to the labor movement. In fact, in these areas the thinking of most liberals tended toward a kind of paternalism which differed very little from that of the conservatives and the reactionaries. Consequently, organized labor devoted most of its political energies to the left-wing political movement, particularly after the achievement of universal manhood suffrage. It must be added that because of their social programs many of the ultranationalist groups also had much greater appeal for the lower orders than did liberalism. This failure to win the backing of labor was a serious weakness of the liberal movement, which needed all the support it could muster in its struggle to reshape the political life of Japan.

There were many unfavorable circumstances against which Japanese liberalism had to struggle. For one, the men who had fashioned the Japanese Constitution had placed the Diet in a very weak position: it had neither the legal means of holding a cabinet responsible nor any effective financial controls over the cabinet. What little power the Diet did possess the elected lower house had to share equally with the non-elected House of Peers. The popularly elected house was confronted with other well-established centers of power: the bureaucracy, the Privy Council, the military services, the informal council of Elder Statesmen (*genrō*) and the Imperial Household officials. Since most of these other centers of power had a legal veto over any attempt to curtail their prerogatives by law or by constitutional amendment, liberals had to work to establish within the existing framework extralegal customs which would give Japan the substance if not the form of a parliamentary democracy. This could only be accomplished if they rallied behind their program the mass of the Japanese people. Yet the diffusion of liberal ideals among the people was trammled by primary and secondary education systems which had been deliberately designed to foster a spirit adverse to the values usually associated with a democratic society. Moreover, the operations of most Japanese social groups were not such as would engender that sense of individualism, personal responsibility, and self-confidence so essential to the proper functioning of representative government.

The weaknesses which have so far been discussed might be regarded as due to environmental or external factors, but the liberal movement was also plagued by a number of internal failings. Of these flaws the more important were those which impaired the strength of the political parties, for it was they who had the responsibility of proving the worth and viability of parliamentary government.

The gravest defect of the party politicians was their opportunism. They were rarely ready to suspend their differences and unite to defend parliamentary principles. If a party cabinet became involved in jurisdictional or policy disputes with one of the other centers of power, the opposing political party was more than willing to side with the latter in the hope that the occasion might be used to drive its opponents from office. They never seemed to care that the ultimate result of these petty maneuvers would be to weaken the political party movement as a whole. In fact, there were only two instances in which united fronts were organized to defend the principle of party government (the third Katsura cabinet and the Kiyoura cabinet) and both times a substantial number of party men gave their allegiance to the antiparliamentarian forces. Undoubtedly it was this niggling concern for office which persuaded party politicians to welcome into positions of party leadership Itō Hirobumi, Katsura Tarō, Katō Takaaki, Tanaka Giichi and many other products of the civil or military bureaucracy. These men were able to assume party presidencies on virtually dictatorial terms, since the parties, convinced that the *genrō* would entrust office only to such leaders, believed this to be the one means by which even a modicum of political power might be achieved.

This type of leadership had a most unfortunate effect upon the character of Japanese political parties. Party administration was bureaucratized, and policies were handed down from above on a take-it-or-get-out basis. Each party came to be held together by a panting eagerness for the crumbs of office rather than by a firm foundation of common principle. As a result they had little to offer to the wider public and therefore never became mass parties but always remained primarily aggregations of legislators and their immediate backers. Even if the principles had been present, it is doubtful that the parties could have developed mass support, for the leaders were reserved men and seldom appeared before mass audiences. Moreover when they did speak, they

seemed incapable of articulating liberal ideas and one searches vainly among their cold speeches for any stirring expressions of their credo. The most momentous occasions, e.g., the passage of the Universal Manhood Suffrage Law, a wonderful opportunity for publicizing parliamentary principles, brought forth only perfunctory and jejune phrases. Japan's party leaders must stand charged with neglecting to educate the Japanese masses in the principles of parliamentary government. It matters little if the failure arose from a distaste for mass movements or from a feeling that the best way of advancing the liberal cause was to go about one's business silently and thus avoid arousing the active opposition of the conservatives and reactionaries. The end result was the same: when the crisis came, the party politicians were generals without armies.

The public came to look on the politicians not only as men without principles but also as men without morals. It was a rare candidate for office who felt he could win on his own merits and did not need to spend thousands of yen buying up votes through professional "election brokers." The practice was so widespread that only the most obtuse voter could have been ignorant of it. Faced with the need for huge campaign funds, the Diet member was quite willing to sell whatever influence he had for whatever price he could get. Those who could not obtain enough through their own efforts badgered the party headquarters for money. The party headquarters in turn received donations from businessmen who hoped to receive favors when and if the party formed a cabinet. Great bribery scandals were continually coming to light and undermining the public's confidence in the parties, though it is only fair to note that there were just as many scandals involving civil and military bureaucrats. In fact, the first widespread appearance of corruption among Diet members had occurred when the political lieutenants of Yamagata, finding that they could not control the Diet through either violence or dissolution, turned to systematic bribery. The businessmen who gave bribes were usually smaller businessmen who were not powerful enough in themselves to command favorable treatment from the government. On the other hand the greatest source of political donations, as distinct from bribes, was popularly supposed to be the *zaibatsu*, the Mitsui supporting the *Seiyūkai* and the Mitsubishi the *Minseitō*. These ties have never really been documented, but this hardly matters. The important thing is that it would have been difficult to find a Japanese who did not believe they existed

and that government by party cabinets meant therefore government in the interests of one or another of the *zaibatsu*.

There was another respect in which party cabinets—when they did come to power—proved a great disappointment to Japanese liberals. In their disregard of civil liberties they were unsurpassed by any of the bureaucratic cabinets of the past. Under them books and other publications continued to be censored with great rigor. The Hara and Hamaguchi cabinets were formally charged by the newspaper profession with prohibiting the mention in the press of more news items than any of their predecessors had. The Higher Special Police were regularly used to spy upon the activities of political opponents. The home ministers of two party cabinets were forced to leave office as a result of their flagrant interference in general elections (1915, 1928). The greatest mass arrests of nonconformist thinkers in Japanese history were conducted under *Minseitō* and *Seiyūkai* cabinets. They also began the process of rooting "dangerous thought" out of the nation's school systems, and of course it was under a coalition party cabinet that the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 was enacted. This law made it a crime to advocate any change in either the national polity or the capitalist system. It was officially interpreted to mean that the public could not even discuss a constitutional amendment.

Perhaps this attitude toward civil rights was only to be expected of the party cabinets, for from its very beginning the political party movement had contained a strong dash of ultranationalism. Whether from conviction or from cunning, the founders of the early Meiji political societies (the *Aikokutō* and the *Risshisha*) had argued that a parliament would strengthen the State for its task of national defense and expansion abroad. They had exalted the emperor's sovereignty and asserted that a Diet would unify the nation and so facilitate the execution of the imperial will. In the 1890s the party politicians constantly berated the bureaucratic cabinets for not being aggressive enough in their foreign policy, and one of the shrillest voices was that of the liberal Ozaki Yukio. Nor should it be forgotten that it was the liberal Katō Takaaki, serving as foreign minister under the liberal Ōkuma who, against the objections of the conservative Yamagata, presented the infamous Twenty-One Demands to China. To all this must be added the prominent role played by politicians of every party in such ultranationalist organizations as the

Kokusuiikai, the *Kokuhonsha*, the *Seinendan*, etc. In view of these facts it is not surprising that in the 1930s the political parties offered such ineffectual resistance to the militarists.

It is obvious, then, that the Japanese liberal movement was beset with great difficulties. And yet its failure was by no means a foregone conclusion. In the 1920s there appeared a new crop of younger politicians who had come to maturity during the great upsurge of liberalism that had characterized the war and postwar period. These younger men had wholeheartedly accepted the liberal principles and dedicated themselves to creating a true parliamentary government in Japan. They were not backward about asserting the supremacy of the lower house of the Diet and attacking as anachronisms the Peers, the Privy Council, and the independence of the military services. When the Peace Preservation Law was presented to the Diet, it was they who in defense of civil liberties spoke out against the proposals of their own cabinet. If the world envisaged by the idealists of 1919 had come into being and achieved a degree of permanence, these young Japanese liberals might in time have brought the majority of the nation around to their view; for the Japanese are a people given to searching out and adjusting themselves to what they conceive to be the trend of world developments. In the 1920s the signs had seemed to read "democracy-capitalism-peace," and this was of inestimable help to the liberal movement. Unfortunately, by the early 1930s world political and economic events had produced a situation which both objectively and psychologically was unfavorable to the further progress of Japanese liberalism.

DEMOCRACY AT HOME

YOSHINO SAKUZŌ

On the Meaning of Constitutional Government and the Methods by Which It Can Be Perfected

Yoshino Sakuzō (1878-1933) was for many years professor of political history and political theory at Tokyo Imperial University. Shortly after receiving his appointment he went abroad for three years of study in Germany, England, and the United States. On his return in 1913 he began to write articles analyzing the problems of democratic government. For a number of years these articles

appeared periodically in *Chūō Kōron*, an important journal of opinion. "On the Meaning of Constitutional Government," one of the most significant of these articles, was published in January, 1916. It was a powerful reaffirmation of faith in the inevitable triumph of democracy and represented a reaction against the belief current in certain Japanese circles that Germany's successes had proven the superiority of the Prussian pattern. Yoshino sets forth what he conceives to be the most important characteristics of democracy. He carefully demonstrates that democracy is fully compatible with the concept of the emperor's sovereignty, a principle which had become so sacrosanct as to remain unchallengeable. Very detailed consideration is given to the special problems confronting democracy in Japan, and techniques are suggested for their elimination. All of the problems he touches on were extremely important at the time he wrote—political corruption, non-party cabinets, the rise of a plutocracy, universal suffrage, the need for popular education in the ways of democracy, etc.

[From Yoshino, *Mimpon shugi ron*, pp. 1-130]

PREFACE

Whether or not constitutional government will work well is partly a question of its structure and procedures, but it is also very much a question of the general level of the people's knowledge and virtue. Only where the level is rather mature can a constitutional government be set up. . . . However, since the trend toward constitutional government is world wide and can no longer be resisted, advanced thinkers must make the attempt to establish it firmly. They should voluntarily assume the responsibility of instructing the people so as to train them in its workings without delay. If they do not, constitutional government can never function perfectly however complete it may be in form. Therefore, the fundamental prerequisite for perfecting constitutional government, especially in politically backward nations, is the cultivation of knowledge and virtue among the generality of the people. This is not a task which can be accomplished in a day. Think of the situation in our own country. We instituted constitutional government before the people were prepared for it. As a result there have been many failures, failures which have caused those with high aspirations for government to feel that we have accomplished very little. Still, it is impossible to reverse course and return to the old absolutism, so there is nothing for us to do but cheerfully take the road of reform and progress. Consequently, it is extremely important not to rely upon politicians alone, but to make use of the cooperative efforts of educators, religious leaders, and thinkers in all areas of society.

The United States and Mexico illustrate how two countries with equally well-developed forms of constitutional government may be at opposite ends of the scale in its operation as a result of the different levels of knowledge and virtue attained by their peoples. [pp. 4-6]

1. WHAT IS CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT?

The word "constitution" invariably means a nation's fundamental laws. However, when used as a modern political term it has certain additional connotations. . . .

First, one usually assigns to a constitution greater force than to ordinary laws. . . . Since a nation's fundamental laws are of great importance, the idea has persisted from antiquity that there should be a distinction between them and ordinary laws. However, there is another reason why modern nations give such special weight to constitutions. The intention is to prevent the reckless infringement, at some later time, of the rights which have been laid down in them with great care. Whatever they may ostensibly be, modern constitutions have in fact appeared as a result of the long struggle for popular rights which was waged against those who in the past monopolized political power—those rightly called the privileged classes. [pp. 13-15]

Second, a constitution must include as an important part of its contents the following three provisions: 1) guarantees of civil liberties; 2) the principle of the separation of the three branches of government; and 3) a popularly elected legislature. . . .

1. The fifteen articles comprising Chapter II of the Japanese Constitution concern "Rights and Duties of Subjects." As the title indicates, some of these articles prescribe duties, but most of them enumerate those rights and liberties which are indispensable to the people's material and spiritual happiness and progress. . . . It is clearly provided that these rights and liberties may not be arbitrarily restricted by the government, but can only be limited by law, in the enactment of which the Diet participates. [pp. 16-17]

2. If it is defined theoretically, the principle of separation of powers becomes a very troublesome problem. Generally speaking, it means that the executive, judicial, and legislative powers are exercised by separate organs of the government. . . . It is true for all countries without exception that the purport of the principle . . . is best shown in the area

of judicial independence. However, nowadays its application to relations between the executive and legislative branches differs substantially from country to country. Of course, the executive and the legislature ought to be independent of each other, but if there is no provision at all for negotiations between the two, constitutional government cannot be expected to function smoothly. [pp. 18-19]

3. More than any other factor [provision for a popularly elected legislature] . . . is regarded by the public as the most important characteristic of a constitution. Indeed, there are many who think of it as the only essential characteristic of a constitution. . . . Why is this provision of such great importance? Because the popularly elected legislature is the only branch of government in the composition of which the people have a direct voice. The personnel of the other two branches are experts appointed by the government. The people have almost no direct concern in naming them. With the legislature it is just the opposite. Its members are directly elected by the people. Naturally, the people can exert influence upon it and thereby cause it to express fully the popular will. . . .

These are the [three] indispensable elements of a modern constitution. . . . If they are present, then there is a constitution. When such a constitution exists and is the guiding principle of political life, we have constitutional government. [pp. 21-22]

II. WHAT IS MEANT BY THE PERFECTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT?

Living as we do under a constitutional government we must work all the harder for its perfection. However we must not work blindly. The task requires a strenuous effort based upon the same . . . ideology that originally brought about the establishment of the Constitution and upon the fundamental spirit that lies concealed in its innermost depths. . . .

What then is the spirit of a constitution? No generalization is possible, for it varies from one country to another. . . . In some countries the privileged classes survive as relics of a bygone age and still continue to exercise their influence. Where this is so, even though the pressure of world trends has forced the promulgation of a constitution, there are many who try to implement it so as to do no injury to their antiquated political ideology. These people stridently emphasize the principle that their nation's constitution has nothing in common with that of any

other, but instead possesses its own peculiar coloration. We frequently see the like in our country, where there is a tendency in constitutional theory to assert as the basis for the political structure a peculiar national morality of our own, attempting in this way to avoid interpreting the Constitution in accordance with Western constitutional ideas. . . . Of course, each country's constitution is tinged with that country's peculiar coloration. It would be difficult to summarize the unique qualities of each country's constitution, but it is possible to infer from the history of modern world civilization the spiritual basis common to them all. . . . The common spiritual basis which I discover in all constitutions is democracy. [pp. 26-28]

III. THE SPIRITUAL BASIS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT: DEMOCRACY

The Japanese word *mimpon shugi* (democracy) is of very recent use. Formerly *minshu shugi* seems to have been generally favored and even *minshū shugi* and *heimin shugi* have been used. However, *minshu shugi* is likely to be understood as referring to the theory held by the social democratic parties that "the sovereignty of the nation resides in the people." *Heimin shugi* implies an opposition between the common people (*heimin*) and the nobility, and there is the risk it will be misunderstood to mean that the nobility is the enemy and the common people are the friendly forces. By themselves the words *minshū shugi* are not liable to such a misinterpretation, but they smack of overemphasis on the masses (*minshū*). Since . . . the basis of constitutional government is a universally accepted principle which politically emphasizes the people at large but which does not differentiate between nobles and commoners nor distinguish between a monarchical and a republican national polity, I suspect that the comparatively new term *mimpon shugi* is the most suitable. [pp. 28-29]

I think [the Western word] "democracy," as used in the fields of law and political science, has at least two distinct meanings. In one sense it means that "in law the sovereignty of the nation resides in the people." In the other it is used to mean that "in politics the fundamental end of the exercise of the nation's sovereignty should be the people." . . . I should like to use *minshu shugi* and *mimpon shugi*, respectively, as the suitable translations for these two senses of "democracy." [pp. 30-31]

In our country many people are prevented by the "popular sovereignty"

aspect of *minshu shugi* from having a proper understanding of democracy. There has therefore been an unavoidable prejudice which has appreciably retarded democracy's development. Consequently, I believe that in order to have the people strive for the advancement of constitutional government with a correct understanding of democracy, it is extremely important to make clear the distinction between the two meanings of the word.¹ [pp. 31-32]

IV. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY AND DEMOCRACY

Even "popular sovereignty," if we examine it closely, is seen to be of two kinds. . . .

The first has been set forth in the following form: In the corporate body known as the nation the original and natural locus of sovereignty must be the people as a whole. This I call absolute or philosophic popular sovereignty. . . .

The second kind is set forth in the following form: In a specific country it has been decided by interpretation of the constitution that the sovereignty resides in the people. This I call popular sovereignty by mutual consent or by interpretation. . . . Both types, however, concern the legal location of the nation's sovereignty. Consequently, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the word "popular sovereignty" is inappropriate to a country like ours, which from the beginning has been unmistakably monarchical. Therefore, I believe it is very clear that while "popular sovereignty" and "democracy" are verbally similar, they differ a great deal in substance, for "democracy" raises no question of republicanism or monarchism and constitutes the fundamental spirit common to the constitutions of all modern countries. [pp. 32-38]

V. MISINTERPRETATIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is not contingent upon where legal theory locates sovereignty. It merely implies that in the exercise of this sovereignty, the sovereign should always make it his policy to value the well-being and opinions of the people. . . . There is no doubt that even in a monarchy this principle can be honored without contravening the established system in the slightest degree. . . . Nevertheless there are many who think

¹ Hereafter *minshu shugi* will be rendered "popular sovereignty" to distinguish it from the term Yoshino prefers for "democracy"—*minpon shugi*.

that democracy and the monarchical system are completely incompatible. This is a serious misconception. [pp. 38-39]

Most of the misconceptions about democracy arise from emotional arguments which have no theoretical basis. This is especially true of the small class that up to now has possessed special privileges and monopolized political power. . . . In the past the system made them rulers of the common people. In the new age they must yield this formal dominance to the people and be content with the substance of moral leadership. . . . As long as they alter neither their attitudes nor their motives to accord with the change in the times, no true progress can be expected in constitutional government. The public is prone to say that constitutional government has failed to develop as we had hoped because the thought of the people has not developed. Yet, whether or not the people's thought develops is really determined by whether or not advanced thinkers properly guide it. When the small class of leaders holds to its narrow-minded views, it is impossible to implant in the hearts of the common people sound constitutional ideas no matter how much the necessity of spreading constitutional thought is preached. In this connection I must turn to the small enlightened intellectual class in the upper ranks of society and express the hope that they themselves achieve a true understanding of constitutional ideas and become conscious of their duty to guide the common people. [pp. 39-41]

In addition to misinterpretations based on emotional arguments, there are also criticisms of democracy which have a somewhat theoretical basis, or what would outwardly appear to be such. First, there are persons who confuse democracy with popular sovereignty and see no clear difference between them. They therefore think that democracy is opposed in theory to the principle of the sovereignty of the emperor. . . . Second, there are some who look at the history of democracy's development, see that it has invariably gone hand-in-hand with popular sovereignty, and conclude from this that it is incompatible with the monarchical system. . . . Up to a point, this theory is true. Indeed, if we look at the history of the development of constitutional governments, we see that they have for the most part passed through a revolutionary stage. . . . But it is a mistake to conclude that because in its origins constitutional government came from revolutionary democratic thought it must always be dangerous. This is as illogical as to argue that since man is descended

from the monkeys he will always have the monkey's inferior characteristics. . . .

If we hesitate for fear of possible evil effects, progress and development will never be started. If something is necessary for the advancement of the nation and society, we must quickly search for a method to attain it. And we must strive greatly to prevent the abuses that we fear may result. We should not live in idleness, bound by our old established ways. Progress requires strenuous effort. As a people with constitutional government we must willingly throw open our doors to world trends and actively seek the greatest progress and development for our nation and society. Yet, at the same time, we must resolve to pause and fight to overcome whatever harm may attend on this. This is truly the glorious responsibility borne by the advanced thinkers in a constitutionally governed country. As long as they are determined not to shirk it, I believe we need have no fear whatever for the future of the nation under democracy. [pp. 41-44]

VI. THE SUBSTANCE OF DEMOCRACY: POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

Earlier I defined democracy as the policy in exercising political power of valuing the profit, happiness, and opinions of the people. On the face of it, this definition reveals two aspects of democracy. First, the object of the exercise of political power . . . must be the people's welfare. Second, the policies which determine how political power is exercised . . . are settled in accordance with the people's opinions. . . .

The first requirement of democracy, then, is that the ultimate end of the exercise of political power be the good of the people. . . . In ancient times the objective of government was the survival and prosperity of a small number of powerful persons or the preservation of their authority; it was never the well-being of the people as a whole. . . . To the feudal mind, the land and people of a country were no more than the personal property of the royal family. But in the feudal period it became quite clear that land and people were the foundation upon which the royal family stood, so the people gradually came to be valued. . . . In general, international competition further deepened the ruling classes' feeling of dependence upon the people. . . . Accordingly, the feudal state came to treat the people with a great deal of consideration. . . . From our point of view today, the people were in the final analysis like servants

happy under a kind-hearted master. They were not permitted to claim consideration for themselves as a matter of right. . . . Our democracy is opposed to placing the people in such a position. It demands that the ultimate goal of government must change and become the welfare of the people. It further demands that . . . [their welfare] absolutely never be used as a means to some other end. In modern politics it is certainly not permissible to sacrifice the general welfare to the interests of a small number. [pp. 44-48]

There may still be some who denounce democracy as contravening the idea of loyalty to the emperor, a sentiment which dates from the founding of our country. . . . There may be those who ask whether democracy would oppose setting aside the people's welfare even if this were to be done in the interest of the Imperial Family. In my answer to these criticisms I would make the following two points. First, there is absolutely no contradiction nowadays between the "interest of the Imperial Family" and the interest of the nation, [an interest] which stands at the very top of the people's well-being. . . . Since the Imperial Family is the unique head of the national family, it is utterly unthinkable that it should become necessary "in the interest of the Imperial Family" to disregard the interest of the people. Consequently, I believe the interest of the Imperial Family and the interest of the people can never conflict with each other. Second, let us yield the point and suppose such a conflict to have arisen between the two. Since democracy relates to the sovereign's way of using his powers, there is nothing to prevent him from establishing the basic principle that he will not arbitrarily disregard the welfare of the people. . . . It is the determination of the Japanese people willingly to go through fire and water for the sake of the emperor. However, if the state systematically exploited this devotion to secure the people's acceptance of acts which disregarded the people's welfare, might not a certain cheerlessness come to characterize the subjects' spirit of loyalty? I would therefore like to make it a principle that whenever the State demands from the people sacrifices beyond a certain level the choice of whether or not they are to comply should be left entirely to their moral judgment. . . . Our loyal people will never for fear of their own safety hesitate to strive for emperor and country. Loyalty to the emperor is a spirit which dates from the founding of our country; it is the essence of our national polity. Reinforcing it by erecting it into a

system would, I believe, lead to many evils but yield no advantage. [pp. 48-50]

Democracy does not permit the welfare of the people to be sacrificed for any purpose whatsoever. However, if we ask whether this point has today been completely realized in every country, [the answer is] most assuredly no. . . .

In our own country, unhappily, the people do not yet comprehend this problem and have not progressed to the point of insisting upon [the principle]. On the other hand, though in general the privileged classes have little by little come to understand the demands of the people and thus may be considered to be aware of the way in which to meet them, there are still narrow-minded persons in these classes who value themselves highly and are condescending to the people. . . . In order that the place of these classes in a democracy may be peacefully settled and a trend toward a healthy development of society thereby created, it is necessary that on the one hand we work for the development of the people's knowledge and that on the other we urge the upper classes seriously to search their hearts. [pp. 51-53]

In recent times there has been a trend in our country and others toward the appearance of certain new privileged classes in addition to the historic ones. Chief among these is the plutocracy. . . . It is contrary to the objective of democracy for economically superior and inferior classes to develop and as a consequence for profits to become the monopoly of a single class. Therefore, without touching on the fundamental problem of whether or not the organization of society should be basically reconstructed, it has of late been considered necessary in government to resort temporarily to moderate measures directed against these economically privileged classes. . . . To consider now the situation in our own country, in recent times capitalists have gained strength and with their huge financial power are finally on the point of wrongfully trampling upon the public interest. It is true that this tendency is not so strong [in Japan] as it is in America and Europe, but recently the influence of the capitalists has increased markedly. After the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War their power grew with especial rapidity. Wealth has never lacked a certain degree of power, but before the Sino-Japanese War the money power was in fact completely under the control of political power. In the early years of the Meiji Period, wealth bent the knee at the

door of political power and under the latter's shelter worked by degrees to increase financial power. . . . The Sino-Japanese War forced political power to beg aid from wealth for the first time. In this way wealth first achieved a position of equality with political power. With the Russo-Japanese War, the government of Prince Katsura kowtowed to the capitalists in all matters and sought their financial aid. Thereupon, wealth in one jump achieved strength sufficient to control political power. Bestowal of peerages on rich men dates from this time. . . . In this way the wealthy put pressure on political power and for the profit of their own class demanded the passage of various unfair laws. As a result there are in force today various kinds of financial legislation which are very disadvantageous to the general public and serve the interests of the capitalist class alone. Thus there has recently been produced in our country a new privileged class whose interests are unfairly protected by law. This kind of privileged class will in the future come into conflict with the demands of democracy; how the two will be harmonized is a matter which engages our most anxious attention. Since the moneyed class are concerned with things from a materialistic point of view, they do not readily listen to the voice of the ordinary people. Consequently, if there come to be great difficulties in solving problems in the area of [constitutional government], will they not in all likelihood arise from this problem of the financially privileged class? If the plutocracy were by some chance to make common cause with the traditional privileged classes in confronting democracy, there could be no greater misfortune for the nation. In this connection I must incessantly arouse the attention of the intellectuals and entreat the reflection of the nobility and the plutocrats who are flouting the affections of the nation. [pp. 53-55]

VII. THE SUBSTANCE OF DEMOCRACY: DETERMINATION OF POLICIES

Democracy not only implies that the end of government is the welfare of the people, but also demands that in the final determination of policies the people's opinions must be valued highly. This certainly does not mean that in each individual problem the opinions of each individual person be heard. It is an overall principle according to which nothing is done in opposition to the views of the people and no political action is undertaken without their general approval—expressed or tacit. [p. 56]

However, one encounters quite strong criticisms of this second es-

sential of democracy. If one examines these criticisms closely, they are, I think, seen to be of three kinds.

The first is the idea that democracy is opposed constitutionally to the principle of imperial sovereignty. . . . Yet, democracy is a theory of politics, not of law. From the legal standpoint, sovereignty resides in the emperor. Democracy comes in when one asks what principle ought to guide the emperor in the exercise of his sovereignty. It is in no way inconsistent with monarchy. Of course, I too am agreed that in order to protect the imperial institution we should reject the dangerous theory of popular sovereignty. However, opposition on this account to the advance of democracy—so similar in name to popular sovereignty, but so different from it in substance—is a serious problem for the future of constitutional government. [pp. 57-58]

Another criticism is the notion that, even conceding democracy to be a political concept, if in the exercise of his power the sovereign must by custom always take into account the general will of the people, his sovereignty is thereby limited and free exercise of his authority is prevented. However, those who believe this ignore the fact that in a constitutional country the sovereignty of the ruler is always limited in some way. It is because the word "limitation" is used that the above impression is produced; how would it be if the word "Way" were used in its place? Assume that constitutional government is a system under which a sovereign rules not by arbitrary whim but in accordance with the "Way." Is not this "Way" a sort of limitation on the free exercise of sovereignty? Well, the "Way" manifests itself both legally and politically; in other words, constitutional countries make it a rule to limit the power of the sovereign both in legal theory and in political practice. . . . Practically speaking, there is no country in the world today in which the sovereign decides all the policies of state by himself. . . . [Thus] the real problem is: what *kind* of limitations should there be on the ruler's authority? Should he be limited by concern for the will of the people generally, or by the opinions of two or three of his intimates? Concern for the will of the people may or may not be a limitation of the ruler's sovereignty, but I find it a one-sided argument not to admit that other limitations exist even when there is no such concern. Let us assume, for example, that there has been a cabinet change, and that custom demands that responsibility for forming a successor cabinet must be left to the leader of the

political party that commands a majority in the parliament. It is objected that this practice imposes limitations on the ruler's sovereignty. . . . The ruler's complete freedom of action, if applied literally on such an occasion, would imply that without consulting anyone else he alone must decide who was to be the prime minister. . . . Yet, whether or not such a method would be practical, in fact the usual practice is for him to consult with two or three of the experienced ministers of his court. . . . As I see it, appointment of ministers according to party majorities in parliament and appointment on the advice of elder statesmen are both alike limitations of the ruler's authority. . . . The question which arises here is *which* sort of limitation should the ruler accept? Should he consult a small number of people, or should he consult at large with great numbers of people? Consequently, it is improper to reject democracy on the grounds that it limits the emperor's sovereignty and is therefore bad. If one wishes validly to reject democracy, one must go a step further and clearly demonstrate that it is always bad to take counsel with many men and always good to take counsel with a few men. Yet, in Japan since early Meiji it has been the fundamental national policy to take counsel with large numbers of persons. H. M., the Meiji Emperor, decreed at the beginning of the Restoration that deliberative assemblies should be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion. Thus the spirit of democracy, which consists in the just and equitable conduct of government in consultation with the majority of the people, has been our national policy since early in Meiji. Those who today deny this and advocate the principle of minority advice are moving counter to the general trend of political evolution. [pp. 58-61]

It is said that the enlightened are always likely to be a minority; that therefore the best government must be government by the minority; and that majority rule, on the other hand, deteriorates into mob rule. This . . . is partly true. However, one must not forget that minority rule is always government in a dark chamber. However splendid a person's character may be, when others do not observe him he is likely to commit excesses. . . . Some point to the corruption of the Diet and its members and say that there are bound to be evils in majority rule. . . . Yet in general, since government by the minority is secret government, many of its evils never come to the attention of the country; while since

majority government is open government, there is a tendency to magnify its minutest deficiencies. [pp. 65-66]

It may be mistakenly thought that in majority government no use at all is made of the enlightened minority, but this is absolutely not so. . . . [This minority] can most properly fulfill their function as truly enlightened people when they modestly identify themselves with the majority, ostensibly following the majority will and yet as the spiritual leaders of the majority quietly working for the public good. . . . In all formal respects, the majority form the basis for the exercise of governmental power and they must be the political rulers, but within their ranks they in fact have need of spiritual leaders. . . . If the enlightened minority are truly to serve the national society, they must resolve to use their wisdom to guide the masses spiritually. At the same time they must resolve to enlist themselves in the service of the masses and by making their own influence prevail work for the public good. . . . Only when these two groups work in cooperation can there be a perfect development of constitutional government. Seen politically, this cooperation means the country is ruled by the will of the majority, but seen spiritually, it means the country is guided by the enlightened minority. . . . It is government by the people, but in one sense it can also be called government by the best. Thus one can claim that constitutional government reaches its most splendid perfection when there is a harmonious reconciliation of political democracy with spiritual aristocracy. . . . In this respect, I am thoroughly disgusted with the attitude of Japan's elder statesmen and other bureaucratic statesmen. Though they enjoy the special favor of the Imperial House and the esteem of the nation, they sometimes use their exalted position to interfere irresponsibly in political affairs. They will not reach down from their eminent position to establish contact with the masses, but instead take a hostile attitude toward democratic influences. It is much to be regretted that they thus fail to understand the true meaning of modern political life, but one must say it is especially unfortunate for the nation that they neglect the social function of the enlightened minority by not assuming the responsibility of popular leadership. After all, the ordinary people, surprisingly enough, actually pay an excessive respect to honors and titles. When the aristocrats who inherit historical and social authority are at the same time highly

capable in point of actual ability and will jointly undertake the leadership of the people, the people gladly submit to this leadership. For the sake of the healthy development of constitutional government, nay, say rather for the sake of the future success of our society and nation, I entreat the enlightened minority to reflect deeply on this. We must hope that the aristocrats and plutocrats will respond to the handsome treatment they have received from the nation not only by giving great thought to how they should conduct themselves but also by giving serious attention to the education of their children and younger brothers. [pp. 67-70]

VIII. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

In this section Yoshino argues the merits of representative government against those who claim that it does not go far enough toward meeting the demands of true democracy. Syndicalism and the popular referendum, he says, have been the two methods most commonly advanced for achieving more direct popular government, but both of them he feels to be impractical and unnecessary.

IX. THE RELATION OF THE PEOPLE TO THE LEGISLATORS

The most important point regarding the relation between the people and the legislators is that the people always occupy the position of master of the house, while the legislators are of necessity transients. The proper maintenance of this relationship is absolutely essential to the functioning of constitutional government. The abuses of constitutional government generally stem from the inversion of this relationship. And it is not just a question of the relation between the people and the legislators. The same truth holds as between legislators and the government. Whenever the legislators, who should supervise the government, are puppets of the government, many evils arise. Likewise, whenever the people, who should supervise the legislators, are instead manipulated by the latter, then the operation of constitutional government is replete with innumerable scandalous corruptions. If the government seduces legislators with offers of gain, if legislators also lead the people astray with offers of gain, then the proper relationships are inverted and the structure of constitutional government is filled with abuses. If we wish to clean up political life and see a normal evolution of constitutional government, the first thing we must do is to pay strict attention to rectifying the relationship between

the people and the legislators. There are at least three measures that must be adopted in order to accomplish this. [p. 87]

1. Inculcation of election ethics. . . . I do not think that the ethics of the Japanese are, broadly speaking, especially low. Yet, since elections are a new experience for them, they have, regrettably, greatly ignored morality in conducting them. I feel it is necessary for us to inculcate the principles of election ethics in the people of the nation.

This being the case, what points should the people be made especially to understand? One of them is that though a single vote seems to be of very little importance, it actually is of great consequence to the fate of the nation. It is too sacred to be subject to influence by bribes or intimidation. A second point is that one votes in the interest of the nation, not for the profit of a single locality. To vote with local interests alone in view is likely more often than not to result in sacrificing the interests of the whole nation. A third point is that voting is our prerogative, not something to be done at the solicitation of the candidates. It is up to us to recommend proper candidates to the nation. Nowadays it is extremely important to drive these three points deep into the minds of the people. [pp. 88-89]

2. The necessity of adopting and enforcing strict election regulations. When legislators manipulate the people, invariably corruption and bad government flourish. Only when the people control their legislators does the operation of constitutional government follow the proper course. Therefore, it is especially important to impose strict penalties on the corrupt practices which may be carried on between the legislators and the people. . . . In this respect, a rather strict election law has been adopted in Japan; the only thing to be regretted is that it has not been rigorously enough enforced, and that the government tends to be lax in dealing with the activities of its own party. [pp. 91-92]

3. The necessity of extending the suffrage as widely as possible. If the suffrage is limited, corrupt practices are carried on unreservedly. When the suffrage is extended to the limit, there can be absolutely no distribution of bribes and the like. Moreover, only when it has become absolutely impossible for candidates to fight one another with money and things of value will they compete by sincerely and frankly presenting their views and personal qualifications to the people. Consequently, the people will gain an opportunity of receiving a political education

through this means. When suffrage is limited, as it is today, there is a chance of winning a contest without presenting one's views and qualifications. Therefore the political parties pay little heed to the political education of the people. . . . There is no doubt that politically Diet members truly represent all the people of the country. Therefore, they should not be only the representatives of one class. It is logical then that the scope of the electorate should be as broad as possible. . . . Today as in the past the basic political consideration is to have elections which result essentially in the representation of the overall interests of the people generally. We think it proper on this ground that the suffrage should be extended as widely as possible. Naturally this is not to say that suffrage should be unlimited. We must admit that from the standpoint of necessity and convenience there are several kinds of limitations to be set if the objectives of elections are to be achieved. To begin with we must probably exclude infants, the insane, criminals, persons on public relief, bankrupts, etc. . . . Whether or not women should be excluded is, in the final analysis, a problem for the future. Today, suffrage is generally the exclusive possession of men. Of course there are some countries that do extend political rights to women. [pp. 93-95]

Nowadays the two ways that have actually been adopted to weed out those unsuited [to exercise voting rights] are educational qualifications and property qualifications. . . . However, these days formal education alone is not the thing which distinguishes between those who have and those who have not the training proper to humanistic [moral] cultivation. In a time like today when formal education is extremely widespread, I suspect that this standard is of little practical value. Making educational requirements an absolute qualification is behind the times. . . . Furthermore . . . limitation [on the basis of taxation or property] has become meaningless in the present age. Practically, it is impossible to use a fixed amount of property as a criterion for mechanically distinguishing between those who have and those who do not have steadiness of character. . . .

Most of the civilized countries of the world have seen fit to adopt universal [manhood] suffrage. The only civilized countries . . . that impose comparatively great limitations on suffrage are Russia and Japan. In all other civilized countries universal suffrage is already a settled issue and no longer comes up for political discussion. In Japan the

agitation for extending the suffrage has recently increased, but it will apparently take a long time before the idea becomes generally accepted. Recently when the Ōkuma cabinet introduced a temporizing bill which would have reduced the present ten-yen tax voting qualification to five-yen, there was violent opposition in certain political quarters. Hence, I cannot help feeling that the establishment of universal suffrage is a long way off. Among many Japanese intellectuals there is an incredible misunderstanding of and violent antipathy to universal suffrage. Of course, in the beginning it was mainly the Socialists who advocated the system. This is by and large the probable reason for the misunderstanding. It is not strange that the upper classes are not pleased with the system, but it is a very peculiar phenomenon that the ordinary people do not welcome it wholeheartedly. A bill for the adoption of universal suffrage passed the House of Representatives at the 27th Diet in 1911, but at the time it was said that it was passed in the firm belief that it would never be approved by the House of Peers. As had been expected, the House of Peers rejected it by a huge majority. If we do not dispel this misunderstanding of universal suffrage and instill in the people the deep, heartfelt conviction that constitutional government cannot possibly develop properly unless universal suffrage is adopted, then the prospects for constitutional government are indeed gloomy. As a consequence of our present suffrage limitations, no more than three per cent of all Japanese are enfranchised. In the general elections of March last year [1915] only 1,544,725 persons had the right to vote. [pp. 102-3]

Thus, the extension of the suffrage and the strict enforcement of electoral laws are the most pressing matters facing Japan. The history of other countries shows that these two actions have often effected a clean-up in political life. If they are neglected, the ideal of constitutional government cannot be realized no matter how much one preaches about election ethics and prods the conscience of the people. The argument for extending suffrage is a subject that we must study most earnestly and we must henceforth advocate it most fervently. In so far as there are misconceptions among the public, we must on the one hand appeal to the intellectuals to reconsider the issue and on the other dispel the confusions of the political world. We must work diligently at these two things so that in the near future universal suffrage may become a reality. [p. 104]

X. THE RELATION OF PARLIAMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT

It is the government that takes direct charge of state affairs. Only when parliament oversees the government can there be just and equitable administration. But since the government wields real power, it is likely to use its position to control and manipulate the legislators, thereby reversing matters and ordering about as it pleases the very persons by whom, properly speaking, it should be supervised. Many hidden evils spring from such a situation. . . . Therefore, it is quite essential to the healthy functioning of constitutional government that the government be kept in a state of strict subordination to the parliament. [pp. 107-8]

Hence we consider it essential to sharpen the moral conscience of officeholders as much as possible. . . . Fidelity to conscience and regard for integrity are the very life and soul of a politician. For a politician there is no greater crime than to change his opinion for the sake of dishonest gain. It is strange that such affairs should be problems in a constitutional country. It is more than strange; it is shameful. Under constitutional government, worthless individuals should not become legislators in the first place. Government is fundamentally a very exalted calling, one that can only be undertaken well by persons of high cultivation. Therefore is it not an insult to a politician merely to investigate his character? It is the practice in Western countries that men about whose character there is some doubt are never accepted as politicians in the first place. . . . The frequent occurrence of corrupt behavior among legislators is probably a peculiarity of Japan. With such a state of affairs it is absolutely impossible for constitutional government to progress in Japan. To prevent [corruption], as I have said again and again, it is necessary to keep the people from committing errors at the very start in the elections. Moreover, it is extremely necessary that the people inflict the severest punishments upon representatives who defile their offices. We must not only by means of law sternly punish any representatives who defile their offices; we must also resolve to employ the power of public opinion to bury them in political oblivion.

In this regard, one point I wish to emphasize most sharply is that the offense of one who tempts [an official] is far more serious than that of the one who is tempted. [pp. 109-10]

Making the legislators morally independent of the government is only

the first step. If we are to get the legislators fully to discharge their supervisory responsibility and thoroughly inquire into transgressions of the government, it is also essential that the government be made to fulfill its political responsibility to the parliament. . . . If the principle of responsible cabinets has not been firmly established in political institutions or usage, it is impossible to achieve the proper relationship between the government and the parliament. Consequently the requisites for democracy cannot be fully met.

In contrast to the responsible cabinet system there is also the principle of the nonparty cabinet. According to this idea, the cabinet should rise above the wishes of parliament and occupy a position of absolute independence. Under this system, no matter how much the government is opposed by parliament, no matter even if on occasion there are votes of nonconfidence [in parliament], the government unconcernedly continues in office. To put the theory in its worst light, it is a pretext which enables the government freely to perpetrate any kind of arbitrary misrule. Thus it is inconsistent with the principle that final decisions on policy should depend upon the views of the people generally. Therefore, the nonparty cabinet system is decidedly not the normal rule in constitutional government. Of course, under our Constitution theoretically the ministers of state are responsible to the sovereign alone, so it is not absolutely necessary for them immediately and as a matter of course to resign their posts when the Diet opposes them. That is to say, it cannot be called unconstitutional. However, it is clear from the foregoing that it is contrary to the spirit of constitutional government. [p. 112]

The usual method used nowadays for calling the responsibility [of the government] into account is the parliamentary cabinet system. In most countries it has recently become the practice for the government to be formed by the leader of the political party that has a majority in parliament. In this sense most governments are today party cabinets. . . . In countries where there are just two major parties, this system works well, but in those with many small parties, it does not. . . . In order that the wisdom of the party cabinet system may be demonstrated, it is absolutely necessary to encourage the establishment of two major parties. However, the coming into being of two major parties is a matter which is determined by the course of events, and cannot very well be controlled by a constitution's theory. As a result, the workability of the party cabinet

system always varies from one country to another. Hence the problem arises as to whether party government can really work smoothly in Japan. . . . Since I am interested in the progress of constitutional government in Japan, I should like to present to the nation the reasons why the natural trend toward a two-party system should be promoted and why the factors that stand in its way should be removed with the utmost vigor. Unfortunately there are a number of politicians who are in the grip of petty feelings and deliberately build up differences. These men are too narrow-minded to discard petty differences and form a union based upon greater common interests. They are sulky political malcontents who hide behind beautiful phrases such as "remaining loyal through ten years of adversity." The great misfortune of Japan today is the narrow-mindedness of politicians. . . .

I have explained why a fully responsible cabinet system must be adopted if constitutional government is to reach its most perfect development. However, in the West this matter was settled long ago and is hardly an issue any more. If there were a place where this became an issue today, that place would be unexpectedly showing itself to be way behind the times in the development of constitutional government. [pp. 113-20]

As I see it, Japan is, in general, on the right track in this respect. Though the responsible cabinet system has not been fully attained, today everyone seems to hold the firm belief that a vote of nonconfidence in the Diet should inevitably result in the resignation of the cabinet. Consequently it has become the practice for the government always to dissolve the Diet as soon as it sees that a nonconfidence motion is definitely about to be passed. Since December, 1885, when Count Itō . . . first instituted the present cabinet system, there have been about twenty cabinet changes. The great majority of them resulted from clashes with the Diet. Even in the beginning when the principle of nonparty cabinets was asserted, no cabinet could maintain its position in the face of parliamentary opposition. . . . At that time a nonparty cabinet seems to have meant a cabinet which stood aloof from the political parties in the Diet; it does not seem to have meant a cabinet uninfluenced by Diet decisions. Half-way through this thirty year period, Katsura and Saionji inaugurated the custom of alternating with each other as prime minister. Since that time, though the principle of party cabinets has not yet been fully implemented, it has become impossible for anyone to enter the cabinet without allying himself

in some fashion or other with the majority forces in the Diet. We should endeavor to promote this tendency and attain a more thorough enforcement of party government. From this point of view, I believe that even though good results might temporarily be achieved with a national unity cabinet, such as has been advocated from time to time, or with the cabinet of "talents" that some schemers have occasionally dreamed of, we must firmly reject these for the sake of the progress of constitutional government. Therefore in this area we must today struggle and contend on an even larger scale. If we are to have the Diet adequately supervise the government and thereby make the Diet in fact the central force in government, I believe it is absolutely essential that we should eradicate the bigoted views [that prevail about party cabinets].

It is essential to the operation of constitutional government that parliament should be the central force in government. This is why we have preached the principle of responsible cabinets. Yet, the West has gone ahead to a still further stage of development. Namely, in one or two countries it is no longer the government that is the powerful obstruction to making parliament, especially the popularly elected house, the central political force. If there is anything today that still somewhat stands in the way of the political supremacy of the popularly elected house, it is the upper house. Hence it has come to be advocated that the lower house should be made supreme over the upper house. . . . Originally the upper house [was established as a body whose] duty it was to give further consideration to the decisions of the lower house because it was felt that the people, whom the lower house represents, were not yet sufficiently well informed. Yet there are some among the masses today who are extremely highly advanced. Accordingly, from the practical point of view, no great harm would come if the restraining powers of the upper house were eliminated and the supremacy of the lower house recognized. [pp. 122-24]

The advanced nations of the West believe the popularly elected house is extremely important to the functioning of constitutional government. They believe this because the essence of constitutional government is, after all, democracy; and the complete realization of democracy, presupposing as it does the various reforms I have mentioned above, ultimately consists in making the lower house the central political force. Thus intellectuals in all countries are extremely anxious to give the lower house both in form and in fact a position of supremacy over the upper house

and the government. In Japan the meaning of a responsible cabinet is only now becoming clear. Though this is cause for rejoicing, we must at the same time regret very much that the authority of the lower house, which directly represents the power of the people, is not very important. This is partly because the legislators that comprise it are not as yet endowed with knowledge and dignity. No matter how important the lower house ought to be in the governmental system, the authority of the nation will never be vested in it if those who actually make up its membership consist solely of mediocre, unprincipled fools. Because able men are not attracted into it, it lacks the authority to deal with the upper house; and when a cabinet is formed the unseemly truth is that at the very least the prime minister must be sought outside of the lower house. As long as the lower house lacks able men, it will lack power; as long as it lacks power, men of promise will seek careers elsewhere. In this vicious circle the wisdom of the responsible cabinet system cannot be fully demonstrated. Under the present circumstances it is useless for the lower house to assume an air of importance. Screaming that the lower house should be respected will not endow it with any actual power. In this matter, we must on the one hand earnestly seek self-respect and strenuous effort from the legislators; on the other, we must ardently hope that the people will not go astray in elections, and that they will not neglect to spur on, indirectly and directly, the legislators whom they have chosen. As regards the Elder Statesmen and other upper class politicians, we must earnestly hope that they do not assume an attitude of detached loftiness, of useless disparagement of the lower house and of disdain for the power of the people's representatives. We must earnestly hope that as Japanese they too will, like us, cooperate for the sake of the nation in the task of strengthening the lower house. [pp. 128-30]

MINOBE TATSUKICHI

Defense of the "Organ" Theory

("Clearing up a Misinterpretation of a Constitutional Theory")

Minobe Tatsukichi (1873-1948) was professor of constitutional law at Tokyo Imperial University from 1900 to 1934. As early as 1911 he had expounded his famous theory that the emperor was an organ of the State. At that time conservative scholars attacked his theory, but as a result of Minobe's vigorous

and effective defense, it became generally accepted among legal scholars. With the growing ultranationalism of the 1930s, however, the attack on Minobe was renewed. In February, 1934, General Baron Kikuchi Takeo denounced Minobe's theory in the House of Peers. The selection below is the refutation Minobe published a few days later in the *Imperial University News*. This answer shows very clearly what Minobe meant when he called the emperor an organ of the State. It also illustrates the principles of constitutional interpretation employed by him in his lifelong endeavor to give a liberal content to the forms of government devised by the Meiji oligarchs. Moreover, we have here a demonstration of the clever way in which Minobe was able to bring to the support of his arguments the hallowed symbols of the past. In addition, one sees with what devastating logic Minobe could hoist the enemy on his own petard.

Unfortunately, logic was not enough in the Japan of the 1930s. In February, 1935, Baron Kikuchi resumed his attack in the House of Peers. The following month both houses of the Diet passed resolutions demanding that the government "clarify the national polity." In April the Home Ministry banned all of Minobe's writings which had any reference to the organ theory, including the present selection. Minobe resigned his seat in the House of Peers and just barely escaped trial for lese majesty. (One might add just barely escaped with his life, for in February, 1936, an extremist assaulted and wounded him.) On October 1, 1935, the cabinet announced its determination to eradicate the organ theory and initiated measures which culminated in the publication of *Fundamentals of Our National Polity* (*Kokutai no Hongi*).

[From Minobe, *Gikai seiji no kentō*, pp. 337-47]

In a speech . . . delivered on February 7 at a session of the House of Peers Baron Kikuchi Takeo touched upon the theories of constitutional law taught at the Imperial University. He did not mention me by name, but he cited one of my works and quoted a passage from it which he made out to be contrary to our national polity. He thundered that if such theories were not stamped out the future of the nation would be endangered. For a person with the slightest knowledge of constitutional law this attack does not require any refutation. However, a work of mine has been publicly cited at a session of the House of Peers and the whole Imperial University slandered. For the honor of the University, if for no other reason, I think it necessary to say a word about these irresponsible utterances.

As extracted from the minutes of the House of Peers the exact wording of that part of the Baron's speech which was concerned with my book is as follows:

"Nevertheless, there are books which today advocate this; among them one called something like *Kempō Satsuyō*, which is used at the Imperial University. . . . When you take a look at this book, you find that edition after edition has been published without there being eliminated from it the theory that the emperor is an organ of the State and other doctrines which are in contradiction to our national polity. Merely to think of our emperor as the same as the Chinese emperor or . . . any Western sovereign is, I believe, to forfeit the spirit of our national polity. If we do not stamp out the thought of scholars and politicians who think in that way, the future of the nation is threatened.

"This textbook emphasizes the influence of actual circumstances and vigorously expounds logic and the law of reason. It says that even though the words of the Constitution remain the same, the interpretation of these words may gradually come to be changed. . . . If possible, it would be preferable to change the problems on the Higher Civil Service Examination. The chairman or any other member of the Higher Civil Service Examination Committee who believes in this kind of idea should be thrown out. That is what I think."

These are his comments on my theory of the Constitution. He cited three points which he claimed were subversive of the national polity: 1) the theory that the emperor is an organ of the State; 2) the theory that the nation's law changes under the influence of actual circumstances; 3) the theory that even though the words of the nation's law are not altered there may be changes in its official interpretation.

I am second to none in my deeply rooted conviction that our unique national polity is our people's greatest glory and that therein partly lies the strength of the nation. The greatest duty of the people is to clarify the concept of our national polity and to support and uphold it.

However, I do not think the national polity is at all being upheld when a person who obviously has no understanding of scholarship arbitrarily rejects the theories of others, uselessly maintains narrow-minded opinions, and in the name of "national polity" tries to impede the development of serious learning. On the contrary, it is to be feared that such behavior will have an unfavorable effect upon the national polity.

As for the three points which, in a very fragmentary way, he cited from my book, it is simply his failure to understand my theories that makes him think them contrary to our national polity.

The scholarly validity of the theory that the sovereign is an organ of the State is an old chestnut which has already been under discussion for many years. Since the settled opinion of the academic world has already arrived at its foreordained conclusion, it does not seem at all necessary to discuss it again now. The idea that the theory is contrary to our national polity is a fallacy which arises, in the first place, from a misunderstanding of the term "organ" as it is used in jurisprudence.

To say that the sovereign is an organ of the nation merely expresses the idea that the sovereign governs not for his own private ends but for the ends of the whole nation. Article IV of the Constitution clearly states that the emperor is the "head of state." This means that if the nation is likened to the human body, the emperor occupies the position of its head. Prince Itō in his *Commentaries on the Constitution* says in this connection: ". . . just as the brain in the human body is the primitive source of all mental activity manifested through the four limbs and the different parts of the body." Needless to say, the brain is just one of man's organs, but it is the pivotal and paramount organ. In other words, the emperor-organ theory is identical in meaning with the Constitution's statement that the emperor is the head of state. It has no other meaning than that.

If it is denied that the ruler is an organ of the nation, how is the relationship between the ruler and the nation to be interpreted? There are only two interpretations possible: either the ruler is regarded as identical with the nation and therefore *is* the nation; or the nation is the passive object of the ruler's governing.

It is plain that the idea the ruler *is* the nation cannot be accepted in its literal sense. Since the foundation of the Japanese state there has been only one Japan; the one and the same nation has been in continuous existence. Yet from the Emperor Jimmu to the present emperor there have been 124 rulers. How then can one say that the ruler and the nation are identical? The nation is a community of the ruler and the people; both the ruler and the people are together the main elements which constitute the nation. If the people were all eliminated, how would it be possible for the ruler alone to constitute the nation? To come now to the idea that the nation is the passive object of the ruler's governing, this makes the nation something inanimate and devoid of energies and therefore is contrary to a completely sound national spirit. How is it possible to arouse a sense of patriotism if the nation is regarded as a dead object without

energies? The Imperial Rescript granted on the promulgation of the Constitution says: "We consider both the prosperity of the nation and the welfare of Our subjects to be Our foremost joy and glory."

Also in the Preamble to the Constitution there are the words: "... hoping to maintain the progress of the nation in concert with our subjects ..."

How would it be possible for a lifeless object to prosper, to maintain progress? The idea of a nation prospering or progressing assumes as its basic premise that the nation is a vital, dynamic entity comparable to a living body. The emperor is its head and occupies the position of its paramount organ.

Baron Kikuchi says that those who advocate the emperor-organ theory regard our emperor as on a par with monarchs in foreign countries. How naively he argues! He seems completely incapable of differentiating between the assertion that two things belong to the same conceptual category and the assertion that two things are regarded as identical. This manner of thinking would lead to a person believing that because Japan is a nation and Russia is a nation, Japan and Russia are identical; or that because red is a kind of color and white is a kind of color, there is no difference between red and white. A person who does not accept this way of thinking will not be able to approve the Baron's argument.

As for his second point, one does not have to go to the length of studying foreign countries in order to see that a nation's law is transformed and changed by the influence of actual circumstances. A mere glance at a few pages of Japanese history shows it to be a fact no one can dispute.

To give just one example, it would be well to consider why the Taihō Code, the most complete set of laws in our medieval period, became invalid. To this very day it has not been formally repealed. That code gradually ceased to be enforced and finally completely died out simply as a result of changes in circumstances. In other words, the force of actual circumstances resulted in one of the nation's written laws crumbling of itself into decay.

If a second instance is required, the interpellation which the Baron himself made proves in itself the point. The Baron is probably aware of the reason for this. Section 48 of the Law of the Houses provides that in order to ask a question of the government a member of the Diet has to secure the backing of thirty or more members of his House, prepare a

statement embodying the substance of his question, have this statement signed by his backers, and then submit this document to the president of his House. However, the Baron made his interpellation of the Minister of Commerce and Industry individually and orally: he was seconded by no one, and he prepared no document embodying the substance of his inquiry. This clearly contravened the provisions of the Law of the Houses. The Baron might say that his speech was not an inquiry within the meaning of the Law of the Houses but rather a question directed to a minister's speech. However, his question was occasioned by no matter that appeared in any speech by any minister, and particularly not by the Minister of Commerce and Industry, who did not speak at all. It was nominally a question directed at a minister's speech, but in substance it was purely an inquiry to the government. And yet it did not meet the requirements for an inquiry laid down in the Law of the Houses. Thus, from the standpoint of the express provisions of the Law of the Houses, the Baron's speech was clearly irregular. On what grounds does the Baron think such a speech is permissible? It is only because among parliamentary precedents there has been established the tradition that under the guise of a question directed toward a minister's speech a Diet member may ask questions about any aspect of administration, even those not touched upon by the minister. In other words, under the influence of a precedent, i.e., actual circumstances, the provisions of the Law of the Houses have to this extent been changed. If it were not admitted that the nation's law changes under the influence of actual circumstances, the Baron would not have been allowed to make such an interpellation. In view of this, I wonder if he has the temerity to deny that the nation's law alters under the influence of actual circumstances?

The Baron also says that "the influence of actual circumstances is stressed to the utmost," but if he has reference to my text this is a falsehood entirely without foundation. I merely take into account that as an objective legal phenomenon there is the fact that a nation's law changes under the influence of actual circumstances. It is obvious to any one who reads my books that I am not one who emphasizes "to the utmost" actual circumstances.

In contrast, consider the following words which the Baron spewed forth in his speech: "Since they are soldiers, they may do something reckless; for those who believe they are acting out of patriotism may do any-

thing." Ought not such a remark be regarded as an incitement to use force to destroy the nation's law?

When it comes to the Baron's third point, there are abundant examples showing that even though there may be no alteration in its phraseology, the nation's law may change because the official interpretation has changed. For those who have some knowledge of jurisprudence and have investigated juridical precedents, this is axiomatic and needs no explanation.

I will give a few familiar examples. 1) Take the case where an emergency ordinance issued under Article VIII of the Constitution has been submitted to the Diet but when the Diet ends it has as yet been neither approved nor disapproved. Originally the government's interpretation was that the emergency ordinance continued to be fully effective. However, since the Ōkuma cabinet the official interpretation has been altered and in [such] . . . circumstances the cabinet is obliged immediately to proclaim that for the future the ordinance has ceased to be valid. [Example 2 omitted] 3) During the period of the Satsuma and Chōshū cabinets the purpose of a Diet dissolution was interpreted to be an alteration in the composition of a House of Representatives which was not properly discharging its functions. It resembled a kind of chastisement. Consequently, it was thought that there was no objection to the same cabinet's dissolving the Diet as many times as it wished. However, since the Ōkuma cabinet the official interpretation has been changed, and it is now held that a Diet dissolution is effected in order to ask the people for a vote of confidence. 4) . . . This is another example of how in connection with the same constitutional text there have been changes in interpretation.

Many more instances of this kind could be cited. After all, words are imperfect means of expressing thought. Frequently a given text is susceptible of a variety of interpretations. It is quite natural that through changes in interpretation alterations should be made in the nation's law even though the text remains the same.

The Baron denounced the fact that I expound the law of reason. This merely demonstrates his failure to reflect on the matter sufficiently. I hear that after his speech he discussed with his friends the possibility of offering a resolution to censure the Minister of Commerce and Industry. Since the Minister resigned, the matter ended without the resolution being introduced. However, several years ago the House of Peers did pass a resolution which censured an action of the then prime minister, Tanaka,

as being thoughtless and imprudent. I wonder what the Baron thinks are the legal grounds upon which such a resolution of censure is permitted? Nowhere in the Law of the Houses, nor, of course, in the Constitution, is there any provision which accords such a right to the House of Peers. It can be explained only through the law of reason. If the Baron does not recognize the law of reason, how can he defend himself against the criticism that such a resolution is not permitted by the Constitution?

To sum up, the Baron delivered in a public forum a speech which cited my book, criticized my theories, and even defamed the honor of my university and the Higher Civil Service Examination Committee. I think we can conclude that it was a thoughtless speech with absolutely no foundation in fact. It is all right to expound the dignity of our national polity. The advocacy of the Japanese spirit is also to be warmly welcomed. However, great harm will be done our nation and society if a person with bigoted views based upon a smattering of knowledge, thinking himself alone to be a defender of the national polity and a supporter of the Japanese spirit, makes out those who have opinions differing from his own to be traitorous rebels subversive of the national polity and lacking in respect for the Japanese spirit, and then proceeds under the shelter of the "national polity" to shackle their freedom of speech. One of the greatest merits of the Japanese spirit is the virtue of tolerance. One does not have to go far back into history to seek examples of a bountiful imperial clemency which, once peace had been restored, pardoned even those who had taken up arms against the Throne and thus been stigmatized as rebels. In the reign of the Meiji Emperor we find signal instances of this. Indeed, this act of the emperor in not hating even rebels against the Throne must be considered the very essence of the Japanese spirit. Even though they style themselves believers in Japanese principles, that gang which wantonly prides itself upon attacking and entrapping others is at great variance with the true Japanese spirit.

PEACEFUL COOPERATION ABROAD

Baron Shidehara Kijūrō (1872-1951) is so closely identified with the peaceful and cooperative policies usually followed by Japan in the 1920s that they have come to be designated as "Shidehara diplomacy." From

1915 to 1919 he was vice-minister of foreign affairs. In 1921-22 he was a chief delegate to the Washington Conference, a gathering whose outcome typifies his diplomacy since it provided for naval disarmament, for security in the Pacific through international agreement, and for conciliation of China by a settlement of the Shantung Question. In 1924-1927 and again in 1929-1931 he held the post of foreign minister in the *Kenseikai* and *Minseitō* cabinets. Largely as a result of the high regard in which he was held by foreign opinion, Shidehara came to play a prominent role in the political life of Japan after the Second World War, serving as prime minister in 1945-1946.

SHIDEHARA KIJŪRŌ

A Rapprochement with China

This is an extract from a policy statement which Shidehara made to the Diet on January 21, 1930. It is a good illustration of his conciliatory attitude toward China and his sympathetic regard for the problems created by the Nationalist Revolution.

[From *Documents on International Affairs*, 1930, pp. 180-82]

In China endless scenes of internal commotion and strife have in the past from year to year presented themselves. They have not only caused untold misery and hardships to the Chinese people themselves, but have also exercised a most harmful influence upon our political and economic relations with China. Nothing was more gratifying to us than to witness the measure of success which the Nationalist Government, through tremendous efforts, was able to attain in 1928 in the great enterprise of effecting a national unification. Having regard, however, to the historical and geographical background of China, and other conditions surrounding her, we are not blind to the many difficulties with which any attempt at the establishment of peace and unity in all parts of that vast country will necessarily have to grapple. As a matter of fact, the political situation in China began once more to show signs of unrest in the spring of last year. Recent indications are more reassuring, but the future alone can tell if the crisis has been averted once and for all.

We in Japan have only to look forward with sympathy and patience to the achievement of their task by those who have been devoting their attention and energy to composing China's existing difficulties. We can-

not, however, dismiss from our mind an apprehension born out by various instances in history that, in any country faced with similar troubles, the temptation may grow strong for men in power to resort to an adventurous foreign policy with a view to diverting the minds of the people from internal to external affairs. It would be needless to point out that, in our modern world, a policy repugnant to all sense of reason and moderation can scarcely tend to enhance the prestige of a nation, or to serve the purpose for which it is intended. I sincerely trust that the responsible statesmen of China will avoid all such temptations, and will proceed to work out their own country's destiny by steady and measured steps.

The future of Sino-Japanese relations is variously viewed in this country. There are pessimists who maintain that, however fair and liberal a course Japan may steer, China will never meet us half-way, but will be swayed by considerations of domestic politics and assume towards us an attitude more wanton than ever, which would only be calculated to aggravate the situation. Others entertain a more optimistic view. They hold that all the suspicion and mistrust which the Chinese people have hitherto harbored toward Japan rest on no substantial grounds, and that, with better understanding on China's part of our real motives, there must come a better relationship between the two peoples. They further anticipate that the stabilization of the internal political status of the Chinese government will be followed by a reorientation of China's foreign policies upon more moderate and normal lines.

I am not here to pass judgment either way upon these conflicting views. In any case, whatever response we may receive at the hands of the Chinese, we are determined to exert our best efforts to regulate our relations with China on a basis which we believe to be just and fair. Our peculiarly close relations with China, and more especially the complexity and variety of their ramifications, are naturally bound to give rise to questions from time to time calling for diplomatic treatment, and tending to excite the feelings either of the Japanese or of the Chinese people.

If, however, one takes a broader view of the future well-being of both China and Japan, one will be satisfied that there is no other course open to the two nations than to pursue the path of mutual accord and co-operation in all their relations, political and economic. Their real and lasting interests, which in no way conflict but have much in common

with each other, ought to be a significant assurance of their growing *rapprochement*. If the Chinese people awaken to these facts and show themselves responsive to the policy so outlined, nothing will more conduce to the mutual welfare of both nations. Should they, on the contrary, fail to understand us, and seek trouble with us, we can at least rest assured of our strong position in the public opinion of the world.

International Cooperation and Arms Reduction

This extract from the ten-point policy statement issued by the *Minseitō* cabinet when it assumed office in July, 1929, further elucidates Shidehara's foreign policy and at the same time shows how his thinking influenced that of the political party cabinet with which he had become associated.

[From Amako, *Heimin Saishō Hamaguchi Yūkō*, pp. 13-19; *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*, July 10, 1929, p. 6]

IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH CHINA

One of the most urgent needs of the day is the improvement of Sino-Japanese relations and the deepening of a neighborly friendship between the two countries. In connection with changes in the "unequal treaties," our policy of friendly cooperation with China has already been demonstrated in a practical way by the holding of the Special Customs Conference and the Extraterritoriality Conference. In view of the present developments in China this administration recognizes the necessity of increasingly carrying out this policy. In their relations each country must understand and give sympathetic consideration to the special viewpoint of the other, and thereby seek a fair and impartial point of balance. To chase about aimlessly after minor interests is not the way to preserve the main interest. To move troops about rashly is not the way to enhance the national prestige. What this administration desires is co-existence and co-prosperity. Especially in the economic relations between the two countries must there be free and untrammelled development. Our country is determined not only to reject an aggressive policy for any part of China but also to offer willingly our friendly cooperation in the attainment of the aspirations of the Chinese people. Nevertheless, it is the undoubted duty of this government to preserve those legitimate and important rights which are indispensable to our nation's prosperity and existence. We believe that the Chinese people also will fully understand

this. This administration will emphasize the improvement of relations between the empire and the other powers, and the encouragement of mutual commerce and enterprise. We must be ever vigilant against being too partial to the political point of view and failing to give due consideration to economic relations. The improvement of our international financial position depends primarily upon the peaceful development of commerce and overseas enterprises. In view of our present position among the powers it is also the high destiny of our country to contribute to the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind by cooperating in the activities of the League of Nations. This administration attaches great importance to the League of Nations and will make every effort to help in the realization of its aims.

PROMOTION OF ARMS LIMITATION

At this time we must, in cooperation with the other powers, resolutely promote the establishment of an international agreement. The object of this agreement should not be restricted merely to the limitation of arms but should include substantial reductions in arms. The empire's sincere attitude in this matter has already often been demonstrated. Although plans for such an agreement have repeatedly met with difficulties in the past, public demand is more intense, and the time is becoming ripe for the accomplishment of this cherished desire. It is believed that the consummation of this great world undertaking will not be difficult if each power approaches this matter in a spirit of mutual conciliation and, taking into consideration the special situation of each country, provides equally for the security of all.

YAMAMURO SÔBUN

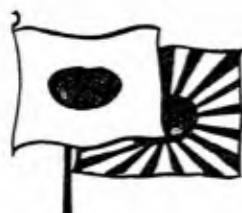
Call for a Peaceful Japan

The following is taken from a speech made in December, 1929, by Yamamuro Sôbun (1880-1950), an important Mitsubishi executive who was at that time president of the Mitsubishi Trust Company. It indicates one important source of support for Shidehara's policies and the reasons behind that support. Shidehara was married to a member of the family which owned the Mitsubishi enterprises, and the *Minseitô*, it will be remembered, was popularly believed to receive a substantial part of its funds from Mitsubishi.

[From Yamamuro Sôbun, *Waga kuni keizai oyobi kin'yû*, pp. 292-93]

When we consider [the state] of Japan's national economy, when we think of our scarcity of natural resources, when we reflect upon today's international situation, [the solution to our problems might seem to lie in] either the seizure of dependencies under a policy of aggression or the establishment of a Monroe Doctrine. Nevertheless, there is absolutely no place in Japan's future for [these policies]. Japan can keep itself a going concern only by means of international cooperation. Under this policy of international cooperation we can get along by producing goods of the highest possible quality at the lowest possible price, thereby expanding our foreign markets to the greatest [extent] possible. A country as deficient in natural resources as Japan buys raw materials from foreign countries at low prices and processes [these materials] at a low cost. Of course, circumstances peculiar to Japan have [modified] our development. For example, silk has been an important item. However, in addition to encouraging the expansion of this industry we must endeavor through a policy of international cooperation to establish our country as an international industrial producer of international commodities. To that end we must do our best to create an amicable atmosphere in international relations. If we have the reputation of liking war or of being militarists, [a policy of] international cooperation will be impossible. We must resolutely follow a policy of peace. It is essential to make all foreigners feel that the Japanese have been converted from their old religion and have become advocates of peace. For that reason we must as far as possible eliminate international barriers. In that sense, a commercial treaty with China is probably necessary. For this same purpose, the abolition of unnecessary tariffs is also required. I wonder if the best way to manage the post-resumption¹ financial world is not to eliminate the various international barriers, to adopt a viewpoint as similar as possible to that of the foreigner and to maintain close cooperation with foreigners.

¹ That is, after Japan returned to the Gold Standard, Jan. 1930.



CHAPTER XXVII

THE RISE OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

The Meiji Period was marked by the rapid growth of Japanese nationalism. In the 1870s most Japanese, except for the literate samurai, were still unconscious of and indifferent to national affairs, but by the end of the century Japan demonstrated striking national unity and determination on matters of national and international concern.

This consciousness of belonging and of participation on the part of the Japanese people was the product of many things. Mass education, which made Japan the first literate Asian nation, made it possible to activate the populace by means of the press. Conscription broadened the horizons of peasant youths who served in various parts of the country they would not otherwise have seen. Industrial developments which unified the country through better communications brought foreign goods and ideas to all the coastal population centers. The centralization policies of the Meiji government standardized administration throughout the country and weakened the force of particularist customs and dialects. The growing scope of constitutional government increased the responsibilities and interests of community leaders. And Japan's successful wars were both the products and the causes of bursts of national self-confidence. The victory over China in 1895, followed hard by the refusal of Germany, France, and Russia to allow Japan to occupy the Kwantung peninsula in Manchuria, and the victory over Russia in 1905, followed by the annexation of Korea in 1910, provided proof of Japanese accomplishment together with evidence of further problems and responsibilities which would require still greater national determination and effort.

Together with the growth of Japanese nationalism—a growth which was not unlike the development of nationalism in the nineteenth-century West—came the growth of extremist ultranationalism. The ultranation-

alists feared that Japan was becoming too "Western," and they appealed to ancient and feudal traditions in fighting for their cause. The ultranationalists maintained consistent pressure on their government and countrymen for expansion abroad and orthodoxy at home.

The ultranationalists were indignant because of injustices, real and fancied, which the West had inflicted on Japan. In the Meiji Period they could complain about the unequal treaties. In later years Western criticism of Japanese imperial aspirations and Western restrictions on Japanese immigration and trade served to convince them of continued oppression and interference. The ultranationalists were also resentful of what they considered an excessive influx of Western ideas and institutions into modern Japan. They were at all times sharply critical of Japanese infatuated with Western ways of doing things, and they insisted on a priority for Japanese ideas and institutions—ideas and institutions which culminated in the person and symbol of the emperor. And, since Japanese ideas and institutions were superior to those of the West, and since the West was constantly threatening to envelop Japan and the rest of Asia into its economic and ideological sphere, the ultranationalists were convinced that it was Japan's mission to lead and protect Asia. They were critical of their government when it seemed to neglect opportunities for such leadership, and they were cooperative with it when it proved alive to its mission. Thus the main stream of the ultranationalist movement was vigorously xenophobic, emperor-centered, and Asia-conscious.

Yet it would be a dangerous oversimplification to imagine this main stream as a consistent and a distinct group at all times. There was a large area of agreement between the ultranationalists and others who were less willing to resort to extremist measures. And internally the ultranationalist movement represented a complicated picture of personal and regional cliques whose standards and objectives shifted frequently in response to the dictates of opportunism.

In terms of social thought and political influence at home the Japanese ultranationalists attained their true significance only in the twentieth century. Until the time of the First World War their chief efforts were expended on behalf of a vigorous foreign policy. But although the themes and emphases of agitation shifted, the make-up of the leadership group of twentieth-century extremist organizations was for long related to that of the patriotic societies formed early in the Meiji Period.

JAPAN AND ASIA

In 1881 a group of disgruntled ex-samurai of Fukuoka formed the *Genyōsha*. They took this name from the *Genkainada*, the body of water which lies between Fukuoka and the Asiatic mainland, and in so doing they signified their determination to work for a vigorous policy of expansion in Asia. Tōyama Mitsuru (1855-1944) and the other leaders of this organization were alarmed by the extent of social and ideological change that had followed the overthrow of the feudal regime, and they were indignant because of the treatment given the warrior class. They considered themselves highminded idealists like the samurai of Restoration days, and they were able to attract youthful activists prepared to show, by deeds of individual heroism and violence, their sincerity in opposing the "Western" policies of the Meiji government. One of their number, who very nearly succeeded in assassinating Foreign Minister Ōkuma in 1889, was thereafter honored by an annual ceremony of rededication. New deeds of valor, as when a Foreign Office official was murdered in 1913, drew new recruits for the cause of "Japanism."

The *Genyōsha* members at first cooperated with the liberal parliamentarians, but they soon saw that the interests of expansionist groups in the military and business worlds lay closer to their own. They harbored and helped revolutionaries and reformers from Korea and China who sought asylum in Japan, and they encouraged trips to the mainland for commerce and espionage by their friends. They did their best to speed the war with China which came in 1894, and thereafter they turned to the problem of Russia.

In 1901 the *Genyōsha* leaders formed the Amur Society (*Kokuryūkai*, literally, Black Dragon Society). Tōyama and his friends threatened government leaders who sought for agreement with Russia, they sponsored trips into Siberia and Korea and the study of Russian, and they helped to establish liaison with Manchurian bandit groups for the coming war.

Yet despite their idealism, their denunciation of the government, and opposition to the corrupting influence of money and big business on the national morality, the patriotic society leaders did not hesitate to accept financial help from interested individuals in the Westernized industrial

world whose influence they professedly sought to curb. They received support from some sectors of the business world, from secret army funds, and at times from other government agencies. In addition they were involved in many questionable transactions on the borderline between legitimate business and labor racketeering. They were not "secret societies," for they made every attempt for full publicity to exaggerate their influence. Neither were they mass societies; they preferred to remain small elite groups clustered around charismatic leaders.

After the defeat of Russia most of Japan's overseas aspirations seemed satisfied. But the ultranationalists were not therefore lacking in material for indignation and agitation; domestic issues now came to the fore. After the First World War a larger and more restless proletariat worried some of them, and in the countryside resentful tenant farmers, unable to maintain the standard of living they had achieved during the war, grew mutinous. Patterns of familial obligation and imperial loyalty seemed endangered by social reformism, internationalism, democracy, and communism. Moreover, Japan's post-Meiji government, dominated by big business, showed a willingness to enter international agreements for naval limitation, and it also sought to ward off Chinese nationalist agitation by a milder policy on the mainland. In the meantime restrictions upon Japanese trade and immigration increased. By the end of the 1920s the world Depression and the resulting distress in Japan provided ultranationalists with persuasive arguments against the business leaders and their moderation in foreign policy.

The patriotic societies thus turned to fight subversion at home. At the same time they kept alive—and elaborated on—their exploits of the past in order to recreate the sense of urgency and of destiny which had been theirs in the Meiji Period.

An Anniversary Statement by the Amur Society

In 1930 the Amur Society (*Kokuryūkai*) prepared for its thirtieth anniversary a two-volume *Secret History of the Annexation of Korea* which stressed the prominent part which the Society had played in that achievement. To this history was added a history of the Society's past activities and an explanation of its future intentions. The document ends with a statement of rededication for the future. Although the Society has here shifted its emphases considerably,

it will be seen that its principal program is little different from that which featured the activities of the early group of ultranationalists in Fukuoka.

[From *Nikkān gappō hishi*, I, Appendix, pp. 1-4]

Today our empire has entered a critical period in which great zeal is required on the part of the entire nation. From the first, we members of the Amur Society have worked in accordance with the imperial mission for overseas expansion to solve our overpopulation; at the same time, we have sought to give support and encouragement to the peoples of East Asia. Thus we have sought the spread of humanity and righteousness throughout the world by having the imperial purpose extend to neighboring nations.

Earlier, in order to achieve these principles, we organized the Heavenly Blessing Heroes in Korea in 1894 and helped the Tong Hak rebellion there in order to speed the settlement of the dispute between Japan and China. In 1899 we helped Aguinaldo in his struggle for independence for the Philippines. In 1900 we worked with other comrades in helping Sun Yat-sen start the fires of revolution in South China. In 1901 we organized this Society and became exponents of the punishment of Russia, and thereafter we devoted ourselves to the annexation of Korea while continuing to support the revolutionary movement in China. At all times we have consistently centered our efforts on the solution of problems of foreign relations, and we have not spared ourselves in this cause.

During this period we have seen the fulfillment of our national power in the decisive victories in the two major wars against China and Russia, in the annexation of Korea, the acquisition of Formosa and Sakhalin, and the expulsion of Germany from the Shantung peninsula. Japan's status among the empires of the world has risen until today she ranks as one of the three great powers, and from this eminence she can support other Asiatic nations. While these achievements were of course attributable to the august virtue of the great Meiji emperor, nevertheless we cannot but believe that our own efforts, however slight, also bore good fruit.

However, in viewing recent international affairs it would seem that the foundation established by the great Meiji emperor is undergoing rapid deterioration. The disposition of the gains of the war with Germany was left to foreign powers, and the government, disregarding the needs of national defense, submitted to unfair demands to limit our naval power.

Moreover, the failure of our China policy made the Chinese more and more contemptuous of us, so much so that they have been brought to demand the surrender of our essential defense lines in Manchuria and Mongolia. Furthermore, in countries like the United States and Australia our immigrants have been deprived of rights which were acquired only after long years of struggle, and we now face a highhanded anti-Japanese expulsion movement which knows no bounds. Men of purpose and of humanity who are at all concerned for their country cannot fail to be upset by the situation.

When we turn our attention to domestic affairs, we feel more than deep concern. There is a great slackening of discipline and order. Men's hearts are become corrupt. Look about you! Are not the various government measures and establishments a conglomeration of all sorts of evils and abuses? The laws are confusing, and evil grows apace. The people are overwhelmed by heavy taxes, the confusion in the business world complicates the livelihood of the people, the growth of dangerous thought threatens social order, and our national polity, which has endured for three thousand years, is in danger. This is a critical time for our national destiny; was there ever a more crucial day? What else can we call this time if it is not termed decisive?

And yet, in spite of this our government, instead of pursuing a far-sighted policy, casts about for temporary measures. The opposition party simply struggles for political power without any notion of saving our country from this crisis. And even the press, which should devote itself to its duty of guiding and leading society, is the same. For the most part it swims with the current, bows to vulgar opinions, and is chiefly engrossed in money making. Alas! Our empire moves ever closer to rocks which lie before us. Yet the captains and navigators are men of this sort! Truly, is this not the moment for us to become aroused?

Our determination to rise to save the day is the inescapable consequence of this state of affairs. Previously our duty lay in the field of foreign affairs, but when we see internal affairs in disorder how can we succeed abroad? Therefore we of the Amur Society have determined to widen the scope of our activity. Hereafter, besides our interest in foreign affairs, we will give unselfish criticism of internal politics and of social problems, and we will seek to guide public opinion into proper channels. Thereby we will, through positive action, continue in the tradition of our past. We

will establish a firm basis for our organization's policy and, through co-operation with other groups devoted to similar political, social, and ideological ideals, we are resolved to reform the moral corruption of the people, restore social discipline, and ease the insecurity of the people's livelihood by relieving the crises in the financial world, restore national confidence, and increase the national strength, in order to carry out the imperial mission to awaken the countries of Asia. In order to clarify these principles, we here set forth our platform to all our fellow patriots:

PRINCIPLES

We stand for Divine Rulership (*tennō shugi*). Basing ourselves on the fundamental teachings of the foundation of the empire, we seek the extension of the imperial influence to all peoples and places and the fulfillment of the glory of our national polity.

PLATFORM

1. Developing the great plan of the founders of the country, we will widen the great Way (*tao*) of Eastern culture, work out a harmony of Eastern and Western cultures, and take the lead among Asian peoples.

2. We will bring to an end many evils, such as formalistic legalism; it restricts the freedom of the people, hampers common sense solution, prevents efficiency in public and private affairs, and destroys the true meaning of constitutional government. Thereby we will show forth again the essence of the imperial principles.

3. We shall rebuild the present administrative systems. We will develop overseas expansion through the activation of our diplomacy, further the prosperity of the people by reforms in internal government, and solve problems of labor and management by the establishment of new social policies. Thereby we will strengthen the foundations of the empire.

4. We shall carry out the spirit of the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors and stimulate a martial spirit by working toward the goal of a nation in arms. Thereby we look toward the perfection of national defense.

5. We plan a fundamental reform of the present educational system, which is copied from those of Europe and America; we shall set up a

basic study of a national education originating in our national polity. Thereby we anticipate the further development and heightening of the wisdom and virtue of the Yamato race.

AGITATION BY ASSASSINATION

The displeasure with the business world shown by the Amur Society document above was shared by all groups of the Japanese ultranationalist movement. It was logical that leaders of the business world should have been early targets for extremists. Their tremendous wealth contrasted strikingly to the poverty of the masses, and it showed a success in personal ("selfish") aims which contrasted to the declared selflessness of the disinterested "idealists" who pursued them. The business leaders were chief agents of the cosmopolitanism which the ultranationalists feared. With the decline in number of the *genrō* and the decline in prestige of the army in the years after the First World War, the businessmen advanced to the center of the political stage. Their control of and contributions to the political parties which formed cabinets during the Taishō Period resulted in periodic disclosures of scandals and corruption. Since the extremists felt that existing laws had been framed to protect the wrongdoers, they had to resort to extralegal violence to achieve their end.

The manner of this violence provided some features which set the Japanese ultranationalist movement off from the fascist movements in Germany and Italy. While Hitler and Mussolini strove for large scale organizations and a mass following, the Japanese fanatics concentrated on individual heroics. They felt that a few spectacular acts of protest by idealists willing to sacrifice their lives would suffice to force major changes in the political and social order. In this belief they followed honored Japanese traditions, for the loyalist patriots of Restoration days also exploited fully the possibilities of self-sacrifice and of political and ideological assassination. But most of the Japanese fanatics were quite unprepared with a blueprint for action to be taken once they succeeded in breaking down the old order. As one of the assassins in a plot which cost Prime Minister Inukai's life in 1932 explained, "We thought about destruction first. We never considered taking on the duty of construction.

We foresaw, however, that the destruction once accomplished, somebody would take charge of construction." Thus the first step was to consist of individual, uncoordinated acts of violence against representative figures in society.

ASAHI HEIGO

Call for a New "Restoration"

The first important murder in the campaign against the capitalist leaders came a full decade before the ultranationalist terrorism of the 1930s. On September 3, 1921, Asahi Heigo, a leader of the *Shinshū Gidan*, or Righteousness Corps of the Divine Land, assassinated Yasuda Zenjirō, head of the Yasuda *zaibatsu* house, at Yasuda's home. Asahi left a statement explaining his reasons which illustrates his thorough contempt for the established political and social leaders. Like the young army officers of the 1930s who worked for a "Shōwa Restoration," Asahi called for a "Taishō Restoration" (*Taishō* being the reign name of the emperor ruling from 1912-1926, and *Shōwa* of his successor, known to the West as Hirohito).

[From Shinobu Seisaburō, *Taishō seiji shi*, III, 749-51]

The *genrō* set up the model, and today our political affairs are run by scoundrels. Fujita Densaburō became a baron by making counterfeit bills by order of Itō Hirobumi. Ōkura [another *zaibatsu* house] became a baron by contributing a part of the money he dishonestly made through selling canned goods containing pebbles. Yamamoto Gombei [a premier whose cabinet was overthrown in 1914 by the discovery of corruption in warship contracts] built an enormous fortune by his performance in the Siemens warship scandal. Ōkuma, Yamagata, and other old notables are wealthy now because of their corruption while in office. The *Kenseikai* is backed by Iwasaki [head of the Mitsubishi interests] and the *Seiyūkai* [the government party] raises its campaign funds from the South Manchurian Railroad and from opium. The other statesmen and dignitaries too are all skilled in evil-doing and they work with only self-interest in mind. And while the great individual fortunes have been built up by Mitsui, Iwasaki, Ōkura, Asano, Kondo, Yasuda, Furukawa, and Suzuki, the other plutocrats are no better. . . .

Alas, this is a time of danger. Foreign thought contrary to our national polity has moved in like a rushing torrent. The discontent of the needy

masses who have been mistreated for long years by this privileged class but who have hitherto kept their bitter feelings deeply hidden is now being stirred up. The cold smiles and reproachful eyes of the poor show that they are close to brutality. There is a growing likelihood that the desperation of the people will take account of neither the nation nor the emperor.

Some of our countrymen are suffering from tuberculosis because of overwork, filth, and undernourishment. Others, bereaved, become street-walkers in order to feed their beloved children. And those who were once hailed as defenders of the country are now reduced to beggary simply because they were disabled in the wars. . . . Moreover, some of our countrymen suffer hardships in prison because they committed minor crimes under the pressure of starvation, while high officials who commit major crimes escape punishment because they can manipulate the laws.

The former feudal lords, who were responsible for the death of our ancestors by putting them in the line of fire, are now nobility and enjoy a life of indolence and debauchery. Men who became generals by sacrificing our brothers' lives in battle are arrogantly preaching loyalty and patriotism as though they had achieved the victory all by themselves.

Consider this seriously! These new nobles are our enemies because they drew a pool of our blood, and the former lords and nobles are also our foes, for they took our ancestors' lives.

My fellow young idealists! Your mission is to bring about a Taishō Restoration. These are the steps you must take:

1. Bury the traitorous millionaires.
2. Crush the present political parties.
3. Bury the high officials and nobility.
4. Bring about a universal suffrage.
5. Abolish provisions for inheritance of rank and wealth.
6. Nationalize the land and bring relief to tenant farmers.
7. Confiscate all fortunes above 100,000 yen.
8. Nationalize big business.
9. Reduce military service to one year.

These are initial steps. But the punishment of the traitorous millionaires is the most urgent of all these, and there is no way of doing this except to assassinate them resolutely.

Finally, I want to say a word to my colleagues. I hope that you will live

up to my principles. Do not speak, do not get excited, and do not be conspicuous. You must be quiet and simply stab, stick, cut, and shoot. There is no need to meet or to organize. Just sacrifice your life. And work out your own way of doing this. In this way you will prepare the way for the revolution. The flames will start here and there, and our fellow idealists will band together instantly. So forget about self-interest, and do not think about your own name or fame. Just die, just sleep. Never seek wisdom, but take the road of ignorance and come to know the height of great folly.¹

THE PLIGHT OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

In contrast to the cult of the all-powerful State which distinguished the ultranationalist movements in Europe, a great deal of Japanese ultranationalism was marked by a nostalgic longing for the values of primitive agrarian society. Several theorists turned from the evils of their society to envision a society with less government, more local autonomy, and more closely knit ties of familial solidarity. These ties would of course culminate in the person of the emperor as father of the nation, but the total structure they envisioned would necessarily remain very different from the highly centralized and industrialized society which Japan was developing.

The most influential exponents of this position were Tachibana Kosaburō (still alive) and Gondō Seikei (1866-1937). Both of them owed much to traditional Taoist-utopian ideals of social organization. Tachibana wrote that a state could exist forever only under agrarian communalism, and he warned that "Japan cannot be herself if separated from the earth." Gondō, for his part, felt that Japan had been founded on the principle of autonomous living, in which "the sovereign does not go far beyond setting examples, thereby giving his people a good standard." Gondō felt that the small-scale groupings of society in primitive times were the only natural and desirable ones, and his writings show a profound distrust of big government and big army.

Together with this praise of primitive society came laments for the distress of the villagers in modern Japan. Victimized by big government,

¹ A notion adapted from the Chinese Taoist classics, *Lao Tzu* and *Chuang Tzu*.

big business, and by the burden of the wasteful military, the villagers were being deprived of their autonomy and their livelihood. Instead of the equality of primitive communalism, Japanese society was showing a very unhealthy class differentiation. For Tachibana this was an evil of urbanization; "according to a common expression," he wrote, "Tokyo is the hub of the world. But I regret to say that Tokyo appears to me nothing but a branch shop of London." Gondō too lamented the decline of agrarian life, "the foundation of the country and the source of habits and customs," while "Tokyo and other cities have expanded out of all proportion to agrarian villages and are built up with great tall buildings." Inequalities of this sort presaged the doom of what he called the "bureaucratic administration patterned after the Prussian style of nationalism."

Thus the agrarian-conscious rightists found traditional grounds for a strong attack against their society. They did not entirely renounce industrialization and machinery, for it had its necessary role in livelihood and national defense. But the unjust social structure upon which Japan's modern society rested was, they thought, likely to make all plans for defense and reform go wrong.

Writings of this sort had a considerable appeal to the young officers in the army. By the Shōwa Period Japan's officer corps was no longer dominated by members of the samurai class, but it was increasingly drawn from the countryside and the peasantry. Discontented with what they saw in the urban sector of Japanese life, unable to understand why their senior commanders worked with the politicians and businessmen, the young officers were prepared to accept Gondō's explanation that the military clique was just another wing of the bureaucratic ruling class.

GONDŌ SEIKEI

The Gap between the Privileged Classes and the Commoners

Gondō's works, *Principles of Autonomous People* (*Jichi mimpan*) and *Essay on the Self Salvation of Farm Villages* (*Nōson jikyū ron*), were written during the years of the Great Depression when distress in the villages was most acute. His writings served in a measure as the ideology of the young officers who struck down Premier Inukai in May of 1932. Gondō himself, however, had little or no connection with the extremists who were moved to action by his writings.

[From Gondō, *Jichi mimpan*, pp. 185-88]

It was during this period [the late nineteenth century] that the criminal law was codified, civil law was codified, the system of cities, towns, and villages was put into effect, and the protection of private fortunes was really established on the principle of property rights. This made those who profit without working and the members of the privileged classes the pampered favorites of the state. The bureaucracy, the *zaibatsu*, and the military became the three supports of the state, the political parties attached themselves to them, and the scholars fawned upon them. These groups allied with each other through marriage and they all combined to form a single group. In a country so ordered, it is quite obvious that no matter how it may be kept up in the future, the nation's military affairs cannot be supported by means of the privileged class of military alone. I am not an advocate of disarmament nor am I a pacifist. I have a sincere desire for adequate national defense. For that very reason I have strong misgivings about the present system of military preparation. Leaving aside a detailed discussion for another time, I will say here only that even if we train millions of soldiers, unless we are able to produce the weapons and necessary supplies in quantity, the soldiers in the line will be no more than puppets. It is well known that our numbers of primary and secondary reserves and our capacity to train troops and supply material are military secrets, and there is no use in trying to be specific about them. But actually it is a deplorable state of affairs. The situation had its origin in the period after the Russo-Japanese War, when one faction rashly added to the number of people living on army appropriations in order to add to the prestige of the military clique.

The change in popular sentiment in all nations after the First World War, largely a result of economic theories, was also reflected in great changes in this country. Moreover, with the Russian Revolution, the disorders on the China mainland, the ebb and flow of Eastern and Western, old and new thought, took place partly in response to economic pressures and partly to scientific advance. The idea of a militaristic, Prussian nationalism declined into such a foul state of decay that not even the dogs would eat it. If only Japan had, in accord with the spirit of the times, persevered in this course, might she not have been able to take her place at the world game-board? But there seems to be something more or less frightening in any sort of militaristic administration. Let me explain. The empty gesture of reducing strength by four divisions was carried

out. Yet in spite of this military appropriations have not been reduced in the slightest. There is nothing very assuring about such slipshod management of affairs in this critical period of change, and in the wake of the earthquake and fire [of 1923].

In militaristic states, whether of early or recent times, the plutocracy never fails to come out on top. When the plutocrats conspire with those who hold political power, the resources of the people fall under their control almost before one is aware of what is happening. When this happens, the common people fall upon evil days; they are pursued by cold and hunger, and unless they work in the midst of their tears as tools of the plutocrats and those holding political power they cannot stay alive. When people are pursued by hunger and have to work tearfully in the face of death, what sort of human rights do you suppose remain? Already the country's basic resources—land, raw materials, the machinery of transport and finance, mines, fishing grounds—are, for the most part, becoming the private property of a small number of powerful capitalists. In this setting have come labor disputes and tenantry problems. In the beginning, the capitalists held themselves aloof from these, but as their base became stronger and as they furthermore established close contacts with various parts of European society, they were the ones who, when the European labor practices came to be stressed, set up various institutions to smooth adjustments. These then became a part of the general social policy, and the government too began step by step to set up similar bureaus; they talked about reforms. The government's new social bureaus, and the setting up of officials concerned with tenantry, are all precious items of this sort. But trying to reconcile capital and labor by such means in these times makes about as much sense as trying to find fish by climbing trees. In prosperous times, Bismarck's social policies might have secured a certain degree of tranquillity in Germany for a while. Now, however, not only do the laborers and tenants themselves see through the capitalists and politicians, but the amount of knowledge built up by scholarly research and pragmatic study which tends to support the laborers and tenants is actually coming to exceed that of the scholars who are hirelings of the capitalists or who comprise some of the trash in the bureaucracy. If only they could work with the backing of the law, some of the temporizing measures of those in power could probably be carried out, but actually it is totally unrealistic to expect cooperation or reforms.

Since the conditions under which the people live are in fact as I have indicated, the foundations of the military regime cannot be secure. To be sure, the military officers, men who hold office for life, are guaranteed an adequate living, and so they are usually conspicuously loyal, brave, and noble. And indeed they have to be. But the soldiers who dutifully have to shed their blood are all sons and brothers of the common people. The great majority of these soldiers were born in poverty and hardship; they entered the barracks, and then had to submit to the orders of their superior officers. As the sons and brothers of the common people, they will not under any circumstances forget that they are themselves common people. If, then, we infer what goes on in their minds, and take this problem of the commoners' plight and the privileged classes as proportionate, think of the changes that will take place in men's hearts; look back on the labor and tenant problems—from disturbance to struggle, and from struggle, what will come? Granted, it is the army's duty to maintain peace and order, but the good and obedient soldiers in the ranks whom you are leading are for the most part the sons and brothers of the impoverished common people. They are certainly not people who are serving to kill the common people. No, they are persons who offer their lives and bodies for the sake of the wider public morality.

KITA IKKI AND THE REFORM WING OF ULTRANATIONALISM

A group of revolutionaries headed by Kita Ikki stood out in sharp contrast to the primitive utopians like Gondō Seikei. These were men well-read in the radical literature of the West, and they owed more to Marx than they did to Lao Tzu. Their praise of imperial divinity and perfection was combined with some very sharp criticism of the Imperial Household and its works. They called for radical changes in Japanese society and institutions, and held out the promise that a revolutionary Japan would be able to take the lead in a union of resurgent Asiatic peoples.

Kita Ikki (1884-1937) was the most important spokesman for this group. Born the son of a struggling *sake* brewer on the island of Sado, he became interested in socialism at an early age. His desire to promote

a revolutionary Asia led him to join the circle of adventurers and Amur Society members who cooperated with the nationalist revolution of Sun Yat-sen in China.

Kita was in China during the revolution of 1911, and his chagrin at the failure of that revolution to bring about a democratic China had a profound effect on his later thought. His *An Unofficial History of the Chinese Revolution* (*Shina kakumei gaishi*) criticized the Japanese activists in China for placing their reliance upon Sun Yat-sen, whom Kita now saw as a superficial user of Western slogans, instead of working for a better balance of Western and Oriental ideologies. Kita's early socialism was now becoming more "Oriental"; henceforth he would call for a blend of Western revolutionary thought and Oriental wisdom which he called Japanism. Kita also criticized the policy of the Japanese authorities in China. In particular he resented the maneuverings of the *zaibatsu* houses whose offers of loans had, it seemed to him, helped to drive the Chinese revolutionaries into their compromise with the conservative Yuan Shih-k'ai in order to avoid Japanese exploitation. Thus Kita, remaining convinced of the inevitability of a revolutionary Asia, now saw the need for profound changes in Japanese society to enable Japan to assume the leadership in the new Asia. Selfish *zaibatsu* would have to be curbed, corrupt politicians would be done away with, and the Imperial Household itself must undergo changes to free it from the crippling influence of the timid bureaucrats who were at the beck and call of their *zaibatsu*-political party colleagues.

There can be no mistaking the genuine radicalism of Kita's views. He advocated sweeping changes in all sectors of Japanese society—seizure and nationalization of major industries and fortunes, an eight-hour work day, and a land reform program. Nor is there much doubt of his proclivity to extremism. His 1926 preface hailed the murderer of Yasuda Zenjirō, Asahi Heigo, as a man whose ideology had been based on the spirit of his own writings. Kita himself had strong ties with the young officers whose concern over Japan's China policy played such an important role in the military *putsches* of the 1930s. He was involved with the *Kōdō ha* (Imperial Way faction), the radical group responsible for the mutiny which began with a wave of assassination attempts and ended with the seizure of central Tokyo on February 26, 1936. Arrested then, Kita was executed in 1937. His book, banned until the end of the Second World

War, was reprinted thereafter by men who held that Kita's gloomy forebodings about the need for a thorough reformation of Japanese society as a prerequisite to leadership of a revolutionary Asia had been amply borne out by the events which followed his death.

KITA IKKI

Plan for the Reorganization of Japan

An Outline Plan for the Reorganization of Japan (*Nihon kaizō hōan taikō*) contained Kita's suggestions for changes necessary in Japanese society. Written in 1919 while Kita was still in Shanghai, the book was printed secretly and passed from hand to hand by Kita's associates. In 1920 its distribution was forbidden by the police. In 1923, after major excisions, the book was published, only to be banned again shortly afterward. A third edition came in 1926, but it too was later banned.

The *Outline Plan*, of which the opening section is given below, consists of cryptic announcements of steps to be taken followed by notes which justify the steps and anticipate probable objections.

[From *Nihon kaizō hōan*, pp. 6-14]

At present the Japanese empire is faced with a national crisis unparalleled in its history; it faces dilemmas at home and abroad. The vast majority of the people feel insecure in their livelihood and they are on the point of taking a lesson from the collapse of European societies, while those who monopolize political, military, and economic power simply hide themselves and, quaking with fear, try to maintain their unjust position. Abroad, neither England, America, Germany, nor Russia has kept its word, and even our neighbor China, which long benefited from the protection we provided through the Russo-Japanese War, not only has failed to repay us but instead despises us. Truly we are a small island, completely isolated in the Eastern Sea. One false step and our nation will again fall into the desperate state of crisis—dilemmas at home and abroad—that marked the period before and after the Meiji Restoration.

The only thing that brightens the picture is the sixty million fellow countrymen with whom we are blessed. The Japanese people must develop a profound awareness of the great cause of national existence and of the people's equal rights, and they need an unerring, discriminating grasp of the complexities of domestic and foreign thought. The Great War in Europe was, like Noah's flood, Heaven's punishment on them for

arrogant and rebellious ways. It is of course natural that we cannot look to the Europeans, who are out of their minds because of the great destruction, for a completely detailed set of plans. But in contrast Japan, during those five years of destruction, was blessed with five years of fulfillment. Europe needs to talk about reconstruction, while Japan must move on to reorganization. The entire Japanese people, thinking calmly from this perspective which is the result of Heaven's rewards and punishments, should, in planning how the great Japanese empire should be reorganized, petition for a manifestation of the imperial prerogative establishing "a national opinion in which no dissenting voice is heard, by the organization of a great union of the Japanese people." Thus, by homage to the emperor, a basis for national reorganization can be set up.

Truly, our seven hundred million brothers in China and India have no path to independence other than that offered by our guidance and protection. And for our Japan, whose population has doubled within the past fifty years, great areas adequate to support a population of at least two hundred and forty or fifty millions will be absolutely necessary a hundred years from now. For a nation, one hundred years are like a hundred days for an individual. How can those who are anxious about these inevitable developments, or who grieve over the desperate conditions of neighboring countries, find their solace in the effeminate pacifism of doctrinaire socialism? I do not necessarily rule out social progress by means of the class struggle. But still, just what kind of so-called science is it that can close its eyes to the competition between peoples and nations which has taken place throughout the entire history of mankind? At a time when the authorities in the European and American revolutionary creeds have found it completely impossible to arrive at an understanding of the "gospel of the sword" because of their superficial philosophy, the noble Greece of Asian culture must complete her national reorganization on the basis of her own national polity. At the same time, let her lift the virtuous banner of an Asian league and take the leadership in a world federation which must come. In so doing let her proclaim to the world the Way of Heaven in which all are children of Buddha, and let her set the example which the world must follow. So the ideas of people like those who oppose arming the nation are after all simply childish.

SECTION ONE: THE PEOPLE'S EMPEROR

Suspension of the Constitution. In order for the emperor and the entire Japanese people to establish a secure base for the national reorganization, the emperor will, by a show of his imperial prerogative, suspend the Constitution for a period of three years, dissolve both houses of the Diet, and place the entire nation under martial law.

(Note 1: In extraordinary times the authorities should of course ignore harmful opinions and votes. To regard any sort of constitution or parliament as an absolute authority is to act in direct imitation of the English and American semisacred "democracy." Those who do so are the obstinate conservatives who hide the real meaning of "democracy"; they are as ridiculous as those who try to argue national polity on the basis of the [Shintō mythological] High Plain of Heaven. It cannot be held that in the discussion of plans for naval expansion Admiral Tōgō's vote was not worth more than the three cast by miserable members of the Diet, or that in voting on social programs a vote by Karl Marx is less just than seven cast by Ōkura Kihachirō. The effect of government by votes which has prevailed hitherto is really nothing more than a maintenance of the traditional order; its puts absolute emphasis on numbers and ignores those who would put a premium on quality.)

(Note 2: Those who look upon a *coup d'état* as an abuse of power on behalf of a conservative autocracy ignore history. Napoleon's *coup d'état* in refusing to cooperate with reactionary elements offered the only out for the Revolution at a time when the parliament and the press were alive with royalist elements. And even though one sees in the Russian Revolution an incident in which Lenin dissolved with machine guns a parliament filled with obstructionists, the popular view is still that a *coup d'état* is a reactionary act.)

(Note 3: A *coup d'état* should be looked upon as a direct manifestation of the authority of the nation; that is, of the will of society. The progressive leaders have all arisen from popular groups. They arise because of political leaders like Napoleon and Lenin. In the reorganization of Japan there must be a manifestation of the power inherent in a coalition of the people and sovereign.)

(Note 4: The reason why the Diet must be dissolved is that the nobility and the wealthy upon whom it depends are incapable of standing with

the emperor and the people in the cause of reorganization. The necessity for suspension of the Constitution is that these people seek protection in the law codes enacted under it. The reason martial law must be proclaimed is that it is essential for the freedom of the nation that there be no restraint in suppressing the opposition which will come from the above groups.

However, it will also be necessary to suppress those who propagate a senseless and half-understood translation of outside revolutionary creeds as the agents of reorganization.)

The True Significance of the Emperor. The fundamental doctrine of the emperor as representative of the people and as pillar of the nation must be made clear.

In order to clarify this a sweeping reform of the imperial court in the spirit of the Emperor Jimmu in founding the state and in the spirit of the great Meiji emperor will be carried out. The present Privy Counsellors and other officials will be dismissed from their posts, and in their place will come talent, sought throughout the realm, capable of assisting the emperor.

A Consultative Council (*Kōmonin*) will be established to assist the emperor. Its members, fifty in number, will be appointed by the emperor.

A member of the Consultative Council must tender his resignation to the emperor whenever the cabinet takes action against him or whenever the Diet passes a vote of nonconfidence against him. However, the Council members are by no means responsible to either the cabinet or to the Diet.

(Note 1: Japan's national polity has evolved through three stages, and the meaning of "emperor" has also evolved through three stages. The first stage, from the Fujiwara to the Taira, was one of absolute monarchy. During this stage the emperor possessed all land and people as his private property in theory, and he had the power of life and death over the people. The second stage, from the Minamoto to the Tokugawa, was one of aristocracy. During this period military leaders and nobility in each area brought land and people of their locality under their personal control; they fought wars and made alliances among themselves as rulers of small nations. Consequently the emperor's significance was different from what it had been. He now, like the Roman pope, conferred honor upon the *Bakufu*, the leader of the petty princes, and showed him-

self the traditional center of the national faith. Such a development can be compared with the role of the Roman pope in crowning the Holy Roman Emperor, leader of the various lords in the Middle Ages in Europe. The third stage, one of a democratic state, began with the Meiji Revolution, which emancipated the samurai and commoners, newly awakened, from their status as private property of their shōgun and feudal lords. Since then the emperor has a new significance as the true center of government and politics. Ever since, as the commanding figure in the national movement and as complete representative of the modern democratic country, he has become representative of the nation. In other words, since the Meiji Revolution Japan has become a modern democratic state with the emperor as political nucleus. Is there any need whatever for us to import a direct translation of the "democracy" of others as though we lacked something? The struggle between those who stubbornly talk about national polity and those who are infatuated with Europe and America, both without a grasp of the background of the present, is a very ominous portent which may cause an explosion between the emperor and the people. Both sides must be warned of their folly.)

(Note 2: There is no scientific basis whatever for the belief of the democracies that a state which is governed by representatives voted in by the electorate is superior to a state which has a system of government by a particular person. Every nation has its own national spirit and history. It cannot be maintained, as advocates of this theory would have it, that China during the first eight years of the republic was more rational than Belgium, which retained rule by a single person. The "democracy" of the Americans derives from the very unsophisticated theory of the time which held that society came into being through a voluntary contract based upon the free will of individuals; these people, emigrating from each European country as individuals, established communities and built a country. But their theory of the divine right of voters is a half-witted philosophy which arose in opposition to the theory of the divine right of kings at that time. Now Japan certainly was not founded in this way, and there has never been a period in which Japan was dominated by a half-witted philosophy. Suffice it to say that the system whereby the head of state has to struggle for election by a long-winded self-advertisement and by exposing himself to ridicule like a low-class actor seems a very strange custom to the Japanese people, who

have been brought up in the belief that silence is golden and that modesty is a virtue.)

(Note 3: The imperial court today has restored corrupt customs of the Middle Ages and has moreover added others which survived in European courts; truly it has drifted far from the spirit of the founder of the nation—a supreme commander above an equal people. The revolution under the great Meiji emperor restored and modernized this spirit. Accordingly at that time a purification of the imperial court was carried out. The necessity for doing this a second time is that when the whole national structure is being reorganized fundamentally we cannot simply leave the structure of the Court in its present state of disrepair.)

(Note 4: The provision for censure of members of the Consultative Council by cabinet and Diet is required in view of the present situation in which many men do as they wish on the excuse that they are duty-bound to help the Emperor. The obstinacy and arrogance of the members of the Privy Council is not very different from that of the court officials in Russia before the revolution. The men who cause trouble for the emperor are men of this kind.)

The Abolition of the Peerage System. The peerage system will be abolished, and the spirit of the Meiji Restoration will be clarified by removal of this barrier which has come between the emperor and the people.

The House of Peers will be abolished and replaced by a Council of Deliberation (*Shingiin*), which shall consider action taken by the House of Representatives.

The Council of Deliberation will be empowered to reject decisions taken by the House of Representatives a single time. The members of the Council of Deliberation will consist of distinguished men in many fields of activity, elected by each other and appointed by the emperor.

(Note 1: The Restoration Revolution, which destroyed government by the aristocracy, was carried out determinedly, for it also confiscated the estates of the aristocracy. It went much farther than did European countries, for with the single exception of France they were unable to dispose of the medieval estates of earlier days. But with the death of men like the great Saigō, who embodied the revolutionary spirit, men like Itō Hirobumi, with no understanding of our advancement, and men who simply acted as attendants in the Revolution, imitated and transplanted

backward aristocratic and medieval privileges which had survived in Western countries. To abolish the peerage system is to abandon a system translated directly from Europe and to return to the earlier Meiji Revolution. Do not jump to the conclusion that this is a shortcoming we are seeking to correct. We have already advanced farther than some other countries as a democratic country.)

(Note 2: The reason a bicameral system is subject to fewer errors than a unicameral system is that in very many cases public opinion is emotional, uncritical and changeable. For this reason the upper house will be made up of distinguished persons in many fields of activity instead of medieval relics.)

Universal Suffrage. All men twenty-five years of age, by their rights as people of Great Japan, will have the right, freely and equally, to stand for election to and to vote for the House of Representatives. The same will hold for local self-government assemblies.

Women will not have the right to participate in politics.

(Note 1: Although a tax qualification has determined suffrage in other countries and this system was first initiated in England, where the Parliament was originally set up to supervise the use of tax money collected by the Crown, in Japan we must establish it as a fundamental principle that suffrage is the innate right of the people. This universal suffrage must not be interpreted as a lowering of the tax qualification on grounds that all men pay at least indirect taxes. Rather, suffrage is a "duty of the people" in the same sense that military service is a "duty of the people.")

(Note 2: The duty of the people to defend the country cannot be separated from their duty to participate in its government. As this is a fundamental human right of the Japanese people, there is no reason why the Japanese should be like the slaves in the Roman Empire or like the menials driven from the imperial gate during the monarchical age—simply ruled, having to live and die under orders from a ruling class. Nothing can infringe upon the right and duty of suffrage under any circumstances. Therefore officers and soldiers on active service, even if they are overseas, should elect and be elected without any restrictions.)

(Note 3: The reason for the clear statement that "Women will not have the right to participate in politics" is not that Japanese women today have not yet awakened. Whereas the code of chivalry for knights in medieval Europe called for honoring women and gaining their favor, in medieval

Japan the samurai esteemed and valued the person of woman on approximately the same level as they did themselves, while it became the accepted code for women to honor the men and gain their favor. This complete contrast in developments has penetrated into all society and livelihood, and continues into modern history—there has been agitation by women for suffrage abroad while here women have continued devoted to the task of being good wives and wise mothers. Politics is a small part of human activity. The question of the place of women in Japan will be satisfactorily solved if we make an institutional reorganization which will guarantee the protection of woman's right to be "mother of the nation and wife of the nation." To make women accustomed to verbal warfare is to do violence to their natural aptitude; it is more terrible than using them in the line of battle. Anyone who has observed the stupid talkativeness of Western women or the piercing quarrels among Chinese women will be thankful that Japanese women have continued on the right path. Those who have developed good trends should let others who have developed bad trends learn from them. For this reason, one speaks today of a time of fusion of Eastern and Western civilization. But the ugliness of direct and uncritical borrowing can be seen very well in the matter of woman suffrage.)

The Restoration of the People's Freedom. The various laws which have restricted the freedom of the people and impaired the spirit of the constitution in the past—the Civil Service Appointment Ordinance, the Peace Preservation police law, the Press Act, the Publication Law, and similar measures—will be abolished.

(Note: This is obviously right. These laws work only to maintain all sorts of cliques.)

The National Reorganization Cabinet. A Reorganization Cabinet will be organized while martial law is in effect; in addition to the present ministries, it will have ministries for industries and several Ministers of State without Portfolio. Members of the Reorganization Cabinet will not be chosen from the present military, bureaucratic, financial, and party cliques, but this task will be given to outstanding individuals selected throughout the whole country.

All the present prefectural governors will be dismissed from their offices, and National Reorganization Governors will be appointed by the same method of selection as given above.

(Note: This is necessary for the same reasons that the Meiji Revolution could not have been carried out by the Tokugawa shogun and his vassals. But a revolution cannot necessarily be evaluated according to the amount of bloodshed. It is just as impossible to say of a surgical operation that it was not thorough because of the small amount of blood that was lost. It all depends on the skill of the surgeon and the constitution of the patient undergoing the operation. Japan today is like a man in his prime and in good health. Countries like Russia and China are like old patients whose bodies are in total decay. Therefore, if there is a technician who takes a far-sighted view of the past and present, and who draws judiciously on East and West, the reorganization of Japan can be accomplished during a pleasant talk.)

The National Reorganization Diet. The National Reorganization Diet, elected in a general election and convened during the period of martial law, will deliberate on measures for reorganization.

The National Reorganization Diet will not have the right to deliberate on the basic policy of national reorganization proclaimed by the emperor.

(Note 1: Since in this way the people will become the main force and the emperor the commander, this *coup d'état* will not be an abuse of power but the expression of the national determination by the emperor and the people.)

(Note 2: This is not a problem of legal philosophy but a question of realism; it is not an academic argument as to whether or not the emperors of Russia and Germany were also empowered with such authority, but it is a divine confidence which the people place only in the Emperor of Japan.)

(Note 3: If a general election were to be held in our present society of omnipotent capital and absolutist bureaucracy the majority of the men elected to the Diet would either be opposed to the reorganization or would receive their election expenses from men opposed to the reorganization. But, since the general election will be held and the Diet convened under martial law, it will of course be possible to curb the rights of harmful candidates and representatives.)

(Note 4: It is only because there was such a divine emperor that, despite the fact that the Restoration Revolution was carried out with greater thoroughness than the French Revolution, there was no misery and disorder. And thanks to the existence of such a godlike emperor,

Japan's national reorganization will be accomplished a second time in an orderly manner, avoiding both the massacres and violence of the Russian Revolution and the snail's pace of the German revolution.)

*The Renunciation of the Imperial Estate.*¹ The emperor will personally show the way by granting the lands, forests, shares, and similar property owned by the Imperial House to the nation.

The expenses of the Imperial Household will be limited to approximately thirty million yen per year, to be supplied by the national treasury.

However, this amount can be increased with consent of the Diet if the situation warrants such action.

(Note: The present imperial estate began with holdings taken over from the Tokugawa family, and however the true meaning of the emperor might shine forth, it is inconsistent to operate such medieval finances. It is self evident that every expense of the people's emperor should be born by the nation.)

THE CONSERVATIVE REAFFIRMATION

During the years in which one branch of the ultranationalist movement turned to suggestions for radical social reforms and produced sweeping denunciations of existing Japanese society, there were many who were not prepared to follow such a headlong course. By the 1930s a sharp cleavage between social radicals and ideological conservatives was apparent.

The conservatives met the problems of social change and unrest by a reaffirmation of the unique values of "Japanism." Since they furnished a safe alternative to the radicalism of the extremists, the conservative ultranationalists were able to get the financial backing of respected segments of the business and political world. The National Purity Society (*Kokusuiikai*) was founded in 1919 to ward off foreign ideologies, reaffirm traditional values of manliness and chivalry, and reawaken loyalty to the Imperial House. It had close contacts with the leading political party, the *Seiyūkai*. In social issues like labor disputes it urged mediation or marshalled force as seemed preferable, usually to the advantage of management. The League to Prevent Bolshevization (*Seikha bōshidan*) was

¹ This entire section was censored in pre-war editions.

formed in 1921 to fight socialism and communism, and it was unreservedly opposed to labor and radical movements of all kinds. And the National Foundation Society (*Kokuhonsha*) was founded in 1924 to guide the people's ideology, strengthen the foundations of the nation, advance wisdom and virtue, and make clear the essence of the national polity. It was sponsored by Baron Hiranuma Kiichirō, and enjoyed the favor of many highly placed in the bureaucracy, military, and financial worlds.

The conservative societies and spokesmen—among them Ōkawa Shūmei—appealed more to the established and respectable than they did to the young and discontented. Their backers were quite as convinced of international inequality from which Japan suffered as was Kita, but they were more likely to seek solutions through diplomatic and military measures than they were through social reformation.

The violence of the early 1930s, most of it carried out by young followers of the radical ideologists, culminated in the spectacular mutiny of February, 1936. Thereafter it was perfectly clear to all conservatives that strong measures were necessary to preserve social order and military discipline. It seemed a wise compromise to give the military leaders more of a free hand on the continent in return for promises to keep their young extremists under control. Kita Ikki and the leaders of the February Incident were executed after brief and secret trials. In China the army prepared for further measures, while at home its control over production, education, and politics was strengthened.

FUNDAMENTALS OF OUR NATIONAL POLITY

The movement for the enunciation of "national polity," Japan's unique structure of state and society which was based upon a divine emperor, reached its apogee with the publication by the Ministry of Education of *Fundamentals of Our National Polity* (*Kokutai no hongi*) in 1937. This short work, with an initial printing of 300,000 copies and an eventual sale of 2,000,000 or more, was designed to set the ideological course for the Japanese people. Study groups were formed to discuss its content, school teachers were given special commentaries, and a determined effort was made to reach ideological uniformity by guarding against deviation.

The introduction sets forth the underlying problems of contemporary Japanese thought which require a solution: how are Western influences to be absorbed without permitting them to destroy Japanese national traditions, and

how may Japan resolve the dilemma created in the West itself by the inherent contradictions of individualism.

A recurrent theme throughout this work is the transcendent importance of the nation and state as manifested in history. In part this may reflect the sympathetic reception given to German philosophy, and particularly that of Hegel, among professional philosophers of Meiji Japan.

[Adapted from Hall and Gauntlett, *Kokutai no hongî*, pp. 52-183]

INTRODUCTION

The various ideological and social evils of present-day Japan are the result of ignoring the fundamental and running after the trivial, of lack of judgment, and a failure to digest things thoroughly; and this is due to the fact that since the days of Meiji so many aspects of European and American culture, systems, and learning, have been imported, and that, too rapidly. As a matter of fact, the foreign ideologies imported into our country are in the main ideologies of the Enlightenment that have come down from the eighteenth century, or extensions of them. The views of the world and of life that form the basis of these ideologies are a rationalism and a positivism, lacking in historical views, which on the one hand lay the highest value on, and assert the liberty and equality of, individuals, and on the other hand lay value on a world by nature abstract, transcending nations and races. Consequently, importance is laid upon human beings and their groupings, who have become isolated from historical entanglements, abstract and independent of each other. It is political, social, moral, and pedagogical theories based on such views of the world and of life, that have on the one hand made contributions to the various reforms seen in our country, and on the other have had deep and wide influence on our nation's primary ideology and culture. . . .

Paradoxical and extreme conceptions, such as socialism, anarchism, and communism, are all based in the final analysis on individualism, which is the root of modern Occidental ideologies and of which they are no more than varied manifestations. Yet even in the Occident, where individualism has formed the basis of their ideas, when it has come to communism, they have found it unacceptable; so that now they are about to do away with their traditional individualism, and this has led to the rise of totalitarianism and nationalism and to the springing up of Fascism and Nazism. That is, it can be said that both in the Occident and in our

country the deadlock of individualism has led alike to a season of ideological and social confusion and crisis. . . . This means that the present conflict seen in our people's ideas, the unrest of their modes of life, the confused state of their civilization, can be put right only by a thorough investigation by us of the intrinsic nature of Occidental ideologies and by grasping the true meaning of our national polity. Then, too, this should be done not only for the sake of our nation but for the sake of the entire human race which is struggling to find a way out of the deadlock with which individualism is faced. [pp. 52, 54-55]

The body of this work presents a résumé of Japanese traditions concerning the founding of the country and of the Imperial House, the virtues of imperial rule and of loyal subjects, manifestations of the Japanese spirit in history, natural features of Japan, and the inherent character of the people, as well as manifestations of these in the social and cultural life of the nation. The following selections focus upon those attitudes of mind thought to represent the best in Japanese tradition, and their superiority over prevailing Western views.

LOYALTY AND PATRIOTISM

Our country is established with the emperor, who is a descendant of Amaterasu Ōmikami, as her center, and our ancestors as well as we ourselves constantly have beheld in the emperor the fountainhead of her life and activities. For this reason, to serve the emperor and to receive the emperor's great august Will as one's own is the rationale of making our historical "life" live in the present; and on this is based the morality of the people.

Loyalty means to reverence the emperor as [our] pivot and to follow him implicitly. By implicit obedience is meant casting ourselves aside and serving the emperor intently. To walk this Way of loyalty is the sole Way in which we subjects may "live," and the fountainhead of all energy. Hence, offering our lives for the sake of the emperor does not mean so-called self-sacrifice, but the casting aside of our little selves to live under his august grace and the enhancing of the genuine life of the people of a State. The relationship between the emperor and the subjects is not an artificial relationship [which means] bowing down to authority, nor a relationship such as [exists] between master and servant as is seen in feudal morals. . . . The ideology which interprets the relationship between the emperor and his subjects as being a reciprocal

relationship such as merely [involves] obedience to authority or rights and duties, rests on individualistic ideologies, and is a rationalistic way of thinking that looks on everything as being in equal personal relationships. An individual is an existence belonging to a State and her history which forms the basis of his origin, and is fundamentally one body with it. . . .

From the point of individualistic personal relationships, the relationship between sovereign and subject in our country may [perhaps] be looked upon as that between non-personalities. However, this is nothing but an error arising from treating the individual as supreme, from the notion that has individual thoughts for its nucleus, and from personal abstract consciousness. Our relationship between sovereign and subject is by no means a shallow, horizontal relationship such as implies a correlation between ruler and citizen, but is a relationship springing from a basis transcending this correlation, and is that of "dying to self and returning to [the] One," in which this basis is not lost. This is a thing that can never be understood from an individualistic way of thinking. In our country, this great Way has seen a natural development since the founding of the nation, and the most basic thing that has manifested itself as regards the subjects is in short this Way of loyalty. [pp. 80-82]

FILIAL PIETY

In our country filial piety is a Way of the highest importance. Filial piety originates with one's family as its basis, and in its larger sense has the nation for its foundation. Filial piety directly has for its object one's parents, but in its relationship toward the emperor finds a place within loyalty.

The basis of the nation's livelihood is, as in the Occident, neither the individual nor husband and wife. It is the home. . . . A family is not a body of people established for profit, nor is it anything founded on such a thing as individual or correlative love. Founded on a natural relationship of begetting and being begotten, it has reverence and affection as its kernel; and is a place where everybody, from the very moment of his birth, is entrusted with his destiny.

The life of a family in our country is not confined to the present life of a household of parents and children, but beginning with the distant ancestors, is carried on eternally by the descendants. The present life

of a family is a link between the past and the future, and while it carries over and develops the objectives of the ancestors, it hands them over to its descendants. . . .

Such things as [the carrying on of family traditions] show that the basis of the nation's life is in the family and that the family is the training ground for moral discipline based on natural sympathies. Thus, the life of a household is not a thing confined to the present, but is an unbroken chain that passes through from ancestor to offspring. . . .

The relationship between parent and child is a natural one, and therein springs the affection between parent and child. Parent and child are a continuation of one chain of life; and since parents are the source of the children, there spontaneously arises toward the children a tender feeling to foster them. Since children are extensions of parents, there springs a sense of respect, love for, and indebtedness toward, parents. [pp. 87-89]

LOYALTY AND FILIAL PIETY AS ONE

Filial piety in our country has its true characteristics in its perfect conformity with our national polity by heightening still further the relationship between morality and nature. Our country is a great family nation, and the Imperial Household is the head family of the subjects and the nucleus of national life. . . .

In China, too, importance is laid on filial duty, and they say that it is the source of a hundred deeds. In India, too, gratitude to parents is taught. But their filial piety is not of a kind related to or based on the nation. Filial piety is a characteristic of Oriental morals; and it is in its convergence with loyalty that we find a characteristic of our national morals, and this is a factor without parallel in the world. [pp. 89-91]

HARMONY

When we trace the marks of the facts of the founding of our country and the progress of our history, what we always find there is the spirit of harmony. Harmony is a product of the great achievements of the founding of the nation, and is the power behind our historical growth; it is also a humanitarian Way inseparable from our daily lives. The spirit of harmony is built on the concord of all things. When people determinedly count themselves as masters and assert their egos, there is nothing but contradictions and the setting of one against the other; and

harmony is not begotten. In individualism it is possible to have cooperation, compromise, sacrifice, etc., so as to regulate and mitigate this contradiction and the setting of one against the other; but after all there exists no true harmony. That is, a society of individualism is one of clashes between [masses of] people . . . and all history may be looked upon as one of class wars. Social structure and political systems in such a society, and the theories of sociology, political science, statecraft, etc., which are their logical manifestations, are essentially different from those of our country which makes harmony its fundamental Way. . . .

Harmony as in our nation is a great harmony of individuals who, by giving play to their individual differences, and through difficulties, toil and labor, converge as one. Because of individual differences and difficulties, this harmony becomes all the greater and its substance rich. Again, in this way individualities are developed, special traits become beautiful, and at the same time they even enhance the development and well-being of the whole. [pp. 93-94]

THE MARTIAL SPIRIT

And then, this harmony is clearly seen also in our nation's martial spirit. Our nation is one that holds *bushidō* in high regard, and there are shrines deifying warlike spirits. . . . But this martial spirit is not [a thing that exists] for the sake of itself but for the sake of peace, and is what may be called a sacred martial spirit. Our martial spirit does not have for its objective the killing of men, but the giving of life to men. This martial spirit is that which tries to give life to all things, and is not that which destroys. That is to say, it is a strife which has peace at its basis with a promise to raise and to develop; and it gives life to things through its strife. Here lies the martial spirit of our nation. War, in this sense, is not by any means intended for the destruction, overpowering, or subjugation of others; and it should be a thing for the bringing about of great harmony, that is, peace, doing the work of creation by following the Way. [pp. 94-95]

SELF-EFFACEMENT AND ASSIMILATION

A pure, cloudless heart is a heart which, dying to one's ego and one's own ends, finds life in fundamentals and the true Way. That means, it is a heart that lives in the Way of unity between the Sovereign and

his subjects, a Way that has come down to us ever since the founding of the empire. It is herein that there springs up a frame of mind, unclouded and right, that bids farewell to unwholesome self-interest. The spirit that sacrifices self and seeks life at the very fountainhead of things manifests itself eventually as patriotism and as a heart that casts self aside in order to serve the State. . . .

In the inherent character of our people there is strongly manifested alongside this spirit of self-effacement and disinterestedness, a spirit of broadmindedness and assimilation. In the importation of culture from the Asian Continent, too, in the process of "dying to self" and adopting the ideographs used in Chinese classics, this spirit of ours has coordinated and assimilated these same ideographs. To have brought forth a culture uniquely our own, in spite of the fact that a culture essentially different was imported, is due entirely to a mighty influence peculiar to our nation. This is a matter that must be taken into serious consideration in the adaptation of modern Occidental culture.

The spirit of self-effacement is not a mere denial of oneself, but means living to the great, true self by denying one's small self. [pp. 132-34]

BUSHIDŌ

Bushidō may be cited as showing an outstanding characteristic of our national morality. In the world of warriors one sees inherited the totalitarian structure and spirit of the ancient clans peculiar to our nation. Hence, though the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism have been followed, these have been transcended. That is to say, though a sense of obligation binds master and servant, this has developed into a spirit of self-effacement and of meeting death with a perfect calmness. In this, it was not that death was made light of so much as that man tempered himself to death and in a true sense regarded it with esteem. In effect, man tried to fulfill true life by way of death. . . .

The warrior's aim should be, in ordinary times, to foster a spirit of reverence for the deities and his own ancestors in keeping with his family tradition; to train himself to be ready to cope with emergencies at all times; to clothe himself with wisdom, benevolence, and valor; to understand the meaning of mercy; and to strive to be sensitive to the frailty of Nature. Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685), Matsumiya Kanzan (1685-1780), and Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859) were all men of the devoutest character,

who exercised much influence in bringing *bushidō* to perfection. It is this same *bushidō* that shed itself of an outdated feudalism at the time of the Meiji Restoration, increased in splendor, became the Way of loyalty and patriotism, and has evolved before us as the spirit of the imperial forces. [pp. 144-46]

CONCLUSION

The conclusion to this work provides a general critique of current Western social philosophies, and shows how Japanese tradition offers the basis for a new synthesis of Eastern and Western thought. The emphasis upon Japan's historical mission as a creative force in unifying and transcending antithetical tendencies, suggests the expansive, rather than the purely defensive character, of Japanese traditionalism in the twentieth century.

Every type of foreign ideology that has been imported into our country may have been quite natural in China, India, Europe, or America, in that it has sprung from their racial or historical characteristics; but in our country, which has a unique national polity, it is necessary as a preliminary step to put these types to rigid judgment and scrutiny so as to see if they are suitable to our national traits. . . .

To put it in a nutshell, while the strong points of Occidental learning and concepts lie in their analytical and intellectual qualities, the characteristics of Oriental learning and concepts lie in their intuitive and aesthetic qualities. These are natural tendencies that arise through racial and historical differences; and when we compare them with our national spirit, concepts, or mode of living, we cannot help recognizing further great and fundamental differences. Our nation has in the past imported, assimilated, and sublimated Chinese and Indian ideologies, and has therewith supported the Imperial Way, making possible the establishment of an original culture based on her national polity. . . .

Now, when we consider how modern Occidental ideologies have given birth to democracy, socialism, communism, anarchism, etc., we note, as already stated, the existence of historical backgrounds that form the bases of all these concepts, and, besides, the existence of individualistic views of life that lie at their very roots. The basic characteristics of modern Occidental cultures lie in the fact that an individual is looked upon as an existence of an absolutely independent being, all cultures comprising the perfection of this individual being who in turn is the creator and

determiner of all values. Hence, value is laid on the subjective thoughts of an individual; the conception of a State, the planning of all systems, and the constructing of theories being solely based on ideas conceived in the individual's mind. The greater part of Occidental theories of State and political concepts so evolved do not view the State as being a nuclear existence that gives birth to individual beings, which it transcends, but as an expedient for the benefit, protection, and enhancement of the welfare of individual persons; so that these theories have become expressions of the principles of subsistence which have at their center free, equal, and independent individuals. As a result, there have arisen types of mistaken liberalism and democracy that have solely sought untrammelled freedom and forgotten moral freedom, which is service. Hence, wherever this individualism and its accompanying abstract concepts developed, concrete and historical national life became lost in the shadow of abstract theories; all states and peoples were looked upon alike as nations in general and as individuals in general; such things as an international community comprising the entire world and universal theories common to the entire world were given importance rather than concrete nations and their characteristic qualities; so that in the end there even arose the mistaken idea that international law constituted a higher norm than national law, that it stood higher in value, and that national laws were, if anything, subordinate to it.

The beginnings of modern Western free economy are seen in the expectation of bringing about national prosperity as a result of free, individual, lucrative activities. In the case of the introduction into our country of modern industrial organizations that had developed in the West, as long as the spirit of striving for national profit and the people's welfare governed the people's minds, the lively and free individual activities went very far toward contributing to the nation's wealth; but later, with the dissemination of individualistic and liberal ideas, there gradually arose a tendency openly to justify egoism in economic management and operations. This tendency gave rise to the problem of a chasm between rich and poor, and finally became the cause of the rise of ideas of class warfare; while later the introduction of communism brought about the erroneous idea which looked upon economics as being the basis of politics, morality, and all other cultures, and which considered that by means of class warfare alone could an ideal society be realized.

The fact that egoism and class warfare are opposed to our national polity needs no explanation. Only where the people one and all put heart and soul into their respective occupations, and there is coherence or order in each of their activities, with their minds set on guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the Imperial Throne, is it possible to see a healthy development in the people's economic life.

The same thing holds true in the case of education. Since the Meiji Restoration our nation has adapted the good elements of the advanced education seen among European and American nations, and has exerted efforts to set up an educational system and materials for teaching. The nation has also assimilated on a wide scale the scholarship of the West, not only in the fields of natural science, but of the mental sciences, and has thus striven to see progress made in our scholastic pursuits and to make education more popular. . . . However, at the same time, through the infiltration of individualistic concepts, both scholastic pursuits and education have tended to be taken up with a world in which the intellect alone mattered, and which was isolated from historical and actual life; so that both intellectual and moral culture drifted into tendencies in which the goal was the freedom of man, who had become an abstract being, and the perfecting of the individual man. At the same time, these scholastic pursuits and education fell into separate parts, so that they gradually lost their synthetic coherence and concreteness. In order to correct these tendencies, the only course open to us is to clarify the true nature of our national polity, which is at the very source of our education, and to strive to clear up individualistic and abstract ideas. . . .

In the Occident, too, many movements are now being engaged in to revise individualism. Socialism and communism, which are types of class individualism and which are the opposites of so-called bourgeois individualism, belong to these movements, while recent ideological movements, such as that called Fascism, which are types of nationalism and racial consciousness, also belong to this category. If, however, we sought to correct the evils brought about by individualism in our country and find a way out of the deadlock which it has created, it would not do to adopt such ideas as Occidental socialism and their abstract totalitarianism wholesale, or copy their concepts and plans, or [on the other hand] mechanically to exclude Occidental cultures.

OUR MISSION

Our present mission as a people is to build up a new Japanese culture by adopting and sublimating Western cultures with our national polity as the basis, and to contribute spontaneously to the advancement of world culture. Our nation early saw the introduction of Chinese and Indian cultures, and even succeeded in evolving original creations and developments. This was made possible, indeed, by the profound and boundless nature of our national polity; so that the mission of the people to whom it is bequeathed is truly great in its historical significance. [pp. 175, 178, 180-83]

THE JUSTIFICATION FOR WAR

However wide the disagreements on matters of domestic policy within the ultranationalist movement, there was unanimity in the face of Western criticism of Japan's imperialistic policies. The two selections which follow illustrate typical lines of argument. Ōkawa Shūmei appeals to Japan's historic mission as the spokesman for and champion of Asia, while Hashimoto Kingorō, a prominent army leader of extremist groups, argues the necessity for expansion.

ŌKAWA SHŪMEI

The Way of Japan and the Japanese

[IMTFE, International Prosecution Section, Document 693A, Exhibit 2180A]

Asia's stubborn efforts to remain faithful to spiritual values, and Europe's honest and rigorous speculative thought, are both worthy of admiration, and both have made miraculous achievements. Yet today it is no longer possible for these two to exist apart from each other. The way of Asia and the way of Europe have both been traveled to the end. World history shows us that these two must be united; when we look at that history up to now we see that this unification is being achieved only through war. Mohammed said that "Heaven lies in the shadow of the sword," and I am afraid that a struggle between the great powers of the East and the

West which will decide their existence is at present, as in the past, absolutely inevitable if a new world is to come about. The words "East-West struggle," however, simply state a concept and it does not follow from this that a united Asia will be pitted against a united Europe. Actually there will be one country acting as the champion of Asia and one country acting as the champion of Europe, and it is these who must fight in order that a new world may be realized. It is my belief that Heaven has decided on Japan as its choice for the champion of the East. Has not this been the purpose of our three thousand long years of preparation? It must be said that this is a truly grand and magnificent mission. We must develop a strong spirit of morality in order to carry out this solemn mission, and realize that spirit in the life of the individual and of the nation.

HASHIMOTO KINGORŌ

The Need for Emigration and Expansion

[From Hashimoto, *Addresses to Young Men*, IMTFE, International Prosecution Section, Document 487B, Exhibit 1290]

We have already said that there are only three ways left to Japan to escape from the pressure of surplus population. We are like a great crowd of people packed into a small and narrow room, and there are only three doors through which we might escape, namely emigration, advance into world markets, and expansion of territory. The first door, emigration, has been barred to us by the anti-Japanese immigration policies of other countries. The second door, advance into world markets, is being pushed shut by tariff barriers and the abrogation of commercial treaties. What should Japan do when two of the three doors have been closed against her?

It is quite natural that Japan should rush upon the last remaining door.

It may sound dangerous when we speak of territorial expansion, but the territorial expansion of which we speak does not in any sense of the word involve the occupation of the possessions of other countries, the planting of the Japanese flag thereon, and the declaration of their annexation to Japan. It is just that since the Powers have suppressed the circulation of Japanese materials and merchandise abroad, we are look-

ing for some place overseas where Japanese capital, Japanese skills and Japanese labor can have free play, free from the oppression of the white race.

We would be satisfied with just this much. What moral right do the world powers who have themselves closed to us the two doors of emigration and advance into world markets have to criticize Japan's attempt to rush out of the third and last door?

If they do not approve of this, they should open the doors which they have closed against us and permit the free movement overseas of Japanese emigrants and merchandise. . . .

At the time of the Manchurian incident, the entire world joined in criticism of Japan. They said that Japan was an untrustworthy nation. They said that she had recklessly brought cannon and machine guns into Manchuria, which was the territory of another country, flown airplanes over it, and finally occupied it. But the military action taken by Japan was not in the least a selfish one. Moreover, we do not recall ever having taken so much as an inch of territory belonging to another nation. The result of this incident was the establishment of the splendid new nation of Manchuria. The Powers are still discussing whether or not to recognize this new nation, but regardless of whether or not other nations recognize her, the Manchurian empire has already been established, and now, seven years after its creation, the empire is further consolidating its foundations with the aid of its friend, Japan.

And if it is still protested that our actions in Manchuria were excessively violent, we may wish to ask the white race just which country it was that sent warships and troops to India, South Africa, and Australia and slaughtered innocent natives, bound their hands and feet with iron chains, lashed their backs with iron whips, proclaimed these territories as their own, and still continues to hold them to this very day?

They will invariably reply, these were all lands inhabited by untamed savages. These people did not know how to develop the abundant resources of their land for the benefit of mankind. Therefore it was the wish of God, who created heaven and earth for mankind, for us to develop these undeveloped lands and to promote the happiness of mankind in their stead. God wills it.

This is quite a convenient argument for them. Let us take it at face value. Then there is another question that we must ask them.

Suppose that there is still on this earth land endowed with abundant natural resources that have not been developed at all by the white race. Would it not then be God's will and the will of Providence that Japan go there and develop those resources for the benefit of mankind?

And there still remain many such lands on this earth.

THE DECLARATION OF WAR

The Emperor's Rescript declaring war on the United States and Great Britain summed up Japan's grievances against the Western democracies and explained that Japan had had no real alternative to going to war.

Shortly afterwards a commentary on the Rescript was issued by Tokutomi Iichirō, the dean of Japan's nationalist writers. Tokutomi, who in early life went through phases of tremendous enthusiasm for Christianity and liberalism, gradually became a firm defender of his civilization and government against the West. In his autobiography he writes that during the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 he first thought of the government leaders as his own and not as a group to be opposed. Thenceforth his writings and work were increasingly closely connected with the nationalist cause, and by the 1930s he was one of the leading spokesmen for the nationalist point of view.

TOKUTOMI IICHIRO

Commentary on the Imperial Declaration of War

Tokutomi's commentary analyzes the Rescript point by point, restates Japanese grievances, and, in the spirit of war-time exhortation, discusses the steps needed for Japan to become the Leader and the Light of Asia.

[From Tokutomi Iichirō, *The Imperial Rescript Declaring War on the United States and British Empire*, pp. 9-11, 20-22, 123-24.]

CHAPTER IV: THE BASIS OF THE IMPERIAL WAY

The virtue of sincerity is represented by the Mirror, the virtue of love is represented by the Jewels, and the virtue of intelligence is represented by the Sword. . . . The interpretation given by Kitabatake Chikafusa¹

¹ The interpretation of the Three Imperial Regalia: Mirror, Jewel, and Sword. See Chapter XIII.

has, indeed, grasped the true meaning. Then, it is not wrong to liken the Three Sacred Treasures to the three virtues of intelligence, love, and courage by saying that the Mirror represents the intelligence which reflects everything, the Jewels, the love which embraces everything, and the Sword, the courage which judges between justice and injustice, honesty and dishonesty.

In any case, the basis of the Imperial Way lies in truth, in sincerity, and in justice. Its range is wide and there is nothing it does not embrace. It expels evil, subjugates injustice, absolutely maintains the tenets of justice, and itself occupies a position which can never be violated. The august virtue of the divine imperial lineage has not a single instance when it did not arise from these three virtues. In other words, they form the national character of Nippon, and, at the same time, the national trait of the people of Nippon. Combining them all, we call it the Imperial Way.

The phrase "The three virtues of intelligence, love, and courage" may sound very much like a common ethical teaching, but when considered realistically, it gives us the reason why our country, under whatever circumstances, has never resorted to arms for the sake of arms alone. . . .

CHAPTER VIII: THE UNIQUE FEATURES OF THE NATION OF NIPPON

What we should note first of all is that Nippon is not a country built upon that Western individualism patterned after the insistence on rights, nor a country built with the family as the basis as in China . . . our Nippon is neither a country of individualism nor a country of the family system. In Nippon, the family is valued and good lineage is highly regarded the same as in China. However, in Nippon there is that which goes farther and which is greater than these. There is the Imperial Household. In China, there are families, but there is not the Imperial Household. In Nippon, there are families, but still, above them, there is the Imperial Household. In China, families gather to form a nation, but in Nippon the Imperial Household deigns to rule the land, and on the land the families, the members of which are subjects of the Imperial Household, flourish.

That is why, in China, one speaks first of the family and then next of the nation, but, in Nippon, the nation comes first and next the family. In China, if it is to be asked which is valued higher, the nation or the

family, it must be answered that, under whatever circumstances, the family is valued first and next the nation. In the West, the individual is valued first, and next the family, and last the nation. In Nippon, the nation is valued first, then next the family, and last the individual. The order of the West is absolutely reversed in Nippon. . . .

CHAPTER XLVIII: THREE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE LEADER OF
GREATER EAST ASIA

Now that we have risen up in arms, we must accomplish our aim to the last. Herein lies the core of our theory. In Nippon resides a destiny to become the Light of Greater East Asia and to become ultimately the Light of the World. However, in order to become the Light of Greater East Asia, we must have three qualifications. The first is, as mentioned previously, strength. In other words, we must expel Anglo-Saxon influence from East Asia with our strength.

To speak the truth, the various races of East Asia look upon the British and Americans as superior to the Nippon race. They look upon Britain and the United States as more powerful nations than Nippon. Therefore, we must show our real strength before all our fellow-races of East Asia. We must show them an object lesson. It is not a lesson in words. It should be a lesson in facts.

In other words, before we can expel the Anglo-Saxons and make them remove all their traces from East Asia, we must annihilate them. In this way only will the various fellow races of Greater East Asia look upon us as their leader. I believe that the lesson which we must first show to our fellow-races in Greater East Asia is this lesson of cold reality.

The second qualification is benevolence. Nippon must develop the various resources of East Asia and distribute them fairly to all the races within the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to make them share in the benefits. In other words, Nippon should not monopolize the benefits, but should distribute them for the mutual prosperity of Greater East Asia.

We must show to the races of East Asia that the order, tranquillity, peace, happiness, and contentment of East Asia can be gained only by eradicating the evil precedent of the encroachment and extortion of the Anglo-Saxons in East Asia, by effecting the real aim of the co-prosperity of East Asia, and by making Nippon the leader of East Asia.

The third qualification is virtue. East Asia embraces various races. Its religions are different. Moreover, there has practically been no occasion when these have mutually united to work for a combined aim. It was the favorite policy of the Anglo-Saxons to make the various races of East Asia compete and fight each other and make them mutually small and powerless. We must, therefore, console them, bring friendship among them, and make them all live in peace with a boundlessly embracing virtue.

In short, the first is the Grace of the Sacred Sword, the second, the Grace of the Sacred Mirror, and the third, the Grace of the Sacred Jewels. If we should express it in other words, we must have courage, knowledge, and benevolence. If Nippon should lack even one of the above three, it will not be able to become the Light of Asia.

THE WAR GOAL

Japan's war planners envisioned a long struggle, in several stages, to achieve their new Asia. The new Asia was to be known as the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The Southern region would supply raw materials and surplus food, while Manchuria and North China provided the materials and basis for a heavy industry complex. The rest of Asia would become a vast market, defended and integrated by Japanese planning, tools, skills, and arms.

DRAFT OF BASIC PLAN FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF GREATER EAST ASIA CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE

[From *Draft of Basic Plan*, IMTFE, International Prosecution Section,
Document 2402B, Exhibit 1336]

Part I. Outline of Construction

This document, produced as a secret planning paper by the Total War Research Institute, a body responsible to army and cabinet, in January of 1942, reveals the nature of long-range planning during the early war years before defeats began to take their toll of optimism and confidence.

The Plan. The Japanese empire is a manifestation of morality and its special characteristic is the propagation of the Imperial Way. It strives

but for the achievement of *Hakkō Ichiu*, the spirit of its founding. . . . It is necessary to foster the increased power of the empire, to cause East Asia to return to its original form of independence and co-prosperity by shaking off the yoke of Europe and America, and to let its countries and peoples develop their respective abilities in peaceful cooperation and secure livelihood.

The Form of East Asiatic Independence and Co-Prosperity. The states, their citizens, and resources, comprised in those areas pertaining to the Pacific, Central Asia, and the Indian Oceans formed into one general union are to be established as an autonomous zone of peaceful living and common prosperity on behalf of the peoples of the nations of East Asia. The area including Japan, Manchuria, North China, lower Yangtze River, and the Russian Maritime Province, forms the nucleus of the East Asiatic Union. The Japanese empire possesses a duty as the leader of the East Asiatic Union.

The above purpose presupposes the inevitable emancipation or independence of Eastern Siberia, China, Indo-China, the South Seas, Australia, and India.

Regional Division in the East Asiatic Union and the National Defense Sphere for the Japanese Empire. In the Union of East Asia, the Japanese empire is at once the stabilizing power and the leading influence. To enable the empire actually to become the central influence in East Asia, the first necessity is the consolidation of the inner belt of East Asia; and the East Asiatic Sphere shall be divided as follows for this purpose:

The Inner Sphere—the vital sphere for the empire—includes Japan, Manchuria, North China, the lower Yangtze Area and the Russian Maritime area.

The Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere—the smaller self-supplying sphere of East Asia—includes the inner sphere plus Eastern Siberia, China, Indo-China and the South Seas.

The Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere—the larger self-supplying sphere of East Asia—includes the smaller co-prosperity sphere, plus Australia, India, and island groups in the Pacific. . . .

For the present, the smaller co-prosperity sphere shall be the zone in which the construction of East Asia and the stabilization of national defense are to be aimed at. After their completion there shall be a gradual expansion toward the construction of the Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Outline of East Asiatic Administration. It is intended that the unification of Japan, Manchoukuo, and China in neighborly friendship be realized by the settlement of the Sino-Japanese problems through the crushing of hostile influences in the Chinese interior, and through the construction of a new China in tune with the rapid construction of the Inner Sphere. Aggressive American and British influences in East Asia shall be driven out of the area of Indo-China and the South Seas, and this area shall be brought into our defense sphere. The war with Britain and America shall be prosecuted for that purpose.

The Russian aggressive influence in East Asia will be driven out. Eastern Siberia shall be cut off from the Soviet regime and included in our defense sphere. For this purpose, a war with the Soviets is expected. It is considered possible that this Northern problem may break out before the general settlement of the present Sino-Japanese and the Southern problems if the situation renders this unavoidable. Next the independence of Australia, India, etc. shall gradually be brought about. For this purpose, a recurrence of war with Britain and her allies is expected. The construction of a Greater Mongolian State is expected during the above phase. The construction of the Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere is expected to require at least twenty years from the present time.

The Building of the National Strength. Since the Japanese empire is the center and pioneer of Oriental moral and cultural reconstruction, the officials and people of this country must return to the spirit of the Orient and acquire a thorough understanding of the spirit of the national moral character.

In the economic construction of the country, Japanese and Manchurian national power shall first be consolidated, then the unification of Japan, Manchoukuo and China, shall be effected. . . . Thus a central industry will be constructed in East Asia, and the necessary relations established with the Southern Seas.

The standard for the construction of the national power and its military force, so as to meet the various situations that might affect the stages of East Asiatic administration and the national defense sphere, shall be so set as to be capable of driving off any British, American, Soviet or Chinese counter-influences in the future. . . .

CHAPTER 3. POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION

Basic Plan. The realization of the great ideal of constructing Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity requires not only the complete prosecution of the current Greater East Asia War but also presupposes another great war in the future. Therefore, the following two points must be made the primary starting points for the political construction of East Asia during the course of the next twenty years: 1) Preparation for war with the other spheres of the world; and 2) Unification and construction of the East Asia Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The following are the basic principles for the political construction of East Asia, when the above two points are taken into consideration:

a. The politically dominant influence of European and American countries in the Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere shall be gradually driven out and the area shall enjoy its liberation from the shackles hitherto forced upon it.

b. The desires of the peoples in the sphere for their independence shall be respected and endeavors shall be made for their fulfillment, but proper and suitable forms of government shall be decided for them in consideration of military and economic requirements and of the historical, political and cultural elements peculiar to each area.

It must also be noted that the independence of various peoples of East Asia should be based upon the idea of constructing East Asia as "independent countries existing within the New Order of East Asia" and that this conception differs from an independence based on the idea of liberalism and national self-determination.

c. During the course of construction, military unification is deemed particularly important, and the military zones and key points necessary for defense shall be directly or indirectly under the control of our country.

d. The peoples of the sphere shall obtain their proper positions, the unity of the people's minds shall be effected and the unification of the sphere shall be realized with the empire as its center. . . .

CHAPTER 4. THOUGHT AND CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION

General Aim in Thought. The ultimate aim in thought construction in East Asia is to make East Asiatic peoples revere the imperial influence

by propagating the Imperial Way based on the spirit of construction, and to establish the belief that uniting solely under this influence is the one and only way to the eternal growth and development of East Asia.

And during the next twenty years (the period during which the above ideal is to be reached) it is necessary to make the nations and peoples of East Asia realize the historical significance of the establishment of the New Order in East Asia, and in the common consciousness of East Asiatic unity, to liberate East Asia from the shackles of Europe and America and to establish the common conviction of constructing a New Order based on East Asiatic morality.

Occidental individualism and materialism shall be rejected and a moral world view, the basic principle of whose morality shall be the Imperial Way, shall be established. The ultimate object to be achieved is not exploitation but co-prosperity and mutual help, not competitive conflict but mutual assistance and mild peace, not a formal view of equality but a view of order based on righteous classification, not an idea of rights but an idea of service, and not several world views but one unified world view.

General Aim in Culture. The essence of the traditional culture of the Orient shall be developed and manifested. And, casting off the negative and conservative cultural characteristics of the continents (India and China) on the one hand, and taking in the good points of Western culture on the other, an Oriental culture and morality, on a grand scale and subtly refined, shall be created.



CHAPTER XXVIII

THE JAPANESE SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The "social movement" is a term applied generally to efforts in modern Japan to reform society and help the workingman, but especially to the trend toward socialism. Since the Meiji Restoration this movement has been stimulated by many factors, including concern over social distress and inequality, the dissatisfactions and frustrations of many intellectuals, and the tradition of direct, forceful action inherited from Tokugawa times and the Restoration movement itself. But the preponderant influence of Western social thought is apparent both in the intellectual origins of such movements, and in the fact that Japanese radicals, attempting to assess the effects of Japan's rapid modernization, have drawn heavily upon Western doctrines for the type of analysis and solution offered to the problems of the day. Thus to a very large degree Japanese radical thought has been imitative and adaptive, making little pretense at even such originality as the more moderate and indigenously rooted movements displayed. It was assumed that the "trend" in the modern West was toward the "left," and that progressive Japanese need only catch up with the most advanced social thinking of Europe and America. To be abreast of the times was to have absorbed the latest theories and terminology from abroad, not necessarily to have studied the actual facts of recent Japanese history with a view to re-examining outworn concepts. Nevertheless, even in this process it is possible to discern certain prevalent Japanese attitudes at work.

The *bête noire* of Japanese radicals was from the outset "capitalism," this extremely complex and varied pattern of Western economic organization being interpreted simplistically in terms of its nineteenth-century manifestations and, of course, in terms of Western imperialism. In the decade or so after the First World War, when industrialization and monopolistic capitalism made rapid advances, this type of thinking

gained wider currency. With the rise of militaristic nationalism, however, leftists found that they too suffered from the bridling of capitalism and the suppression of bourgeois democracy. Throughout these years, moreover, and into the postwar era, there has been an almost continuous cleavage within the social movement between those who looked for reform through democratic processes and trade-unionism and those who put their main hope in world revolution.

The philosophy, if it may be called such, of "trade-unionism, pure and simple," is deeply rooted in the labor history of Japan. Its first systematic expression may be observed in the years immediately after the close of the Sino-Japanese War when several Japanese workers, who had lived for many years in the United States, attempted to apply their lessons in American trade-unionism. Their pamphlet, "A Summons to the Workers," was widely distributed in Tokyo in April, 1897, and presented to Japanese readers the labor outlook of the American Federation of Labor. This document is of interest not only because it lays the foundations for a moderate trade-union view in Japan and rejects revolutionary tactics, but also because it reveals overtones of nationalism. The problem of appealing to the masses both as "Japanese" and as "workers" was to cause many a radical leader considerable distress in later years.

A Summons to the Workers

Note how this summons appeals less to the workers as members of a class-conscious proletariat with a revolutionary mission than it does to traditional Japanese attitudes among them: fear of foreign domination and exploitation, the desire for self-improvement and the preservation of family life, their generally law-abiding character, and finally to their sense of social cohesion and responsibility.

[From Katayama and Nishikawa, *Nihon no rōdō undō*, pp. 18-22]

The year 1899 will see Japan really opened to foreign intercourse. It will be a time when foreign capitalists will enter our country and attempt to amass millions in profits by exploiting our cheap labor and our clever workers. In such a situation, these foreign capitalists, who are not only different in character, manners, and customs, but who are also notorious for their cruel treatment of workers, will try to become your masters within the next three years. In the light of this situation, you workers must soon start to prepare yourselves or you cannot help suffering the

same abuses as the workers of Europe and America. Considering recent developments, moreover, the relations between the workers and employers of our country will in the same way as in Europe and America undergo daily change as factories and plants increase in number.

Considerations of profit alone will prevail. The strong will be triumphant and the weak will be destroyed. Since the superior are heading for days of prosperity and the inferior for times of ruin, it will be no easy task to conquer and to flourish in the days that lie ahead. When, moreover, the foreigners do enter our country, it will be vitally necessary for you to double your resolution and to devise moderate means to protect your position on the field of struggle, without getting yourselves involved in scrapes on their behalf.

You workers, like others before you, are people without capital who provide a living for others than yourselves. One of your arms and one of your legs are, so to speak, devoted to the support of society. When you meet with some misfortune and are disabled or when you become infirm with age and can no longer work, you are immediately deprived of the means of earning a living and are turned out into the street. Should death overtake you, your wives and your children are hard put to stay alive. In this state of affairs you are really as helpless as a candle in the wind. Unless you workers heed the precept of the ancients and prepare for adversity while you are able, and make it your practice to provide for ways to cope with future difficulties while you are strong and sound of body, it will be hard for you to avoid transgressing the fundamental obligations of a human being, a husband, or a parent. This matter demands sober consideration.

In this day and age our country is still not enlightened. In the olden days, when there were no machines, your wives and children stayed at home and worked and helped to earn a living. But with the rise of factories and mills your wives, who should be looking after the home, take themselves off to work in the factories. And since even innocent children work at the machines, the life of the home is thrown into confusion. At times the lives of children are endangered, as machines, which should be of benefit to man, function improperly and present the astounding spectacle of doing him harm. In some factories children with delicate bodies are made to work hours which would be too long even for adults. The life-blood of those who are little more than infants is squeezed out with

impartiality, and for their parents this is indeed unbearable. It should be evident that you must first and foremost take vigorous action and devise ways and means of coping with the situation. You must put your homes in order and protect the lives of your women and children. Do not forget, you workers, that those who take the lives of men do not do so only with the lethal instruments of murderers and criminals.

It is evident that when wives who should be caring for the home and children who should be in school are working in factories, an extremely unnatural state of affairs exists. If we seek the reason for this, we find that because of the cheapness of labor a man with only one pair of hands cannot support a wife and children. This is truly a most deplorable situation. If you are husbands, you cannot but want to give your wives a comfortable life. If you are parents, you cannot but want to see your children educated. These must of course be your feelings, and if you would only once rouse yourselves you would in the end find a way to correct this unnatural state of affairs and, by so doing, preserve your dignity.

One more matter which should be mentioned concerns your behavior. If you are an honest man earning a living by selling your labor power and if you make no mistakes in your work and conduct, you need not fear anything under the sun. But if you once do something dishonest or improper, your reputation as an upright man is thereby destroyed and your life itself is ruined. The saying that honesty prevails in the end is known to all of us. The way to protect yourselves lies in this. Furthermore, men who are in the unfortunate position that you are in find it difficult to obtain completely satisfactory results if, in attempting to improve their position, they are the least bit indiscreet in their behavior. Accordingly, it is necessary for you to strive to advance and extend your position and interests and, at the same time, to be courageous enough to follow a righteous course. Why should you workers not try to improve yourselves and mend your ways and pursue your ends in an open and above-board fashion? Know that the most heartless person will not prevail before your righteousness.

How you workers are to undertake the necessary acts of resolution and preparation, which have been indicated previously, will understandably raise questions in your minds. Some of you will say: "Matters have by now gone beyond the stage of talking. The rich are becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer. The injustices and ruined circumstances

which are the workers' lot are indeed cause for bitterness. Only by a revolution correcting this situation may the differences in wealth be equalized." This argument is truly attractive, and it would be splendid if you were able to achieve complete reform by the revolution advocated by its proponents. But the affairs of the world are not so simple as these men believe. Unexpected developments occur, making it completely impossible to realize original objectives, while great disorders are not infrequent.

You workers should think twice before accepting these arguments. The advances of society have always been at a leisurely and orderly pace. Revolutionists are opposed to the supporters of order and, when the former make haste and recklessness a prime factor, the actions of the two groups become diametrically opposed. As far as equalization of economic differences is concerned, since all men are not equally wise, inequalities in the amount of property individually possessed are inevitable. Proposals for the elimination of differences between rich and poor are more easily stated than achieved.

In view of this, you workers should firmly and resolutely reject ideas of revolution and acts of radicalism. To advance a mile one must go forward by steps. You should thus spurn the counsels of the economic levelers.

We would recommend, consequently, that you workers establish trade unions based upon the feelings common to men engaged in the same work and possessed of kindred sentiments. These trade unions, moreover, should be organized on a nation-wide cooperative basis. In viewing carefully your past actions, it is evident that you have refrained from combining, that you have struggled with one another, and that you have achieved no unity. Thus, if there are some of you who have with laborious effort and after countless appeals finally secured an increase in wages, there are others who remain satisfied with their outrageously low wages. There are some who want to reprove your unworthy fellow workers but there are also those who want to protect them. The spectacle of some men building and other men destroying, of kindred people engaged in mutual strife, is really cause for regret.

Your internecine strife, the contempt in which the foreigners hold you, and the position in which you find yourselves today, all may to a large extent be attributed to the failure of you workers to act unitedly.

As has been indicated previously, attack by the foreign enemy may be expected. Today, when deplorable evils exist among you, you must stop your fratricidal struggles and see the necessity for engaging in a vast combined effort. You workers must not remain apart but should wisely combine and keep pace with the advances of society. Inwardly you should nourish wholesome thoughts and outwardly comport yourselves in sober and steady ways. Shouldn't you seek to remedy the evil practices of your heartless employers and of the foreigners? Remember that there will be others who will think as you do.

Labor is holy. Combination is strength. It is for you who are engaged in holy labor to achieve the union that is strength.

KÔTOKU SHÛSUI

Renunciation of Parliamentary Tactics

The trade-union movement and an equally young socialist movement, which emerged during the last years of the nineteenth century, were short-lived. In 1900 the Japanese government, fearful of social unrest, passed the Public Peace Preservation Law which legally hamstrung radical social movements for two decades and more. One of the principal effects of this legislation was the constriction of radical expression, which tended to become increasingly theoretical, intellectual, and polemical. On the other hand, with the gradual strengthening of parliamentary government and the extension of suffrage, many radicals were encouraged to think that their objectives could be achieved through the ballot-box.

It was in this atmosphere that Kôtoku Denjirô, better known by his pen name Shûsui (1871-1911), and his anarchist philosophy made their appearance. Few, if any, intellectuals in modern Japanese history have wielded a more trenchant pen than Kôtoku. A fearless and outspoken foe of established institutions, he was still a young man when he was executed in 1911 for allegedly having plotted against the emperor's life. Just four years before, at a meeting of the Socialist Party in Tokyo, Kôtoku had proclaimed his break with parliamentarianism and his new-found conviction in direct action. With the passage of the years the fame of the man, rather than of his ideas, has continued to grow. To all radicals he has been a symbol of opposition to oppression.

[From Tanaka, *Shiryô Nihon shakai undô shi*, pp. 154-56]

Advocates of universal suffrage and proponents of parliamentarianism are both necessary for the awakening and organization of the voiceless laborers. But even if universal suffrage were put into effect, nothing at all

would be done in the Diet if the laborers were not awakened and organized. However, if the workers were really awakened and united, is there anything they could not do by their direct action? Matters have by now come to such a pass that there is no need to elect representatives and to depend upon parliaments.

If a member of the Diet becomes corrupt, that is all there is to it. If the Diet is dissolved, that is the end of the matter. The social revolution, that is, the revolution of the workers, must in the final analysis rest upon the strength of the workers themselves. Rather than serve as stepping-stones for parliamentary candidates, who are the ambitious ones in the gentlemen's set, the workers should immediately move ahead by themselves and look to the security of their livelihood. It is up to them to satisfy their elemental material needs.

Universal suffrage, campaigns, and the election of parliamentary representatives are all doubtless forms of propaganda. If, however, there is to be propaganda, why not direct propaganda? Why take such indirect steps? Are we to place our faith in the futile casting of ballots and not devote ourselves to effective organizational training? In Japan today the expenses of one candidate in a political campaign are no less than two thousand yen. If even that small an outlay were to be spent purely for propagandizing and organizing the workers, what tremendous results might we not see.

Recently many of the European socialist parties have become disgusted with the meager results obtained through parliamentary power. A tendency has arisen in continental Europe for socialist parties and the working class to be at constant loggerheads. In the trade unions of England, where frantic attempts are being made to elect representatives to Parliament, reserve funds and membership are gradually being depleted. Are these not points which we of the Japanese Socialist Party should particularly note?

What the working class wants is not the seizure of political power, but the "seizure of bread." They do not want laws; they want a livelihood. The working class can, accordingly, have but scant use for parliaments. If we are to rest content with the insertion of a clause in this law before the Diet, we might as well leave our work to the social reformers and to the state socialists. But if, on the contrary, we really want to improve and guarantee the living conditions of the working class by carrying out a social revolution, we must devote our utmost effort to organizational

training of the workers rather than to the acquisition of parliamentary power. The workers themselves must be resolved to attain their objective by their own strength, by their own direct action, and not by relying upon the likes of the parliamentary politicians of the gentlemen's set. I repeat, it is not for us to rely upon members of parliament and upon literary contributions.

Even so, I never held that acquiring the right to vote was wrong. I am not unreasonably opposed to the movement to revise the electoral laws. If universal suffrage is introduced, the Diet will to a greater or less extent take into account the views of the workers when it enacts or revises laws. These benefits alone are certain. But these benefits are no different from the institution of workmen's insurance, factory regulation, and tenancy laws, no different from legislation to revise or abolish the Peace Preservation Laws and the newspaper ordinances, no different from all the other social reform work and legislation for the protection of the worker and for the relief of the poor. It is not wrong to carry on these campaigns; I have no doubt that it is good to do so. But I also believe that being a socialist does not require a person to do so.

I would never deem it wrong for you, my comrades, to stand for parliament and to engage in election contests. I would never oppose your campaigns in the Diet. I rejoice to see our comrades increase in the government and in business society, in the army and in the navy, in the world of education, among the workers and peasants, and in all the classes of society. For the same reason, I would be delighted by an increase in the number of our comrades among the members of the Diet. If, accordingly, an election campaign could be carried out, it would be good to do so. But I cannot see that it would be a vital matter that had to be undertaken by the Socialist Party in particular.

I, who am at the least a socialist and a member of the Socialist Party, believe that, in order to attain our goal, which is a fundamental revolution in the economic system, that is to say, the abolition of the wage system, it is far more important to awaken ten workers than to obtain a thousand signatures on petitions for universal suffrage. Rather than spend two thousand yen in an election campaign, I believe it is much more urgent to use ten yen for the organization of the workers. I believe it is infinitely more promising to have one talk with the workers than to deliver ten speeches in the Diet.

Comrades, I hope that for the above reasons the Japanese socialist move-

ment will henceforth cease its policy of parliamentarianism and adopt primarily the tactics and line of direct action by the workers who are to be organized.

Resolution of the Japan General Federation of Labor, February, 1924, on Labor and Political Action

Before 1920 radical political movements were sponsored chiefly by intellectuals and attracted little mass support. As a result of industrial expansion during and after the First World War, however, the working class increased greatly in size, labor unions blossomed forth, and there were frequent strikes during the period of economic readjustment in the early '20s. At the same time the political consciousness of the workers was stimulated by the rise of political parties and the extension of the electorate which culminated in the enactment of universal manhood suffrage in 1925. In such circumstances radicals inspired by European socialism or the revolutionary success of Bolshevism in Russia were eager to direct the labor movement toward the achievement of political objectives as well as of economic gains. The influence of Marxism-Leninism is quite evident in this resolution of the Japan General Federation of Labor (*Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei*), calling for political action on a wide scale. Both the general tone of the document and its stress on a correct analysis of the historical situation in Marxist-Leninist terms indicate that the basic draft was Communist-inspired. Moderate elements, however, tended to emphasize those aspects of the resolution involving democratic agitation and the use of parliamentary processes, while extremists saw these as only a preparation for the eventual class struggle. The resolution thus signalizes the joining together of labor and radical politics to produce the "mass" movements of the '20s, and the precarious unity they achieved among different shades of left-wing opinion.

[From *Rōdō*, No. 150 (March, 1924), 3]

The labor movement in Japan has now reached a most important turning point. We firmly believe that the resolution proclaimed here at our Convention for the year 1924 is especially significant not only for the movement embraced by the Japan General Federation of Labor but also for the broader history of the labor movement of our country.

The labor and proletarian movements must constantly undertake to revise their strategy in keeping with changes in the stages of development of their antagonist—capitalism—with the conditions revealed by these stages, and with their own strength.

The dark shadows of social insecurity cast by the Great European War

have added increasingly to the internal contradictions of capitalist society and have brought closer the moment of its destruction. Simultaneously, one can observe the rapid development of the proletarian movement. The ruling class, with a courage born of desperation, is bending every effort to maintain the existing system and holds the blade of pitiless oppression over the heads of the proletarian class.

When we take another look at the labor movement in our country after the Great European War, we note that the Japanese labor movement, stimulated by the rise of proletarian movements throughout the world, has joined in the class struggle with an unanticipated spirit and fervor. The militant elements in our country's laboring class have become conscious of their mission and objective of emancipating the working class and, after being subjected to numerous tests, have finally been able to lay the foundation of a militant labor union.

From the first, capitalism in Japan did not develop along normal lines, and after being subjected to the severe pressures of world imperialism, prematurely assumed the form of imperialism, the highest stage in the development of capitalism. Capitalism in our country, accordingly, did not experience liberalism but immediately became militaristic, with strong tinges of absolutism. Numerous obstacles were thus raised restricting the freedom of the proletarian movement.

In addition, the world-wide class struggles which were then reaching their height caused, on the one hand, a few elements of our proletarian class who had been awakened after the Great European War to raise sharply their ideological levels. On the other hand, however, these elements did not acquire sufficient understanding of the mission and duty of labor unions in the movement to emancipate the proletarian class. Such a situation necessarily made the democratization of the proletarian movement difficult and resulted in the movement's being carried on by a small number of men burning with idealism and prone to fastidiousness and immaturity.

We believe that the course of our labor movement in the past has inevitably been in accordance with the anomalous development of capitalism in Japan. And if we continue in the future to maintain the attitude we have held in the past, this alone would be a major error and blunder.

Out of sheer necessity we must devise realistic and positive policies to replace those of the past. This necessity is evident to us who have been

able to observe correctly the increase in the strength of the working class as well as the tendencies which have been recently revealed in the capitalism of our country. The labor movement in Japan has shifted from a movement of a small minority and has become a virtual mass movement. The attitude toward social reform policy, which has hitherto been negative, must be changed and made positive.

Thus, although our expectations for the fundamental emancipation of the working class as a result of action taken by the bourgeois Diet are not very sanguine, we hope when the franchise is extended to acquire some political benefits by exercising the suffrage effectively. At the same time, we plan to hasten the political awakening of the proletarian class and to consider with due deliberation our policy towards the International Labor Organization. All this we plan to do in behalf of our nation's labor unions.

We must work for the merging of the independent labor unions by uniting their class interests as well as for the organization of the unorganized working class. And, while securing practical benefits [for labor itself], we must exhibit the true character of a labor union movement advancing toward its ultimate goal. We militant labor union members of today, who are possessed of clear critical ability and who have awakened to our class consciousness, are firmly resolved not to be led astray, even though we turn to good account the reform policies of the ruling class which are designed to blunt the revolutionary spirit of the working class.

We who participate in the movement to liberate the proletarian class must in the future change our strategy in keeping with shifts in our strength and in the condition of the enemy. But no matter how practical necessity may lead us to alter our policies, we vow to remain constant in our basic spirit of liberating the proletarian class.

ABE ISOO

The Second Restoration

Abe Isoo (1865-1949), titular head of the Socialist Masses Party (*Shakai Taishū tō*) from 1932 to 1940, was associated with the Japanese social democratic movement from its inception. In 1879 Abe had entered Dōshisha University where he was deeply influenced by Dr. Joseph H. Neesima (Niishima

Jō, 1845-1890) of Amherst who later helped him enter Hartford Theological Seminary. There, upon reading Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, he was converted to socialism. For twenty-five years he taught at Waseda University, and after entering politics, was elected to the Diet four times in the period from 1928 to 1940. Of a moderate temperament, Abe expended great effort in attempting to convince the authorities that socialism was not subversive and to persuade the working class not to resort to violent methods. In addressing the common people, he used simple, homely speech, if a bit old-fashioned, and sought to identify the proletarian movement with the Japanese historical and cultural context. For example, he likened the proletarian leaders of his day with the *rōnin* or masterless warriors who were considered the heroes of the Meiji Restoration. In the selection which follows, originally a speech delivered around 1929-30, he calls for "a Second (or Shōwa) Restoration," employing terminology similar to that of the ultranationalists but with the notable difference of an emphasis on peaceful means.

[From Abe, *Jidai no Kakusei*, pp. 229-47]

Man's primary concern is livelihood. Let us think of this in terms of building a house. Economics is the groundwork and foundation of the house. Man's livelihood makes up the economic sphere. I believe we can look at politics as the superstructure that can be erected on this sphere when it is completed.

However, in looking at contemporary conditions, we see that the superstructure of politics is approaching comparative completion. Man's desires are now eight or nine tenths realizable in the political sphere, but the economic sphere is very backward. It is from here that the unrest and instability in society at present come. Because the foundation is shaky, the superstructure is in a state of instability. In order to explain this, I have to say something about political change.

How have politics progressed up to the present?

Formerly in all countries a minority controlled political rights under despotic government, ruling the majority of the people in an oppressive manner. The people who were ruled could not interfere in politics. There was absolutely no right of political participation. That was the situation in former days. Now things have advanced to the point where all the people in every country of the world have completely attained the right of political participation.

In the particular case of Japan, since the achievement of constitutional government, all sovereignty, constitutionally speaking, rests with His Majesty the Emperor. Despite the fact that His Majesty the Emperor can

do anything He wills, in reality it is otherwise, and He orders the formation of a cabinet by a party when it has become the strongest party in accordance with an election which demonstrates the will of the people. This is the established rule. [pp. 229-31]

Conversely, what about the condition in the economic sphere? Even today it has not changed the slightest from Tokugawa times. If we take a factory, and if the factory has three to five hundred men employed, still the right of management is held by the stockholders, if it is a stock company, or held by a single owner, if it is an individually owned concern, but the workers in the factory have not the slightest management rights. It is the typical situation today that the workers have no voice in the operation of the factory any more than political participation existed under despotic government, and the workers remain under the authority of the employer like the people under the feudal lord of yore. [p. 232]

In sum, the present question is: cannot we do something about the fact that although politics is going well, in economics we are still copying the Tokugawa Period?

This something we think of as the Second Restoration.

The Meiji Restoration completely did away with forty thousand samurai and three hundred daimyo [feudal barons]. Because of this, we have become enabled to take part in politics.

However, at present, one Tokyo magazine writes that there are a hundred and fifteen daimyo of the economic world comparable to the daimyo of the Meiji Restoration, classifying them as people who own more than ten million yen worth of property. If you add the owners of down to seven to eight hundred thousand yen, you have three hundred men like the daimyo of old. They are dominating the economic world of Japan today like feudal lords. . . .

How was the great work of the Restoration accomplished? Thanks to the fact that here and there great men such as Saigō Takamori, Kido Takayoshi, and Ōkubo Toshimichi came forward, the *Bakufu* [shogunate] finally came to an end, and here the reforms of the Restoration were accomplished without difficulty. Indeed, in the case of Japan, no great war was necessary, and looking back, it seems the whole thing happened like a dream.

In Fukuoka on Kyūshū where I was born, my father was in service to

the Kuroda fief and received a stipend of three hundred *koku* of rice [one *koku* equals 5.12 bushels], but at the time of the Restoration the way in which he surrendered his rights as a samurai was to receive a section of the territory of the former fief which yielded three hundred *koku* of rice each year. Thus, he was no different from a landlord of today. Now if the Second Restoration comes, just as the samurai gave up their rights, the landlord can be given a monetary compensation and the whole thing can be accomplished without much ado.

To explain this in simple terms, in the case of a landlord, give him four years' worth of tenant farmers' rent and have him return all his land rights as they are to His Majesty. This would certainly not be difficult. [Also] the monetary compensation need not be exactly four years' rent. However, if we are to do what our forebears did in the Meiji Restoration, it will certainly not be difficult to do away with the three hundred financial barons [*zaibatsu daimyō*] and gain a voice in the economic sphere. . . .

If we do this, we will not need to use force at all. There will be even less need for any blood to flow. The reform of the Restoration did not involve cutting off the head of a single of the three hundred daimyo. Even the number one leading figure, Tokugawa Shogun, himself, was not bodily harmed in the slightest. What happened to the Honorable Tokugawa who turned in his right to be shogun? For a long time he served as President of the House of Peers and accumulated great honor. In comparing the period when he was shogun and the present period, which was better for Tokugawa-san? Only Tokugawa-san himself knows.

Similarly . . . if we once again deal decisively with the present Japanese economic world in the same way as was done in the Meiji Restoration, then the unrest and instability in Japan arising from the cause and effect relationship between politics and economics can be solved peacefully.

However, all of you may say that without capital probably no work can be made available at all, and is it not on account of capital that the industry of Japan prospers? I would reply that, yes, capital is necessary but capitalists are not necessary. If capital is needed for industry, all of us can chip in a little money and so create capital, and also the state can levy taxes and create capital. It is a great mistake to think that work will not

be available without such financial barons [*zaibatsu*] as Mitsui and Mitsubishi. There are many actual examples of the availability of work without the existence of capitalists.

In preparing to bring about the Second Restoration, we will have not the slightest need for the sword, in contrast to the situation in the past. If we arm ourselves with the ballot instead of the sword, it will certainly not be hard to create a Second Restoration.

KAWAKAMI HAJIME

Kawakami Hajime (1879-1946), a gifted journalist, poet, and university professor, was one of the most effective intellectual spokesmen for Marxism between the two World Wars. His eventful life was marked by three major climaxes, each summed up in a poem. The first was written at the age of twenty-seven when Kawakami, deeply influenced by his reading of the New Testament and Tolstoi's *My Religion*, joined the Unselfish Love Movement, a communalist, social service organization founded by a former priest of the True Pure Land Sect of Buddhism. In so doing Kawakami gave up his teaching position at Tokyo University, stopped writing for newspapers, left his wife and child, and sold everything he owned except a copy of the Bible and the poems of Shimazaki Tōson. The "thoroughgoingness" which he later identified as perhaps his most characteristic trait, led him in this case to renounce everything that did not benefit others, including sleep. The natural consequence of this—death—he determined to prepare himself for. It was in the midst of this spiritual crisis that he wrote:

To Unselfish Love I have resolved to give my life
And yet each day bestows new life on me.

Within a few months Kawakami abandoned both this experiment and the Unselfish Love Movement, but took up briefly the study and practice of Zen Buddhism. Eventually he returned to journalism and teaching, advancing rapidly in his academic career at Kyoto University and becoming a leading writer on economic questions. In the course of his study of Western economic theories he encountered Marxism, of which he quickly made himself one of the earliest and most authoritative interpreters. After the Russian Revolution, however, younger men newly returned from the headquarters of world communism subjected him to

severe censure for his views. In spite of the fact that one of these critics was a former student of his, Kawakami humbly accepted correction and resolved to start anew in his study of Marxism. At this point he wrote:

Without shaking off

The dust of the last journey,

I must set out again on a new road.

This further study led him fully to embrace Communism. At that time, however, the government was taking stronger measures against the Communists and his position as professor at an imperial university became untenable. After his resignation in 1928 he found himself drawn more and more into what was called the "actual movement" (i.e., mass political action). This would have been difficult enough for an intellectual quite unused to the hurly-burly of mass movements, but to make it worse the hazards of open political activity were increasing. Nonetheless, Kawakami felt keenly the need to prove that he was no mere "academician." Like Yoshida Shōin, who had come from the same province of Yamaguchi and had been Kawakami's hero and guiding star in his youth, he set out on the road to possible martyrdom, leaving his protesting wife in tears. After a period of open activity within the Communist-backed New Labor-Farmer Party, for which he ran as a candidate in one election, he was eventually forced underground. Shortly thereafter he finally gained formal admission to the Communist Party, an event which moved him deeply.

Here, standing at my destination and looking backward—
How far I have traveled across the rivers and mountains!

After his imprisonment in 1933, Kawakami's Marxist views did not change but his estimation of his own capacities for the political struggle did. When finally released he was a broken man, who died in 1946 after years of deprivation and malnutrition. Yet during the Second World War he voiced his faith in the future of Communism in characteristically religious terms: "Now, as I spend my remaining years in the midst of the Second World War, and watch things develop, I firmly believe in and eagerly await the advent of the communist society, in which everyone's daily conduct will accord with [the teaching]: 'Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away.'"¹

¹ *Ijoden* V, 157, October 28, 1942.

A Letter from Prison[From Kawakami, *Jijoden*, V, 36-38]

I went to Tokyo to study at the age of twenty, after graduating from Yamaguchi High School. I had read the *Analects* of Confucius and Mencius, but had never laid hands on either the Buddhist scriptures or the Bible. The latter I read for the first time after going to Tokyo. But the moment I came across the passage "whoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away" [Matthew 5:39-42], it had a most decisive effect upon my life. This was something beyond all reasoning. My soul cried out from within itself, "That's right. It must be so." Of course, I was unable truly to put this teaching into practice, but every time something came up these words stimulated me, encouraged me, and drove me on to "extraordinary" actions. Thus the direction of my life was set toward a concern for others as well as for myself.

Two incidents took place before I moved from Tokyo to Kyoto. One was that I went and heard some speeches appealing for aid to the victims of copper poisoning at the Ashio Mine,¹ and donated the scarf and overcoat I was wearing. Furthermore, after going home, I packed up everything but what I had on and turned it over to them. Hearing that many people were on the verge of death from cold and disease in the affected area, and being urged to give anything I could spare, even old stockings, I was deeply moved and felt as if I were going to the rescue of somebody on the point of drowning. I thought I had done something good. But later I was scolded severely by my mother and suffered from a tremendous mental dilemma. It was quite natural that she should become angry, because she was supporting me without even having enough for herself to wear. And I freely gave away to others the things she had sent me at such great sacrifice to herself. This happened a little before I graduated from college.

The second incident was my joining up with the Unselfish Love Movement. This was two years after my graduation and while Kishiko² was

¹ Pollution from the Ashio copper mine affected farms nearby and became a big social and political issue at the time (1907).

² Refers to his first daughter.

still in her mother's womb. Unselfish Love was a movement propagated at that time by Mr. Itō Shōshin. (He is still engaged in a movement bearing the same name, but over the years it seems to have undergone a change in its content.) I joined the movement, giving up my teaching position and everything. After joining, I found out that the movement was a little different from what I had imagined it to be from the words "unselfish love," but I followed his theory and engaged in a sort of religious movement for a while. It was about this time that I made up my mind not to sleep at all, and consequently prepared myself for imminent death. It was an occasion when "death had to be faced squarely." Ever since, I believe, thanks to that ordeal I attained a great flexibility in life.

Looking back I realize that almost thirty years have passed since then. You might as well say that my being here in prison at the age of sixty stems from those passages in the Bible. I was given Bibles by some people at Toyotama Prison, Ichigaya Prison, and here. But I personally feel that I may be closer to the spirit of the Bible than those people who gave them to me.

Concerning Marxism

These excerpts are from Kawakami's *Prison Ramblings*, written shortly before and emended just after his release from prison in 1937. More of a personal testament than a theoretical discourse, it sets forth his basic faith in Marxism as the scientific solution to the problems of world depression and world war. Though Kawakami deprecated the value of anything written under the conditions of his confinement, prison memoirs like these were very popular reading after the Second World War and moved many people who would have been untouched by theoretical works to sympathize with Kawakami's cause.

[From Kawakami, *Gokuchū zeigo*, pp. 26-60]

The ruling classes in the various capitalist countries of today feel that Communism, which is trying to take the place of capitalism, is their greatest menace, and they fear and hate it more than anything else. As a consequence, in capitalistic countries at the present time such a thing as the free study of Communism is unthinkable. Night and day, the spurs are applied to conscious and unconscious counterpropaganda designed to slander Communism and Marxism, while refutations, arguments, and propaganda from the Marxist side that might oppose it are all prohibited. Even now, therefore, it is extremely difficult for ordinary people in so-

ciety—those who are said to enjoy “liberty”—to obtain the books and materials with which to understand Marxism adequately, and they can hardly hope to do so without resorting to illegal methods (such as obtaining secretly books the importation or publication of which is prohibited).

Since this is true even in society, where there is “freedom,” in an institution like a prison, whose function is precisely to restrict a man’s freedom, it is more difficult to know the truth than to see a crow on a dark night. Common sense tells us that prisons nowadays are equipped with as many instruments as possible for causing men to think that Marxism (Communism) is mistaken. There sentiments such as might draw one to Marxism are as far as possible done away with. At least in the case of thought-criminals all the equipment and rules seem to have been consciously devised for the purpose of separating them from Marxism. Locked up in such a place, one can expect to have no true understanding of Marxism. In the last analysis, the second thoughts about Marxism one has in prison have nothing to do with true Marxism. It is natural, therefore, that though I was in prison for five years, there was no change in my academic beliefs. [pp. 26–28]

In our country, thought-criminals—and not only a small number of leaders but those of all degrees—have come to express a change in their thinking while imprisoned. It seems to me this may have become a sort of trend. In my view, this phenomenon has two meanings.

In one sense, it is proof of the fact that—as I have pointed out before—present-day Japanese prisons provide as many instruments as possible to make people think Marxism is mistaken.

In another sense, it is powerful evidence as to how many among the elements that have come to devote themselves to the Communist movement go no deeper than the superficial aspects of it and only echo the views of others. [The reasons for this are:] 1) The development of capitalism in Japan has been slower than in Western European countries; 2) On the occasion of the Meiji Restoration the bourgeois democratic revolution was not thoroughgoing and left feudal remnants in varying degrees; police restrictions on freedom of discussion and the like persisted throughout and were very cruel; 3) Beside the fact that the movement for Communist organization in Japan is young (capitalism entered a period of general crisis only after the World War), its growth has

been ceaselessly trampled on from the beginning. Hampered by these circumstances, Communist education in Japan has been woefully incomplete. Also as a consequence, the majority of those who have come to devote themselves to the movement as "Communists" have not passed through the ideological discipline of Communists. Their basic training is very shallow, and they have not been Communists at all in the strict sense. The fact that thought-criminals—who are sometimes called "criminals by conviction"—necessarily lack firm convictions in Japan is certainly rooted in peculiarly Japanese conditions, but these peculiarities are not of the sort spoken of as the "Japanese spirit," or as a "national polity without parallel in the world," but are only peculiarities due to the development of Japanese capitalism and hence of the Japanese Communist movement. [pp. 30-32]

Again and again Communists are arrested and accused of being "disloyal to the nation." That this is a simple misconception, however, is made perfectly clear if we take just one glance at actual conditions in the Soviet Union. . . . Detailed figures on economic conditions in the Soviet Union are published annually. If studied carefully, they indicate the following: 1) there is no longer a single unemployed person in the Soviet Union; 2) national income and the wage fund are increasing by a certain percentage each year; 3) this lies in part in the annual increase of treasury expenditures for educational, health, and recreational facilities for the masses; 4) as a consequence the standard of living of the masses is very rapidly improving; 5) in order to make all this possible the productivity of labor (amount of production per worker), which is the "basic motive force of history," is truly developing rapidly; and 6) in this respect Japan, whose stagnation ranks with that of Hungary, Poland, and Rumania, is in a diametrically opposite condition. All this proves beyond doubt that my conjectures while in prison were in no way mistaken.

Reconsidering the question, then, we may well ask: Do such great advances in the fortunes of the Soviet Union and the unusual rise in the standard of living of its people indicate that the Russian Communists have been disloyal to their nation or betrayers of their country?

All they have destroyed is Russia's old ruling class. This class lived on the labor of all the people, but in number they were as one hair on nine oxen compared with the total population. Now that great socialist country, which in addition to destroying the old class society has incor-

porated one hundred some million people into a single "classless society," keeps the objective of a Communist society in view and has taken a huge step forward from a country of coercion to a country of freedom. The old Russia, which existed for the sake of the few, has fallen, and the new Russia, which exists for the sake of the masses, has risen. Such is the work of the Communists in Russia. The ruling class in Japan is said to be building a paradise in Manchuria. However, let us leave Manchuria aside for the moment. There is no doubt that Japan itself—particularly the farming villages in the Northeast—does not even come within ten thousand miles of paradise.

Since leaving prison, every time I have heard of political conditions in Japan—particularly when I heard of the outbreak of the Feb. 26 [1936] incident—I have realized that the contradictions inherent in Japanese capitalism are becoming progressively more and more violent. Everything has happened just as we scientifically predicted it would; nothing domestic or foreign has gone contrary to our expectations. How can one say that our thinking is mistaken? [pp. 47, 53-55]

One thing I must say is that the danger of a world war is increasing day by day. The prelude to a world war has already begun; the smell of gunpowder permeates both East and West, and the fire is waiting for some opportunity to break out suddenly and spread over the whole world. Even the most ignorant person must be aware of all this. (This spring—the sixth since the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident—there was a special ceremony at the Yasukuni Shrine. I heard on that occasion that from January to December last year [1936] the number of dead commemorated in the Yasukuni Shrine increased by one thousand several hundred. We must realize that it is not only in Spain that war is going on.)

Yet who is it that has proved scientifically that a world war is inevitable? Who has a scientific grasp of the basic causes of it? Who has a scientific faith that they can be eradicated?

It is none other than the Marxists—the Communists. This is my unalterable belief. For this reason, whenever during my imprisonment my spirits flagged, I spurred my will by reminding myself of the recent World War.

Thirty-four nations participated in it; 67,000,000 men volunteered or were conscripted; 70,000,000,000 yen were spent; some 7,000,000 men

were killed; the wounded (outside of France, Rumania, and Russia) numbered 10,670,000; the misery entailed was truly indescribable. Since Japan was far removed from the center of the fighting, it suffered the least loss, so most of its citizens have no clear idea of how fearful a thing modern war is. If anything, they harbor feelings of bellicosity and are inclined to resort to war to settle things. However, if we reflect on the extraordinary advancement in weapons since the last World War—especially of air forces—the coming Second World War, with the misery it will bring to humanity, is truly a cause for alarm. In point of war dead alone, it will probably exceed by thousands upon thousands the dead of the first world war. Every time I think of it, while it engraves on my heart the chaos of the world, I also feel painfully that the responsibility Marxism has taught us to bear is indeed heavy.

Why is this?

Because only the Marxists know the real reasons why world war is inevitable; only the Marxists have the real method that the world offers us for eradicating it and, seeing their duty in regard to this method, fight for it.

Those who have foretold from the start on the basis of science that the international wars which have broken out since the beginning of the twentieth century would become world-wide are in truth none other than the Marxists. Those who have warned repeatedly that as long as capitalism is maintained, such periodic wars—together with world economic panics—are unavoidable, are in truth none other than the Marxists.

Whenever I think of this, even though confined in my study-room as a scientist, my blood becomes inflamed. Even when I was confined in prison, I saw no reason to drink the poison that would cause my heart to freeze. Fortunately my blood is still warm.

Our faith is such that, even though we should be imprisoned for a number of years, it would be possible to direct anew the attention of some dedicated men—themselves ready to undergo the same hardships—to the truth of Marxism. If we think of this, we can discover the full meaning of daily life, and there will be no real hardship. Since it is to save the hundreds of thousands and millions of lives that would be sacrificed in world wars breaking out among the nations every twenty or thirty years, the jeopardizing of one's own life need hardly be considered. [pp. 56-60]

A Change of Direction?

The most successful effort to gain left-wing representation in the Japanese Diet was made by the Socialist Masses Party (*Shakai taishū tō*), organized in 1932 to unite the forces of socialism. It had no sooner won a substantial bloc of seats in the 1936-37 elections, however, when the outbreak of war in China and the upsurge of nationalism confronted the party with a difficult choice: whether to support or oppose the war effort. At a party congress held in November, 1937, it was decided, in effect, that as a "mass" party the *Shakai taishū tō* had to identify itself with the whole Japanese people rather than with the proletariat as a separate class, and hope that it might thereby exert an influence in reshaping the new Japan. Its only left-wing rival, the Japan Proletarian Party (*Nihon musan tō*), which had proposed an "anti-fascist popular front," was suppressed that same year.

The significance of the new party platform and of the policy statements defending it in the party newspaper, as given below, should be seen in the light of the basic principles adopted at the founding of the party five years before. These were: 1) "Our party fights to protect the livelihood of the workers, farmers and laboring masses in general"; and 2) "Our party aims at the overthrow of capitalism and the liberation of the proletarian class."

[From *Shakai taishū shimbun*, Nos. 102 and 103]

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIALIST MASSES PARTY, NOVEMBER 30, 1937

1. Our party, on the basis of the fundamental principles of our national polity, plans for the advancement and development of the Japanese people, and in this way aims at the uplift of human culture.

2. Our party, representing the laboring masses, aims by reforming capitalism to achieve the planning of industry and the stabilization of the people's livelihood.

POLICY STATEMENT: THE MEANING OF THE REVISED PLATFORM

In the cooperative campaign policy statement, adopted at the second national convention in 1933, our party declared as follows: "Our class movement is not a narrow class movement. It does not imply a selfish kind of class interest, which gives no thought to the continued existence of the Japanese people or which would cause a rift between [the proletarian] class and [the Japanese] nation. Our movement denies that the Japanese people are conservative by nature. Through our movement we accept complete responsibility for the destiny and continued existence of the Japanese people." Again, in the autumn of 1934, when the War Ministry published its Army Pamphlet, "The Fundamentals of a Proposal

on National Defense and How It Can Be Strengthened," our party immediately backed the theory of "national defense in the broad sense," as [the pamphlet] propounded it, and advocated relating national defense to the people's livelihood.

As long as our party was no more than a minor force in politics, even though we claimed to accept complete responsibility for the future of the Japanese people, no great importance was attached to that claim. Even party members themselves were unable to grasp with real feeling its great significance. Now, however, the rapid progress of our party has caused a change in the situation. In particular, the outbreak of the China Incident has prompted the party to take a clear stand in regard to the national polity and the Japanese people as a nation.

There are still some people who cannot understand how a proletarian party can be anything more than a political group for class conflict. When the party's responsibility toward the nation and the people is shown to them, they either become confused, or criticize it from a lofty point of view, or say that the party craves power. Such people conceive of our party simply as a party of perpetual critics or a perpetual opposition, "seasoning" parliamentary government. Or they expect it to be a mere cathartic in bourgeois politics, in a word, to have an Ozaki Yukio-like existence. That is, they are completely opposed to our party's wielding any political power.

Much as we regret saying it, our party has no reason to meet the wishes or expectations of these gentlemen. In fact, the party is rapidly advancing toward its goal of political power, and cherishes the hope that the Japan of the future will be built by our party. A political party is not a study group, let alone an association of critics.

To put it bluntly, in a wartime situation, these people are nothing but cowardly, negative pacifists, who shrivel up, folding their arms and lamenting that the times are against them.

In outward form, the present war is an incident between China and Japan, but in truth, it is a struggle against British capitalism in the Orient. Hence, it will not be easy to bring it to a conclusion. The success or failure of our national development probably hinges upon this profound international conflict.

At the same time, modern wars are not fought by soldiers alone, but require the mobilization of all of a nation's resources. Hence, they do not stop short of bringing about profound changes throughout society. While the laboring masses serve the nation by expending themselves on the battle field, they are also spending their strength on the home front to achieve increased productivity. If the internal organization of the nation which embraces all of them continues to be capitalistic as it has been in the past, basically dedicated to the principle of making profits for the capitalists, then there can be only temporary palliatives for the pressing problem of giving our servicemen full support on the home front by supplying them with weapons and ammunition, much less for those problems of exchange, prices, and currency which have increasingly suffered the ravages of the piercing gale of international economic forces; and it will be impossible to construct any far-sighted program for the nation.

With a new platform and a new spirit of leadership, our party is advancing, not retreating. In the spirit of renovation, and with a conviction that the coming age belongs to us, we will fight with all our might to build a new Japan. [No. 102, November 30, 1937]

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT, DECEMBER 15, 1937

Why Was the Platform Revised? . . . Why has the party revised its platform? In a word, it is because the party has progressed. To some the revision of the platform represents a change in direction for the party, but it is definitely not a change of direction; it is a step forward.

The pervading spirit of the previous platform was the class solidarity and class advancement of the proletariat, and further through these, the [drastic] reform¹ of capitalism. The goal of the party has been the reform of capitalism. However, the central problem of the proletarian party movement in its early stages has been the consolidation of the forces of reform—that is, the substantive² forces which should carry out reform. How can these substantive forces be organized?

The True Meaning of the Class Movement. Our party has taken as its

¹ The Japanese term *kaiikaku* is ambiguous in that it is stronger than mere reformism yet does not necessarily imply violent revolution. The term "renovation" used elsewhere is meant to suggest the same kind of change.

² *Shutaiteki*, sometimes translated "subjective," here indicates the active core by whom, and in whose primary interest, other more passive elements are mobilized and led.

primary goal in the renovation movement to impart consciousness to the masses who have no [class] consciousness, to organize the masses who are ignorant of organization, and to give the capacity to fight to the masses who lack the capacity to fight. The renovation movement cannot exist where the substantive forces are not organized. In order to organize these key forces, we must clearly identify the special characteristics of this newly risen political force and aid its growth and development. Up to now we have to a greater degree than necessary stimulated a consciousness of the conflict between the working class and the capitalist class. Moreover, we have become sharply opposed to the established parties as political forces antagonistic to reform. This was an essential step in organizing the rising political forces for renovation. It was also natural that our former platform should indicate with special clarity the above-mentioned goal at that stage in the development of the toiling masses of the whole nation. However, though our movement has up to now emphasized class interest and striven hard for it, class interest was not its be-all and end-all, but only one policy in the process by which we hoped to advance the development and growth of all the toiling masses of the entire nation. . . .

Shouldering the People's Mission. In the past ten years through our movement we have developed from a minor force, a mere handful of reformers, to establish our present splendid position as the third party in the Diet, and have succeeded in building a substantive force of more than one million persons throughout the country. Now, as the present China Incident is reaching a crisis, the Japanese people are risking the survival of their race and are advancing into the very center of profound international conflicts. Now is the time for consolidating our gains of more than a decade. The inexorable mission which we must take upon ourselves is to shoulder full responsibility for the destiny and continued existence of the Japanese people, in accordance with the great Way for the renovation of Japan.

The first article of the new platform points out: "Our party, on the basis of the fundamental principles of our national polity, plans for the advancement and development of the Japanese people, and in this way aims at the uplift of human culture." This shows how we shall accomplish the racial mission of the Japanese race which we have taken upon ourselves. All the members of the party must be deeply moved by the

glorious achievement of having arrived at the point where the crystallization of twenty years of toil and struggle has enabled us to shoulder the mission of our race.

Push Forward Toward Renovation. Our party must not remain forever the "seasoning of parliamentary government." Some defeatist critics may cherish the idea of its being a party of perpetual criticism, a party of perpetual opposition, but this was never the mission of our party or the reason for its existence. Our party does not exist for the sake of professional critics. It must exist for the sake of all the people of the whole country. Guided by our new platform and following in the direction of our new campaign policy, we must take our place triumphantly at the head of the Japanese people, and thus move forward on the great path of renovation. [No. 103, December 15, 1937]

KAWAI EIJIRO

Defense of Liberal Socialism

Kawai Eijirō (1891-1944), a professor in the Faculty of Economics at Tokyo Imperial University, was probably the most brilliant of the non-Marxist socialists in prewar Japan. Though he wrote about political and economic questions of the day, such as capitalism, Communism, and Fascism, perhaps his greatest contribution lay in developing a philosophical basis for humanitarian individualism in the Japanese context. This he derived in large measure from his study of the works of Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882), the English radical idealist of Oxford, where Kawai himself studied on one of his several visits to Europe and America. Unlike most other prewar Japanese socialists, either of the extreme or moderate variety, Kawai did not compromise himself or "recant." He was put to the test in 1939 when he was investigated for an alleged violation of the Press Code and was discharged from his post at the University. The following selection is from a statement he submitted to the court during his trial the following year which resulted in a verdict of innocent. In 1942, however, he was again brought to trial and convicted for an "antiwar" article, after which he was forbidden to publish anything anymore. What may seem a very moderate kind of socialistic liberalism (especially when one notices Kawai's support of the "national polity") nevertheless took courage and conviction in the context of wartime Japan.

[From Kawai, *Watakushi no shakai-shugi*, pp. 15-45]

In determining my position on social questions, I was confronted with three factors. The first was the existing capitalist system enveloping my

environment, the next was liberalism, which was on the decline, and the third was Marxism, which was enjoying its greatest popularity. I could not accept capitalism in its present condition. The question was how to renovate it. The first thing I did was to study liberalism in order to put in order what should be retained and what might be let go. Next I turned to Marxism and decided to find out where its weaknesses lay. In this manner I constructed my position of what I called "third-stage liberalism" or idealistic social democracy. Taking this position, I opposed Marxism and was able to lend a hand in refuting its theoretical constructs. But one thing I would like to call attention to here is that, while opposing Marxism, along with emphasizing my differences with it, I unconsciously had to make certain concessions to it. This would have been unavoidable for anybody, I believe. It is both natural and effective to recognize what is correct in an opposing system of thought and accept that in order to refute the opposing system of thought as a whole. Accordingly, when you examine my socialism, I would like you to take into consideration the ideological background at the time I constructed my position, especially the popularity of Marxism. The important thing is the period when my writings were published and my theses made public. [pp. 15-16]

My concept of socialism was influenced by that of the British Labor Party, but no more than influenced, for I did not take over that concept of socialism as it was. My socialism is unique, and thus it is necessary for one first to discard any mental associations with socialism as it has existed in the past.

What I call socialist society is the *ideal* society which should succeed contemporary capitalism. According to my system of thought, it is the task of social philosophy to discuss the ideal of society. Since it tells us, "The society which is able to develop the personality of every member of society is the ideal society," this is the ultimate social ideal. With this social ideal as a norm we are enabled to perceive the various defects of contemporary capitalism. It is the task of social science to tell us what causes these defects and how we can correct them. Guided by both this social ideal and social science, we can conceive of the kind of society that should succeed contemporary capitalism. The socialist ideology which posits socialist society as the ideal is my type of socialism. [pp. 16-17]

I have been talking about socialism. But my brand of socialism does not

rest on the philosophy of dialectical materialism like Marxism, and therefore, I do not say that, in analyzing capitalism scientifically, it will *necessarily* disintegrate or that socialism will *necessarily* arise. Idealists do not see society as progressing of necessity but rather as progressing in line with the wills of human beings guided by ideals. Thus, if socialism is an evil we must defend ourselves from it to the death; but if it is good, we must make its realization our goal. Here is the difference between deterministic socialism and teleological socialism. Because my philosophy is idealism, I do not explain things in terms of *necessity* as the Marxists do. I explain my aims in terms of my ideal. That is why when I talk about socialism my sentences have a strongly propagandistic flavor about them. This does not come from my "socialism" but from my "idealism." Anybody who explains socialism in terms of idealism, as I do, will necessarily become the same as I. Although I talk about socialism, as I shall explain subsequently, I reject illegal and espouse legal methods, abhor violent revolution, and prefer parliamentary means. Consequently, I do not address myself to the lowly plebs. I have never discussed socialism at a meeting of workers. I address my discussion of socialism to readers of a high class. I believe that actually only junior college graduates or above are able to read my writings. [pp. 24-25]

I have opposed the Marxist methods of violent revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat by substituting the means of formalistic liberty, namely, freedom of speech and freedom of political action. There are two methods of resisting violent revolution. One is to make clear the reasons why it is wrong. The other is to propose alternative policies. In my writings I have made clear the reasons why violent revolution, whether of the left or of the right, is wrong. I have proposed formalistic liberty as an alternative policy. But such an alternative policy must be logical all the way through and allow the enemy no opening for a thrust of logic. These are the terms in which I explain what I mean by formalistic liberty. That is, to the extent that it is speech and does not become action, I would give Marxism freedom of expression. And furthermore I would even give freedom of political activity to a Marxist party, as a legal political party, as long as it does not become the basis for carrying out revolution. As this point has led to a misunderstanding, I would like to try to explain it a little further here.

The first point to consider is whether, if the formalistic liberty I advocate is carried into effect, it will give rise to subversion. It is self-evident

that, no matter what I advocate as an individual, it will not be carried into effect just as it is, since unfortunately I do not possess that much power or influence. Therefore, what I advocate will not be carried out until a majority in the Diet agrees with what I advocate. Even if what I advocate is a crime, it would not go into effect until a majority of the representatives in the Diet are my sympathizers. Furthermore, if the Diet is about to make a decision contrary to the beliefs of the governmental authorities, they can always take the step of dissolving the Diet. Therefore, in the case where the majority of the representatives have become my sympathizers, then the government itself agrees with me. Consequently the governmental authorities have become my sympathizers. Can advocating something that requires that the majority be its sympathizers before it can come into existence be a crime? Must someone who advocates something that can give rise to such conditions in the distant future through the process of cause and effect be a criminal? That he cannot seems to me clear, if one talks in terms of the conditions for the occurrence of a crime.

Up until now we have been supposing that the result would be subversive, if what I advocate were realized, but would the result really be subversive? 1) Since I have advocated freedom confined to speech and because I sanction regulation over action, this is certainly not subversive action. 2) Also since I have placed speech directly causing action outside of the pale of freedom, as preparation for action, here again this is not subversive. 3) Since even in the category of speech, it is my opinion that freedom should not be allowed for speech that opposes the national polity (*kokutai*), this is not subversive in this respect either. 4) Even if the Communist Party, if not acting as an instrument to carry out revolution, were recognized as a legal party, there would be no danger. If the Communist Party were not practicing revolution it would be like a hound whose fangs had been extracted and it would not differ from other parties. Since speech or action directly preparatory to action, not to speak of immediately revolutionary action, are included in my definition of action, the party would be Communist in name only. Therefore, to be surprised by my saying that the Communist Party should be legal is to be made a prisoner of words.

Thus the result of allowing formalistic liberty would not be subversive at all. [pp. 36-39]

If any question still remains, it might be to say that advocating so-

cialism as such is detrimental. That is to say that, even if it remains only speech, it is detrimental and is disruptive to public peace and order. Earlier I made a statement to the court on "Is Socialist Propaganda Detrimental or Not?", but here I would like to add a supplemental statement from another angle. First of all, perhaps some people might maintain that socialism conflicts with the intent of the Constitution which guarantees the security of private property and that this causes unrest in the public mind. Certainly Article XXVII of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan says, "The right of property . . . shall remain inviolate . . ." and in the Preamble to the Constitution it is stated, "We now declare to respect and protect the security of . . . property." Nevertheless, the second paragraph of Article XXVII of the Constitution stipulates that private property can be limited by law. And based on this stipulation ownership has been greatly restricted by the Land Expropriation Law, the Requisition Order, the City Planning Law, the Forestry Law, the Rivers Law, the Mining Law, and so forth. Since socialism calls for the common ownership of the means of production in accordance with this stipulation, it does not conflict with the Constitution in the least. . . . Furthermore, the provisions of the Constitution clearly intend to provide protection from the incursions of dictatorship not based on law, and bearing in mind that second paragraph, it is not difficult to surmise that this protection would not be extended to limitations based on the agreement of the majority of the people. If it is said that socialistic speech gives rise to a feeling of insecurity concerning property it must be remembered that in the past and at present the state and municipalities have held and do hold such things as the postal, telegraph, and telephone systems, roads, water, gas, electricity, railroads, trolleys, and busses in common ownership. If common ownership of something is not detrimental, where is the logic for concluding that common ownership of all things is harmful? Besides, the present system of economic controls restricts everything from management to profits, and although ownership exists in name, so many restrictions have been placed on it in actuality it is almost as if it does not exist at all. Now finally a ration card system is being put into effect. This may be called a temporary set-up for the war emergency, but since the general tendency of capitalism has reached this development, it is only accidental that it is connected with war. Even after the war is over, it cannot be thought that all these controls will disappear entirely. If it be

said that socialism brings about uneasiness in the popular mind, it must be remembered that the present system which is not yet socialism is already causing uneasiness in the public mind, but if this is not the case, then it cannot be said that socialism either gives rise to feelings of uneasiness. [pp. 40-45]

AKAMATSU KATSUMARO

The Japanese Social Movement in Retrospect

We have already seen in the preceding selections how the "unnatural" development of Japanese capitalism was believed to have a crucial effect on the labor and socialist movements. In this preface to a history of the Japanese social movement, written in 1951 by a veteran right-wing socialist, the conclusion is drawn that the prewar proletarian struggle, being inevitably linked with the development of capitalism and political democracy, was seriously hampered by the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself. It was in some such terms that most Japanese "intellectuals" in the post-Second World War decade explained the course of recent Japanese history.

[From Akamatsu, *Nihon shakai undō-shi*, i-iv]

Generally speaking, what we call the social movement is a movement for the emancipation of the working masses which arose in opposition to the abuses of capitalism, so it is a social phenomenon which has unfailingly emerged in every capitalist state. It is worthy of note, however, that the character of the social movement differs significantly in different countries. The most important point in this respect is that, though several states may all be called capitalistic, the nature of the social movement is extremely different in those states where democracy has been developed from those in which it has not. The states where democracy has developed are the advanced capitalist states and the states where there are still strong vestiges of feudalism are the backward capitalist states.

Now, according to the history of the advanced capitalist states, those who overthrew the feudal system were the bourgeoisie. This was not achieved by the power of the bourgeoisie alone, but their social power made the bourgeoisie the leading force. They seized political power, replacing the feudal lords, and developed the capitalism which had already been growing within feudal society to a high point. Their theory of revolution was democracy, it being necessary for capitalist society to take

on a democratic character. Thus, capitalist society had to recognize freedom of speech, of assembly, and of association, which had not been recognized in feudal society. Thereupon, the social movement grew with these freedoms as a base. The social movement in the advanced countries was at first subjected to some oppression, but, because there existed this social base of democracy, it was able to follow a relatively normal course of development.

It goes without saying that Japan is a backward capitalist state. The Meiji Restoration struck the final note of the feudal period but it was not the bourgeoisie who overthrew the Tokugawa regime; it was anti-Tokugawa feudal power centered about the Satsuma and Chōshū clans. The Meiji government, which had newly seized political power, was subjected to the pressures of the tides of world capitalism and embarked upon the construction of a capitalist state. The policies which were adopted were modeled upon those of the advanced capitalist states. Beginning with government, finance, and economics, and extending to military and intellectual affairs, Europeanization was adopted in the name of civilization. The Meiji government, which attempted to resist the pressures of world capitalism and to maintain the independence of the state, pursued an inevitable course in adopting this hasty policy of Europeanization.

Capitalism in Japan was gradually built up but it was fostered by the state itself and not by the bourgeoisie. In order to achieve the state aim of a "rich country and strong army" the government, following a state policy of industrialization, transplanted capitalism from the West and protected and fostered its development. There was a step backward in the industrial policy of the government in about 1881 when a change was made from protectionism to liberalism. From the principle of model state-owned factories there was a shift to the principle of protection and encouragement of private enterprise. This was only a retreat by the government from the front line of industrial economics and no change at all from the original policy of protection. There was no history in Japan, as in the advanced countries, of the bourgeoisie, which had seized real economic power, taking its stand on *laissez faire* and struggling against state protectionism.

As has been indicated, nationalism and capitalism in Japan were linked together from the outset. Since capitalism developed under the wing of nationalism, there was no room for the growth of democracy. Conse-

quently, the social conditions for the development of a social movement did not exist. Until recently there existed many legal regulations restricting the social movement and, despite the self-sacrificing efforts of pioneers, this was one of the basic reasons why the social movement had to carry on its struggles at a great disadvantage.

The social movement in Japan finally acquired a mass base after 1919. Taking advantage of the First World War, capitalism in Japan achieved a high point of development, and at the same time it was influenced by world-wide currents of democracy. On a political level, universal manhood suffrage was established, party government was brought into being, and a long step was taken toward creating a democratic system. As a consequence of this, the social movement was freed from the harsh oppression which had continued from the Meiji Period, and it became possible for it to grow in a democratic atmosphere.

With the First World War as a high point, capitalism in Japan gradually came to a standstill. At home and abroad the development of capitalism had all but reached the point of saturation. In addition, the world-wide depression after the war drew our economy into the torrent. The rapid increase in population and the poverty of our resources, which were the peculiar economic weaknesses of our country, cast a cloud of gloom over the outlook for capitalism.

The Manchurian Incident of 1931 was an attempt to break the deadlock by imperialistic methods. Next came the China Incident, and then the Pacific War. In the political arena the political parties made their exit and, with the rise of the military bureaucrats, the economic system was brought under rigid control. Thereupon, democracy was again driven into an unfortunate position, and the social movement was weakened and destroyed.

In short, the growth of a backward capitalism since Meiji times was abnormal, and as a consequence democracy did not develop properly. As a result, the social movement in its development in Japan was not able, as in advanced countries, to take on a proper character.

ŌYAMA IKUO

Japan's Future Course

Ōyama Ikuo (1880-1956), a professor of political science at Waseda University, first won fame as a "brilliant leader" of the left-wing when he assumed

the chairmanship of the Labor-Farmer Party in 1927. With the increasing repression of radical movements after the Manchurian occupation, Ōyama took refuge in the United States, where he had studied earlier, and taught at Northwestern through the war years. It is a striking fact that Japan has had few political exiles in modern times (the only other noteworthy exception being Nosaka Sanzō, a refugee among the Chinese Communists). Despite the comfortable circumstances in which he found himself, Ōyama could not resign himself to the life of an expatriate, but felt increasingly a sense of identification with the Japanese people, of failure and shame over Japan's misconduct, and of responsibility for helping her rise from the ashes of defeat. When he finally returned to Japan in 1947, Ōyama soon became the "grand old man" of the left wing. Active in socialist and pacifist movements, but not associated with a particular party, he was elected to the upper house of parliament, and after visits to Communist China and the Soviet Union, was awarded a Stalin Peace Prize. The following excerpt, the conclusion to a book written shortly after his return to Japan, expresses attitudes and ideals shared by many Japanese, but especially by "progressives," in the postwar period.

[From Ōyama, *Nihon no shinro*, pp. 153-63]

Since the Meiji Restoration, the ruling class in Japan has built up a system of nationalistic ethics called "the essence of national polity" and based on the ideology of the family state inherited from the feudal age. It has indoctrinated the nation with this type of thought through universal conscription and uniform national education. By this method, the ruling class has tried, on the one hand, to check the trend toward the awakening of individuals that was engendered by the modernization of society, and, on the other, to expel the democratic and socialistic ideas that were rushing in from the outside world. However, this attempt was not entirely successful. For, despite the fact that it was backed by many suppressive laws and the threat of brutal oppression by the military and the police, there were widespread movements of resistance of various kinds, which it succeeded in eliminating only immediately before and during the Second World War. Unfortunately these resistance movements came too late. They were smashed before they could develop into nationwide insurrection by the suppressive policy of the ruling class—a policy that hardened greatly in anticipation of the war. Nevertheless these movements clearly disproved the idea that the Japanese were an essentially authoritarian people.

Still, the policy of ideological seclusion inherited from the Meiji era was continued to the end. There was a short break during the decade

after the First World War, a period of rising liberalism in Japan. But after the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, it was increasingly strengthened until it reached its peak during the Second World War. During this war, the militarists established complete control over national public opinion. Thereby the intelligence and conscience of the people were completely benumbed. Thus, world-disturbing actions by Japan, which reached their climax in the attack on Pearl Harbor, had nation-wide support. At home, furthermore, even a number of former leaders of movements for the emancipation of the proletariat joined the camp of the ruling class and became supporters and propagators of the imperialistic policy; abroad, soldiers left the worst stains on our history by their atrocities. Truly, in this period, the intellectual and moral standard of the Japanese was at its worst. A sample of the propaganda used by the militarists was "War is the father of creation and the mother of culture." But the contrary has proved to be the case.

At this point, the Japanese have to criticize themselves thoroughly. They must re-examine every nook and corner of their souls. The most important thing for a new Japan is moral reflection. Without it, a new Japan is impossible and her return to international society is out of the question.

The Potsdam Declaration not only gave a ray of hope for the national existence of Japan but also suggested a future direction for Japan and provided a foundation for her democratization. It allowed Japan to have industry, to import raw materials, and to participate in international trade, in order to enable her to support her economy and to meet the demands for "just reparation" by the allies. The Japanese people know that the reparations problem is of the greatest consequence to the future of the nation. They are also aware that conclusion of a peace treaty is the first step in Japan's return to international society, which they look forward to. They also realize that it is high time to start preparing for her return.

As a result of defeat, the wall that secluded the Japanese mind from the outside world broke down. The Japanese people could see the world as it was for the first time. There they saw the great structure of the United Nations. This is the only existing organ for international co-operation for the maintenance of world peace. It embodies the ideals of international democracy and international ethics, which are based upon

the concept of human solidarity, and which have gradually developed among the allied powers since the time of the League of Nations. Its present form may not be perfect. But the fact that such a thing has been realized is of the greatest historical significance.

When the Japanese people began to realize that democratization and international cooperation were a single historical necessity for Japan, the new Constitution was established in the full view of the public. Formally, it has some of the marks of a constitution granted by the sovereign, but in its content it contains a number of principles for which we fought in our struggles for political freedom. By and large, it is a democratic constitution. It may not be perfect, but it leaves the way open to correct its deficiencies. Even as it is, it is quite useful as an instrument for our present task: the establishment of democracy.

The new Constitution of Japan has two major principles: a proclamation that sovereignty lies in the people and a declaration to renounce war. Naturally, it corresponds to the United Nations Charter in many respects. In the process of establishing a democratic social order, we must try to make use of this Constitution so that it may not remain a mere piece of paper. But first we have to start by getting rid of the traditional nationalistic doctrine based upon the ideology of the family state and try to acquire an international political ethics corresponding to the concept of human solidarity.

We also have to realize fully the significance of the declaration renouncing war. This declaration is not a mere accessory, but a guiding principle to regulate our future national life. With this ideal, Japan is going to enter the international stage as an unarmed nation. This is a new role for the Japan that until yesterday was armed from top to toe as one of the imperialistic powers. A nation without arms is a nation without power. The political science of the past taught that a nation consists of land, people, and power. From Niccolò Machiavelli, who wrote *The Prince* at the beginning of modern times, to Lenin, who, at the beginning of this century, was the central figure of the Russian Revolution and was the author of *The State and Revolution*, there has been nobody who neglected the factor of power in the concept of the nation. The eminent Treitschke's favorite phrase, "*Der Staat ist Macht*," from his history of political theory, is the essence of several centuries of theories on the

concept of the nation. Power means mainly military forces and the police. According to section eight¹ of the new constitution, Japan is not to possess an army, navy, air force, or other military forces (except for police forces). From the point of view of a cynic, a state without power cannot be a nation. But for a student who earnestly accepts the new concept of sovereignty expressed in the United Nations Charter, it is undoubtedly a new type of nation. As such a new type of nation, Japan will live and develop in the new political surroundings of a world that has acquired the United Nations. If she succeeds in the experiment of existing as such a nation, her contribution to the world will be immensely great. For it will set a concrete example of the ideal of universal disarmament that mankind has been dreaming of for centuries.

In order for Japan to exist as a nation without arms, everlasting world peace is a necessary premise. Therefore, the efforts of the Japanese should be concentrated upon the establishment of such peace. It is for this purpose that Japan has to prepare as soon as possible for participation in the United Nations. She should not be more partial to some nations than to others in her international relationship. As soon as she re-establishes a normal national life, she should try to form most friendly relationships with all nations through the United Nations. This should be the only basic principle of her future international policy.

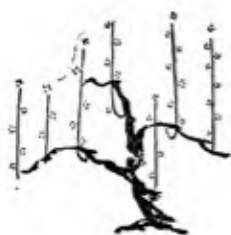
If Japan holds to absolute pacifism, she must ultimately rely upon science in order to build the material foundations for her national existence. In the past, the ruling class of Japan has tried to justify her thoughtless expansionist policy on the grounds of her so-called "overpopulation." We have to make it our central industrial policy to promote production through the utilization of science, discarding the idea of territorial expansion. Only by this policy can Japan make her "overpopulation" an asset instead of a liability. Especially if the peaceful use of atomic energy should start in the next few years, as nuclear scientists confidently predict, the establishment of the material foundations of Japan's existence may be hopefully expected. In this respect, it is reassuring to know that the past contribution of Japanese science to the progress of nuclear science has gained international recognition, and that the names of some Japanese nuclear scientists are commonly men-

¹ Actually section nine. [Ed.]

tioned by their American colleagues. Furthermore, from this point of view, I find a special significance in the movement to cooperate with UNESCO.

Lastly we have to study and do something about the problem of preventing a third world war, which is a continuous threat to the people of the world. I believe it of the utmost importance to start a powerful peace movement throughout the entire nation, in order to inform progressive people in the world of the fact that the Japanese people too have a fervent desire to establish world peace. I will do my best to contribute to this movement.

Let me repeat again. Establishment of a democratic Japan cannot be separated from establishment of a pacifistic Japan. Today the development of the democratic ideal has reached its peak in the concept of international democracy.



CHAPTER XXIX

THE JAPANESE TRADITION IN THE MODERN WORLD

In this introduction to Japanese thought in modern times our attention has so far been focused upon political and social movements which had the most immediate effect on Japanese life or Japanese relations with the rest of the world. It has not been possible to examine in all their variety and complexity other currents of thought—intellectual, aesthetic, and religious—which ran in deeper channels beneath the surface of events and yet which may eventually prove of more lasting significance. Post-war Japan, however, presents us with a situation in which it is still more difficult to discern any clear trend of thought, even in the political sphere. It is true that since the occupation Japanese politics have been relatively stable. For a decade the government has been largely in the hands of those who are the direct heirs of the type of liberalism dominant in the '20s. Nevertheless their ascendancy in the '50s has not as yet been attended by an upsurge of liberal and democratic thought such as that which burst forth from a more self-confident and optimistic Japan in earlier decades. Nor does it seem today that the perennial Socialist opposition, which received much impetus and strength under the American occupation, has, for all its support among intellectuals and students, found spokesmen of commanding stature or bold originality of thought. This has been a period of intellectual readjustment and spiritual groping, as the Japanese have tried to find some solid ground upon which to rebuild after a shattering defeat.

But if, at such close range, the past ten years seem to have been a period of transition, we should remember that it is only the latest phase in a much larger process which has been continuing since Japan's opening to the West. Those today who seek a direction for Japan to take are looking to the past as well as to the future, to the West as much as to the East. They are re-examining those beliefs which seem

to have failed them; they are listening again to men who could hardly be heard earlier. They are wondering what "East" and "West" represent, and what it means to be a Japanese in the modern world.

Questions of this sort have been in the minds of Japanese since the mid-nineteenth century, and the reconciliation of modern Western thought with Oriental traditions has been a central problem of Japanese thinkers ever since the days of Sakuma Shōzan. Shōzan's formula, "The ethics of the East, the science of the West," acknowledged the technological superiority of the West while reaffirming the traditional spiritual values of Japan. It sought the best of both worlds without seriously considering the question of their compatibility. In the early twentieth century, however, the effects of technological and social change were ever more strongly felt in the ethical and intellectual spheres, where the direct influence of Western thought in education and mass communication also challenged traditional attitudes. We have already examined one type of traditionalist reaction to this challenge, as expressed in the official *Fundamentals of Japan's National Polity*. Here Japanese culture was hailed as a successful synthesis of Eastern and Western civilization, based upon a distinctively Japanese "spirit" which was the key also to the unresolved dilemmas of Western society. Implicit in this ostensible synthesis of East and West, however, was a violent attack on some of those attitudes often considered basic to modern Western civilization—most notably its rationalism and individualism—together with an insistence upon a system of ethics justified mainly in terms of nationalism.

In postwar Japan the collapse of this system of ethics, in the artificial form in which it had been propagated by the State, has produced probably the most intense re-examination of its basic values by any nation in modern times. We have seen that in the prewar world ethical and spiritual attitudes were already considered to underlie basic political problems by exponents of democracy and liberalism as well as of Japanese tradition. More recently, as Ōyama Ikuo emphasizes in *Japan's Future Course*, the need for an ethical outlook which is "international" in character, which establishes a common bond between the Japanese and other peoples of the world, has been widely acknowledged, again, by persons of differing political views.

The purpose of this concluding chapter is to present a variety of significant opinions on such central issues as those raised above. It is

meant to serve as a symposium, suggesting some of the alternatives which face Japan today and the diversity of opinion which exists in regard to basic issues. The readings therefore represent points of view which are seriously held and listened to with some respect today; they are not meant to represent definite trends or organized movements in recent Japanese thought.¹ The influence of some of these writers has been greater than that of others (this is especially true of the dead as compared to those still living). The level at which they approach these questions also varies according to the diverse roles of the writers in Japanese life: Uchimura Kanzō as a religious leader and social reformer whose influence has been felt among leading figures in contemporary Japanese education and journalism; Nishida Kitarō as a professional philosopher whose writings became best-sellers just after the Second World War; Kawakami Hajime as a Marxist (See Chapter XXVII) who had a wide audience among students and intellectuals; Tanaka Kōtarō as a jurist, and so on. Through their eyes the reader may gain a better idea of the range and variety of recent Japanese thought than the preceding chapters could suggest, and also obtain a better perspective on traditional Japanese thought and culture as seen today from the different vantage points these writers offer.

UCHIMURA KANZŌ, A CHRISTIAN AND A JAPANESE

Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930) stands as a striking example of the attempt by a deeply dedicated man to integrate his new-found Christian faith into his personal and public life as a true Japanese. Born of a former samurai family, he was first drawn to Christianity at a new government agricultural school in Hokkaido and was later fully confirmed in it while studying at Amherst. Back in Japan he immediately became a storm center when, as a teacher, he refused to conform to the practice of bowing before the Imperial Rescript on Education, an act of loyalty assiduously promoted by the government but offensive to Uchi-

¹ Here, for example, the influence of Zen Buddhist thought is reflected in a professional philosopher (Nishida) and a Marxist theoretician (Kawakami). If we were dealing with religious movements as such, the name of D. T. Suzuki, whose writings are already well-known in the West, would have to be given a prominent place as one who gained for Zen the same recognition in the West that Vivekananda won for Hinduism.

mura's total devotion to Christ. Similarly, when he turned to journalism as a contributing editor to one of the most influential newspapers of the time, he came into conflict with the government as a social reformer and pacifist. Finally he shifted to a life of writing and teaching on his own, and gathered around him a group of able young men who have since established themselves as leaders in the fields of education and journalism.

As a Christian Uchimura developed no systematic philosophy or theology of his own, but propagated a new form of religion reflecting his fierce independence of mind and his determination to accept no foreign support. This was the non-church movement, completely devoid of a professional clergy or ecclesiastical organization, which depended solely on the contributions of native Japanese and had no ties with Western mission societies. Though widely known as a writer on social questions, Uchimura is most effective when his writing is of an intensely personal kind, dealing with his religious experiences and convictions.

UCHIMURA KANZŌ

How I Became a Christian

Uchimura's most famous work, this spiritual autobiography was first written in English and published in Japan in 1895. It was later republished in Japanese (and four European languages) and is still widely read. The selections included here represent the three stages of his religious development.

[From Uchimura, *Zenshū*, XV, 14-15, 96-97, 113-14, 120-21]

One Sunday morning a schoolmate of mine asked me whether I would not go with him to "a certain place in foreigners [*sic*] quarter, where we can hear pretty women sing, and a tall big man with long beard shout and howl upon an elevated place, flinging his arms and twisting his body in all fantastic manners, to all which admittance is entirely free." Such was his description of a Christian house of worship conducted in the language which was new to me then. I followed my friend, and I was not displeased with the place. Sunday after Sunday I resorted to this place, not knowing the awful consequence that was to follow such a practice. An old English lady from whom I learned my first lessons in English took a great delight in my church-going, unaware of the fact that sight-seeing, and not truth-seeking, was the only view I had. . . .

Christianity was an enjoyable thing to me so long as I was not asked to accept it. Its music, its stories, the kindness shown me by its followers, pleased me immensely. But five years after, when it was formally presented to me to accept it, with certain stringent laws to keep and much sacrifice to make, my whole nature revolted against submitting myself to such a course. That I must set aside one day out of seven specially for religious purpose, wherein I must keep myself from all my other studies and enjoyments, was a sacrifice which I thought next to impossible to make. And it was not flesh alone which revolted against accepting the new faith. I early learned to honor my nation above all others, and to worship my nation's gods and no others. I thought I could not be forced even by death itself to vow my allegiance to any other gods than my country's. I should be a traitor to my country, and an apostate from my national faith by accepting a faith which is exotic in its origin. All my noble ambitions which had been built upon my former conceptions of duty and patriotism were to be demolished by such an overture. I was then a Freshman in a new Government College, where by an effort of a New England Christian scientist, the whole of the upper class (there were but two classes then in the whole college) had already been converted to Christianity. The imperious attitude of the Sophomores toward the "baby Freshmen" is the same the world over, and when to it was added a new religious enthusiasm and spirit of propagandism, their impressions upon the poor "Freshies" can easily be imagined. They tried to convert the Freshies by storm; but there was one among the latter who thought himself capable of not only withstanding the combined assault of the "Sophomoric rushes" (in this case, religion-rush, not cane-rush), but even of reconverting them to their old faith. But alas! mighty men around me were falling and surrendering to the enemy. I alone was left a "heathen," the much detested idolator, the incorrigible worshiper of wood and stones. I well remember the extremity and loneliness to which I was reduced then. One afternoon I resorted to a heathen temple in the vicinity, said to have been *authorized by the Government* to be the guardian-god of the district. At some distance from the sacred mirror which represented the invisible presence of the deity, I prostrated myself upon coarse dried grass, and there burst into a prayer as sincere and genuine as any I have ever offered to my Christian God since then. I beseeched that guardian-god to speedily extinguish the new enthusiasm

in my college, to punish such as those who obstinately refused to disown the strange god, and to help me in my humble endeavor in the patriotic cause I was upholding then. After the devotion, I returned to my dormitory, again to be tormented with the most unwelcome persuasion to accept the new faith.

Uchimura himself became a Christian shortly thereafter. A few years later he went to the United States and there tried to find salvation in service to those less fortunate than himself.

Soon after my arrival in America, I was "picked up" by a Pennsylvania doctor, himself a philanthropist of the most practical type. After probing a little into my inner nature, he agreed to take me into his custody, and placed me among his "attendants" with a prospect that I might taste all the ways up from the very lowest of practical charity. The change was quite a sudden one for me from an officer in an imperial government to an attendant in an Asylum for Idiots; but I did not feel it, as the Carpenter-Son of Nazareth taught me now an entirely new view of life.

Let me here note that I entered a hospital service with somewhat the same aim as that which drove Martin Luther into his Erfurt convent. I took this step, not because I thought the world needed my service in that line, much less did I seek it as an occupation (poor though I was), but because I thought it to be the only refuge from "the wrath to come," there to put my flesh in subjection, and to so discipline myself as to reach the state of inward purity, and thus inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. At the bottom, therefore, I was egoistic, and I was to learn through many a painful experience that egoism in whatever form it appears is of devils, and is sin. In my efforts to conform myself to the requirements of philanthropy, which are perfect self-sacrifice and total self-forgetfulness, my innate selfishness was revealed to me in all its fearful enormities; and overpowered with the darkness I descried in myself, I sunk, and writhed in unspeakable agonies. Hence the dreary records of this part of my existence. The present-day reader, more accustomed to the sunny side of human existence, may not be disposed to take them in with any degree of seriousness; but to the sufferer himself, they are the accounts of veritable Actualities out of which came the long-sought Peace, and all the blessed fruits resulting therefrom. . . .

As a result of thinking done while recuperating from an illness, Uchimura decided to enter Amherst College.

I was given a room in the college dormitory free of charge; and as I had neither a table, nor a chair, nor a bed, nor even a wash-tub, the kind president ordered the janitor to provide me with a few such necessities. There in a room in the uppermost story I settled myself, firmly making up my mind never to move from the place till the Almighty should show Himself unto me. With an aim like this in view, I was entirely insensible to the lack of my personal comforts. The former occupant of my room had the carpet removed from the floor, and the new occupant was not able to re-carpet it. There I found however a table crippled of its drawers, but as its four feet were stiff and strong, I made a very good use of it. There was also an old easy chair with one of its corners broken off, so that it stood readily upon tripods; but with a slight equipping of my body, I could sit and work upon it quite comfortably. The bedstead was of wooden frame and a good one, but it squeaked, and the bed-cover harbored some living specimens of *Cimex lectularis*, commonly called the bed-bug. I provided myself with a Yankee lamp of the simplest construction, and this with a small wash-vase besides constituted the whole of my furnitures. I had my pen and ink and paper, and a praying heart to fill up all the rest. . . .

March 8 [1886]—Very important day in my life. Never was the atoning power of Christ more clearly revealed to me than it is today. In the crucifixion of the Son of God lies the solution of all the difficulties that buffeted my mind thus far. Christ paying all my debts can bring me back to the purity and innocence of the first man before the Fall. Now I am God's child, and my duty is to believe Jesus. For His sake, God will give me all I want. He will use me for His Glory, and will save me in Heaven at last. . . .

Those of you who are "philosophically" inclined may read the above passage with a sort of pity, if not with disdain. You say, by the advent of new science into this world, the religion of Luther, Cromwell, and Bunyan, has now passed into a "tradition." You say that "it stands against reason" that faith in a dead Saviour should give a man life. I do not argue with you then. Perhaps a thing like "the responsible soul before the Almighty God" has never troubled you much. Your ambition may not extend beyond this short span of existence called Life, and *your* Almighty

Judge may be that conventional thing called Society, whose "good enough" may give you all the peace you need. Yes, the crucified Saviour is necessary only to him or her who has eternity to hope for, and the Spirit of the Universe to judge his or her inmost heart. To such the religion of Luther and Cromwell and Bunyan is *not* a tradition, but the verity of all verities.

With all the ups and downs that followed the final grasping of the Crucified Son of God, I will not trouble my reader. Downs there were; but they were less than ups. The One Thing riveted my attention, and my whole soul was possessed by It. I thought of it day and night. Even while bringing up scuttles of coal from the basement floor to the topmost story where my lodging was, I meditated upon Christ, the Bible, the Trinity, the Resurrection, and other kindred subjects. Once I laid down my two scuttles (I carried two to balance myself) when I reached the middle floor, and then and there burst into a thanksgiving prayer for a new explanation of the Trinity that was revealed to me on my way from the "coal-hill." . . . Whenever Satan left me free to myself, I pictured to myself the dear and blessed homeland away beyond the seas, and spotted it with churches and Christian colleges, which of course had their existence in my imagination only. No inspiring thought ever came to my mind but I reserved it as a message to my countrymen. Indeed, an empire and its people swallowed up all my leisure [*sic*] hours.

The Case of Lese Majesty

This letter, written by Uchimura to an American friend two months after he had refused to bow before the Education Rescript, graphically portrays the personal consequences of his decision to become a Christian.

[From Uchimura, *Zenshū*, XX, 206-9]

March 6, 1891

Dear Mr. Bell,

Since I wrote you last, my life has been a very eventful one. On the 9th of Jan. there was in the High Middle School where I taught, a ceremony to acknowledge the Imperial Precept on Education. After the address of the President and reading of the said Precept, the professors and students were asked to go up to the platform one by one, and *bow* to the Imperial signature affixed to the Precept, *in the manner as we used*

to bow before our ancestral relics as prescribed in Buddhist and Shinto ceremonies. I was not at all prepared to meet such a strange ceremony, for the thing was the new invention of the president of the school. As I was the third in turn to go up and bow, I had scarcely time to think upon the matter. So, hesitating in doubt, I took a safer course for my Christian conscience, in the august presence of sixty professors (all non-Christians, the two other Xtian prof.'s beside myself having absented themselves) and over one thousand students, I took my stand and did *not* bow! It was an awful moment for me, for I instantly apprehended the result of my conduct. The anti-Christian sentiment which was and still is strong in the school, and which it was a very delicate affair to soothe down by meekness and kindliness on our part, found a just cause (as they suppose) for bringing forth against me accusations of insult against the nation and its Head, and through me against the Christians in general. . . .

For a week after the ceremony, I received several students and prof.'s who came to me, and with all the meekness I can master I asked them if they found anything in me which was contrary to the Imperial Precept, in my daily conduct in the school, in my conversations among the students, and in my past history as a loyal subject of Mikado. I told them also that the good Emperor must have given the precepts to his subject *not* to be bowed unto, but to be obeyed in our daily walks in life. My logic and demonstrations were enough to silence them individually, but as a body, their anger and prejudice were unquenchable. Meanwhile, a severe form of influenza took hold of me. Within a week, it changed to a dangerous form of pneumonia. My poor wife and mother stood by my bed night and day, while the merciless world raged outside. They called up the principal of the school out of his sickbed to have satisfaction for my case. He, the principal, had been my good friend ever since my first connection with the school; so he tried his best to retain me in the school without compelling me to go through the humiliation of *bowing* before the precept. But the cry of my enemies was that of the Jews to Pilate, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend." He wrote me a very kind letter, approving and applauding my conscientious act, and almost imploring me *to conform to the custom* of the nation, assuring me that the *bow* does *not* mean *worship*, but merely respect to the Emperor. Then he described the real state of the school, that to appease the

students who could not understand me, the only course will be to bear humiliation on my part. The latter touched me, especially as I was in great physical weakness. That the *bow* does *not* mean *worship*, I myself have granted for many years. Here in Japan, it often means no more than taking of [*sic*] hat in America. It was not *refusal* but *hesitation* and *conscientious scruples* which caused me to deny the bow at that moment; and now that the Principal *assured* me that it was *not worship*, my scruples were removed, and though I believed the ceremony to be a rather foolish one, for the sake of the school, the principal, and *my* students, I consented to bow.

*The Non-Church Movement*¹

[From Uchimura, *Zenshū*, IX, 210-13]

Mukyōkai does not have the negative meaning one sees in anarchism or nihilism; it does not attempt to overthrow anything. "Non-church" is the church for those who have no church. It is the dormitory for those who have no home, the orphanage or foundling home for the spirit. The negative character in the word *mukyōkai* should be read *nai*—without—rather than *mu ni suru*—destroy—or *mushi suru*—despise. Are not those without money, without parents, without houses to be pitied? We believe there to be many sheep without shepherds, many Christians without churches. It is for them that we are writing this small magazine. . . .

The true form of the church is *Mukyōkai*. There is no organized church in heaven. The Revelation of John says, "I saw no temple (church) within the city (heaven)." Bishops, deacons, preachers, and teachers exist only here on earth. In heaven, there is neither baptism nor communion; neither teachers nor students: "Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and there was no longer any sea. And I saw the new Jerusalem, the holy city, come down out of heaven from God, like a bride dressed and ready to meet her husband" (Rev. 21: 1-2, Goodspeed Translation). *Mukyōkai* hopes to introduce this sort of church to the world.

Naturally, however, as long as we remain on this earth, we need churches. Some people will join churches constructed by the hands of men: there they will praise God, and there they will hear his word.

¹ Translated from the Japanese original.

Some churches will be made of stone, others of brick, and still others of wood. But not all of us need churches of this sort. That there are many Christians who do not belong to organized Christianity is similar to the fact that there are many homeless children. But even those of us who do not belong to organized Christianity need some sort of church while we exist on this earth. Where is our church and what is it like?

It is God's universe—nature. Its ceiling is the blue sky, with stars bejeweling its boards; its floor is the green fields, and its carpets the multicolored flowers; its musical instruments are pine twigs and its musicians the small birds of the forest; its pulpit is the mountain peaks and its preacher is God himself. This is our church. No church, whether in Rome or in London, can approximate it. In this sense, *Mukyōkai* has a church. Only those who have no church as conceived in conventional terms have the true church.

Japanese Christianity

[From Uchimura, *Zenshū*, XV, 578–79]

I am blamed by missionaries for upholding Japanese Christianity. They say that Christianity is a universal religion, and to uphold Japanese Christianity is to make a universal religion a national religion. Very true. But do not these very missionaries uphold sectional or denominational forms of Christianity which are not very different from national Christianity? Are they sure that their Methodism, Presbyterianism, Episcopalianism, Congregationalism, Lutheranism, and hundred other Christianisms—they say that in Christendom there are above six hundred different kinds of Christianity—are they sure that all these myriad kinds of Christianity are each of them a universal religion? Why blame me for upholding Japanese Christianity while every one of them upholds his or her own Christianity? If it is not a mistake to uphold any one of these six-hundred different forms of Christianity, why is it wrong for me to uphold my Japanese Christianity? Please explain.

Then, too, are these missionary-critics sure that there is no national Christianity in Europe and America? Is not Episcopalianism essentially an English Christianity, Presbyterianism a Scotch Christianity, Lutheranism a German Christianity, and so forth? Why, for instance, call a universal religion "Cumberland Presbyterianism"? If it is not wrong to apply the name of a district in the state of Kentucky to Christianity,

why is it wrong for me to apply the name of my country to the same? I think I have as much right to call my Christianity Japanese as thousands of Christians in Cumberland Valley have a right to call their Christianity by the name of the valley they live in.

When a Japanese truly and independently believes in Christ, he is a Japanese Christian, and his Christianity is Japanese Christianity. It is all very simple. A Japanese Christian does not arrogate the whole Christianity to himself, neither does he create a new Christianity by becoming a Christian. He is a Japanese, and he is a Christian; therefore he is a Japanese Christian. A Japanese by becoming a Christian does not cease to be a Japanese. On the contrary, he becomes more Japanese by becoming a Christian. A Japanese who becomes an American or an Englishman, or an amorphous universal man, is neither a true Japanese nor a true Christian. Paul, a Christian apostle, remained an Hebrew of the Hebrews till the end of his life. Savonarola was an Italian Christian, Luther was a German Christian, and Knox was a Scotch Christian. They were not characterless universal men, but distinctly national, therefore distinctly human, and distinctly Christian. . . .

I have seen no more sorrowful figures than Japanese who imitate their American or European missionary-teachers by being converted to the faith of the latter. Closely examined, these converted "universal Christians" may turn out to be no more than denationalized Japanese, whose universality is no more than Americanism or Anglicanism adopted to cover up their lost nationality.

"Two J's"

"Two J's" was composed in parallel English-Japanese five years before Uchimura's death. The tombstone inscription was composed in English while he was working in the home for mentally retarded children.

[From Uchimura, *Zenshū*, XV, 599-600; XX, frontispiece]

I love two J's and no third; one is Jesus, and the other is Japan.

I do not know which I love more, Jesus or Japan.

I am hated by my countrymen for Jesus' sake as *yaso*, and I am disliked by foreign missionaries for Japan's sake as national and narrow.

No matter; I may lose all my friends, but I cannot lose Jesus and Japan.

For Jesus' sake, I cannot own any other God than His Father as my God and Father; and for Japan's sake, I cannot accept any faith which comes in the name of foreigners. Come starvation; come death; I cannot disown Jesus and Japan; I am emphatically a Japanese Christian, though I know missionaries in general do not like that name.

Jesus and Japan; my faith is not a circle with one center; it is an ellipse with two centers. My heart and mind revolve around the two dear names. And I know that one strengthens the other; Jesus strengthens and purifies my love for Japan; and Japan clarifies and objectivises my love for Jesus. Were it not for the two, I would become a mere dreamer, a fanatic, an amorphous universal man.

Jesus makes me a world-man, a friend of humanity; Japan makes me a lover of my country, and through it binds me firmly to the terrestrial globe. I am neither too narrow nor too broad by loving the two at the same time.

O Jesus, thou art the Sun of my soul, the saviour dear; I have given my all to thee!

O Japan,

Land of lands, for thee we give,
Our hearts, our pray'rs, our service free;
For thee thy sons shall nobly live,
And at thy need shall die for thee."

—J. G. WHITTIER

To Be Inscribed Upon My Tomb

I for Japan;
Japan for the World;
The World for Christ;
And All for God.

NISHIDA KITARŌ

THE PROBLEM OF JAPANESE CULTURE

The *Problem of Japanese Culture* (*Nihon bunka no mondai*) by Nishida Kitarō (1870-1945), from which these excerpts are taken, was originally delivered as a series of lectures at Kyoto University in 1938. This was just after the appearance of the official text of *Fundamentals of Japan's National*

Polity, which tended to glorify a kind of emotional nationalism at the expense of Western rationalism and individualism. Concerned over the rise of such tendencies, Kyoto Imperial University sponsored a series of lectures for the general public, which might check the growing anti-intellectualism of the times and give people a sounder understanding of Japan and the world. Nishida, the leading professor of philosophy at the time, was asked to give the first lectures. A follower of Zen Buddhism, Nishida had devoted his life to the study and assimilation of Western philosophy, being influenced by James, Bergson, Fichte, Hegel, and in his later years especially by Leibnitz and Aristotle. These lectures reflect the later stages of Nishida's philosophical development, marked by the strong historicism which prevailed in Japan during this period. What Nishida sees as best in the Japanese tradition is something which unites it to the West, rather than setting it apart. To him the Japanese spirit is not merely emotional and illogical, as the nationalists declared, but has the basic character of "going to the truth of things" beyond mere subjectivity.

A year later, in 1939, a book entitled *The Sense of Reason* (*Dōri no kanjaku*) by one of Nishida's colleagues, Amano Teiyu, was attacked by nationalists and aroused a storm of debate. In spite of the dangers to which it exposed him, and against the advice of some of his colleagues, Nishida decided to publish his lectures in order that the true meaning of the Japanese spirit might be understood and the Japanese people not be misled in coming to crucial decisions at that moment in history. It was mainly on the basis of this book that he was attacked as pro-Western during the war, and also as a reactionary by many "progressives" after the war.

[From Nishida, *Nihon bunka no mondai*, pp. 1-107]

What I am going to discuss today under the subject "The Problem of Japanese Culture" is not intended as an interpretation of the characteristics of our own culture based upon historical research. There are others capable of doing that, I am sure. Needless to say, that kind of study is important; no one appreciates this more than I do. However, scholarly inquiry ought to hide nothing and withhold nothing; both the strong points and weaknesses of our culture should be openly and honestly pointed out; and the result should be such as to establish a basic connection with the core of world history. As the expression, "cherry blossoms fragrant in the rising sun" suggests, the Japanese spirit that has nurtured us has something fair, open, and honest about it, and the academic spirit must have its source in such an attitude.

The saying that "Oriental culture is doctrinal in character, occidental culture scientific" would seem to apply quite well to Chinese culture [but not to Japanese]. Japan, it is true, has been called a country where people

"'following the way of the gods implicitly' are not argumentative."¹ But this means only that argument is not indulged in for argument's sake and concepts are not bandied about for their own sake. As Motoori Norinaga explained in *Naobi no mitama*, "It [the Way of the Gods] is nothing but the way of going to things," which should be taken in the sense of going straight to the true facts of things. Going to the true facts, however, does not mean following tradition out of the mere force of custom or acting in direct response to subjective emotions. To go to the true facts of things must also involve what we call a scientific spirit. It should mean following the true facts of things at the expense of self. "Not to be argumentative" should be understood as not to be self-assertive, but to bend one's head low before the true facts. It ought not to be a mere cessation of thinking or readiness to compromise; to penetrate to the very source of fact is to exhaust one's own self [and become objective].

I believe that underlying the Oriental view of the world and of humanity there has been something equal, if not superior, to Occidental conceptions. Underlying both Chinese and Indian cultures there was something truly great, but they lacked a spirit of resolutely seeking out the true facts and therefore became rigid and fossilized. That the Japanese alone in the Orient, though sharing in these cultural influences, have gone forward to absorb Occidental culture and have also been considered the creators of a new Oriental culture, is due, is it not, mainly to that same Japanese spirit, free and unfettered, which "goes straight to things"? [pp. 1-3]

In order to explain what Japanese culture is like, we must look back on its history, study its institutions and civilization. I have stated at the outset of this lecture that I appreciate such studies very highly. At the same time, I believe that we must examine in what sense Japanese culture today may be considered [to be becoming] a world culture and how it may develop as such. The question also arises, now that the Orient and Occident form one world, in what sense can Oriental culture con-

¹ A Shinto characterization commonly understood at this time as "following the will of the emperor without asserting one's own will." On the theory that actions speak louder than words, it was considered that the comparative inarticulateness of the early Japanese (i.e., their failure to develop a body of written literature or doctrine prior to contact with the Chinese) was a virtue rather than a weakness. See Holtom, *National Faith of Japan*, pp. 14-15, 192-95. [Ed.]

tribute as a world culture to future world history? They say those who are ignorant of foreign languages know nothing about their own language and, indeed, only through comparison with other things can we achieve a true understanding of a given thing. We can know ourselves by projecting ourselves into the mirror of objectivity and by knowing ourselves objectively we can act objectively; otherwise we cannot escape the charge of being boastful and conceited. It is not enough just to explain the distinctive features of Japanese culture. In the Japan of today, which is attempting to establish itself as Japan, a nation of the world, this point requires special attention. [pp. 3-4]

What in Japan have thus far passed for comparisons of Eastern and Western cultures have tended to be made by lining up two cultures and comparing their external characteristics. For example, people say that in the West there is such-and-such a theory; in the East there is a similar one. Or, alternatively, in the East there is such-and-such a thing, but in the West it is lacking. Needless to say, men as members of the same species, *homo sapiens*, have thought the same things often enough. However, even doctrines of a purely theoretical character are not independent of their historical backgrounds; discussion of them must therefore start with their historical bases and treat them as living things. To compare these ideas in such abstract terms as "isms" is bound to be superficial. For example, Fa-tsang's "free interaction of event with event" and Hegel's dialectics, at first glance, seem much alike, but one is Buddhistic while the other is Christian, which means that they are essentially different in spirit. Again, though we may speak of possessing something in Oriental thought which is lacking in Occidental thought, the difference may be merely extrinsic like the long-necked giraffe and the short-necked whale [which are nonetheless both mammals]. Such characterizations may be acceptable if it is merely a matter of description, but in discussing the relative merits of both cultures, we must re-examine things in terms of the intrinsic character of our historical life. That is why I think that we must first consider this intrinsic character of our historical life.

We cannot take any one culture and call it *the* culture. If we borrowed the term "archetype" which Goethe used in the morphology of living being and spoke of an "archetype of culture," what sort of thing would it be? Historical life, like biological life, may be said to assume various forms in different environments. But . . . in so far as it is human culture

it must have what is called an archetype, in relation to which different cultures are to be understood and compared. The archetype of course does not mean a stereotyped morphological state of culture, but something which forms itself *ad infinitum*, which is formative-functional. On this basis the varying directions of cultural formation and development can be interpreted. Oriental and Occidental cultures, like their opposition and their mutual relationship, have to be comprehended from such a standpoint.

This is the reason why I insist that today we have the utmost need for theoretical study; or in other words, for science. European culture, deriving from a Greek culture which was intellectual and theoretical in character and dedicated to an inquiry into true fact, has a great theoretical structure behind it, on the basis of which European scholars criticize different cultures and interpret the direction of their development. As a result of conflict and frictions among the various cultures for several thousand years, a certain theoretical archetype has been developed, which Europeans consider the one and only cultural archetype. On this basis they conceive of stages of cultural development, in terms of which Oriental culture is seen as still lingering in an undeveloped stage. Oriental culture must, if developed, become identical with the Occidental one, they believe. Even such a great thinker as Hegel shared this view. But I think a problem arises here.

Ranke declared that all cultures before Rome flowed into the lake called Rome, and all cultures after Rome flowed out of the lake called Rome. Since Roman times European countries can be said to have constituted one world. Each of them possesses its own peculiar culture, it is true, but they can also be considered different aspects of a single system of culture. By contrast the Orient, though it is spoken of as one, cannot be regarded as one in the sense that the European countries constitute one world. Needless to say, the Oriental cultures possess certain characteristics in common; but I wonder if that oneness is not of a rather general sort, and far from a systematic oneness. To achieve a true oneness in the Orient seems to be a matter for the future. Somewhere underlying Oriental culture we must find a principle that reaches the true reality of things. Instead of merely saying that such it was and such it is, the principle must be established which enables us to say such it ought to be. Something like the archetype of our humanity must be found. . . . Oriental

cultures developed in isolation, separated from one another by mountains and seas, and have not experienced the vehement mutual negation found in Occidental culture. This explains, I think, why they lack the logical character which compels them to penetrate reality through a sweeping negation of themselves. Today, however, the nations of the East cannot simply rest content with having their own peculiarities, because the world is becoming truly one. [pp. 5-9]

Let us ask whether there is not any sort of logic underlying Oriental culture—the culture that has nurtured us for several thousand years. Does not our conception of human life and the world possess its own original way of looking at and thinking of things, or in short, its own logic? Is it, as many people think, simply emotional? I do not deny that Japanese culture is a culture of emotion; I made a remark myself elsewhere to the effect that Japanese culture is *rhythmical*. Nevertheless it is only through the attainment of reality that we can be creative, can live in truth. We must, therefore, obtain a logical grasp of our way of life at its very foundations. . . .

Leaving aside those who are studying the special character of Oriental culture from the historical point of view, do not the majority of those who treat Oriental culture from the philosophical point of view deal with it in Occidental terms? And, on the other hand, do not the remainder take something particular [i.e., specifically Oriental] for the universal; in other words, regard subjective hope or desire as the basic principle? Is "logic" in general nothing more than [Occidental logic, i.e.] the mode of thought and way of looking at things which underlies Western culture today? Must we assume Occidental logic to be the only logic, and must the Oriental way of thinking be considered simply a less-developed form [of the same way of thinking]? In order to decide these problems we shall first have to go back and re-examine the underlying sources from which logic emerged into the historical world and the part logic played in history.

Thinking in the last analysis is nothing but an historical event, which acts as the self-formative function² of our historical life. Willing as I am to recognize Occidental logic as a magnificent systematic development, and intent as I am on studying it first as one type of world logic, I wonder if even Western logic is anything more than a special feature of the

² A concept of Nishida's discussed in the next section of this excerpt.

historical life, an aspect of the self-formation of the historical life. Such a thing as formal, abstract logic will remain the same anywhere, but concrete logic as the form of concrete knowledge cannot be independent of the specific features of historical life. [pp. 10-12]

I am not saying that logic is of two kinds, Occidental logic and Oriental logic. Logic must be one; it is only as the form of the self-formative function of the historical world that it has taken different directions in the course of its development. Roughly speaking, we might say that Occidental logic is the logic that takes things as its object, while Oriental logic is the logic that takes mind as its object. Some may say that a logic with mind as its object is an impossibility, for logic must always be the logic of the objective object. [On the one hand] what we call this self of ours, however, is also a fact or event in the historical world. As such only is it something thinkable, something we can discuss. [On the other hand] what we call a "thing" really only exists as a fact in the historical world; and nothing exists in the historical world as mere object entirely apart from what we call "self." All [i.e., things and selves], therefore, should come under the logic of historical fact. Now in the logic of Buddhism, I think, there are the germs of a logic that takes the self as its object—a logic of the mind—though it has remained a sort of personal experience and developed no further. It has not developed into what could be called a logic of fact. We need first to study the Occidental logic thoroughly, but at the same time we must have a critical attitude toward it. What we call the study of the Orient today has meant only taking the Orient as an *object* of study. As yet a profound reflection about the Oriental way of thinking, in order to evolve a new *method* of thinking, has not been undertaken. [pp. 14-15]

At this point Nishida presents a brief statement of the theoretical position upon which he bases the evaluation of Oriental and Occidental culture given in the concluding selections (pp. 868-872).

The world is usually thought of as an aggregation of innumerable things or something which takes definite form through a combination of things. But the world of actuality is also a world in which things interact with other things. The form of the actual world, in its unique particularity, must be determined by the mutual determination, that is, by the reciprocal interaction, of innumerable things through ages past.

These things all operate in the actuality of the world. Thus, we—as historical beings—are born here, work here, and go to our death here in the world of historical actuality.

When we say that the interaction of many things produces one result, it necessarily means that the manyness becomes oneness. When we say things interact, those things must be in complete opposition. But between things merely in opposition, having no relationship with each other at all, even action is impossible. To act involves entering into a certain relationship and to enter into a certain relationship must presuppose something common to both, in which both are one. Take the case of a body interacting with another body in space; it means that both are spatial in nature.

When we say that the manyness becomes oneness, however, it means the negation of plurality, the extinction of opposition, the termination of mutual action. [This is because] the mutual action of things means complete opposition and thus mutual negation: *A* transforming *B* and *B* transforming *A*. But as already stated the establishment of a relationship between things must presuppose something common to both. So when we say *A* negates *B*, or transforms it, it can only mean that *A* has made a field common to *B* its own, that is, *A* has made itself into a universal field and by doing so *A* makes *B* its own; *A* itself becomes the world [which comprehends *B*]. Thus it also means that manyness becomes oneness, and necessarily implies that *A* negates itself. Thus what we call the opposition, the mutual negation, the reciprocal transformation of things means the self-negation of both things through which they become one. In that sense, both things must be thought of as the transformation of one thing or the self-determination of one world. Thus [in modern physics] the transformation of material things is considered a modification of [one] space. However, just one thing undergoing change by itself is unthinkable, as it would necessarily mean that there could be no interaction. Oneness must therefore be oneness-of-mannyness and mannyness be mannyness-of-oneness. That is why I say that the actual world should be thought of as the contradictory self-identity of mannyness and oneness.

We consider this world spatial as well as temporal. By spatial we mean the complete opposition of things in parallel, and by temporal we mean that these opposing things go on to become one, because time is the form of unity of these opposing things. Ordinarily time is thought of as

rectilinear. There is no such thing as opposition in time. Time is usually taken as moving "from moment to moment." But if it simply moved from moment to moment with absolutely no relation to before and after, even time could not come into existence. In the present instant of time the past must be thought of as having already passed but not yet entirely passed away, and the future must be thought of as not yet having arrived but to some degree already manifest. Otherwise time is unthinkable. What is usually spoken of as "from moment to moment" can only be conceived of by minimizing the present in the form just mentioned [i.e., as comprising past and future]. In the sense that time comprises past and future, it must be taken as spatial. But being comprised in time everything becomes fused into oneness. However much we may take it as spatial, if everything were thought of as comprised in a single time, the true opposition of one thing to another would be out of the question. Therefore action would be impossible. So the world of the interaction of things, or the dynamic world, must be a world which is spatial at the same time that it is absolutely temporal, and temporal while at the same time absolutely spatial. It must be a world characterized by the contradictory self-identity of time and space. [pp. 16-19]

The world in which thing interacts with thing, and which moves on by itself as a contradictory self-identity, must be a world in which there is mutual determination of particulars. This is because we cannot think of the world as at its base a simple manyness or a simple oneness, nor can we consider it simply spatial or temporal. "Thing" and "thing" interacting as the reciprocal negation of things in complete mutual opposition necessarily means, as I have said before, that that one thing becomes the world, and that by "itself becoming the world" it completely negates the other. By "itself becoming the world" means that by unifying things which are in complete opposition, it itself becomes time. (That which acts operates as an antecedent in time; it fulfills the function of time in the world.) The particulars in nature must be temporal. However, that one thing becomes the world must mean, as I have said before, that it goes on negating itself. That time as the combination of opposing things is unifying things in complete opposition therefore means that time goes on negating itself and disappearing, but at the same time it becomes spatial. Therefore, the complete mutual determination of individual things, the interaction of individual thing with individual thing,

must represent new birth through disappearance. To die is necessarily to live, as to live is to die. Manyess as ultimately the manyess-of-oneness [and thus as self-negating] is Nothingness; oneness as ultimately the oneness-of-manyess must also be Nothingness. That is why I call it determination without determinants, or the self-determination of absolute Nothingness. Being is at the same time nothingness, nothingness is at the same time being.

All that exists has the character of the absolutely contradictory self-identity of this manyess and oneness. Considered in its oneness [or totality] it is completely determined through the self-determination of absolute oneness. Beings must be beings through and through. The world determined as actuality has a definite and unalterable form, for it has been determined by causal necessity from ages past. Your own selves are also produced from the self-formation of such a world [and are consequently determined and unalterable]. However, being at the same time the oneness of absolute manyess, it must be a world of the complete mutual determination of individuals, the world of individuated manyess. The determined world of actuality, being determined as the complete contradictory self-identity of manyess and oneness, is necessarily something which ever goes on being negated and which is ever changing. Therefore I say "from that which has been formed to that which forms," and also that "form determines form itself." The world is not merely a mechanistic world as a world of individuated manyess or a world of the oneness-of-manyess. Again it is not merely teleological as a world of totalistic oneness, or as a world of the manyess-of-oneness. The [historical] world wherein manyess always remains manyess and oneness always remains oneness and yet which determines itself in the manner of an absolutely contradictory self-identity is necessarily a creative world which goes on forming itself. We all are, as individuations of such a world, creative elements of a creative world.⁸

⁸ The foregoing passage beginning with, "However, being at the same time . . ." has been paraphrased and amplified as follows, in accordance with the suggestions of Dr. Kōsaka Masaaki of Kyoto University:

However, considered under the aspect of manyess, the world of actuality is ever-changing and self-negating, because it is a world of absolute manyess, a world of the complete mutual determination and negation of individuals; that is, a world of individuated manyess. Thus the determined world of actuality, being the world of the contradictory self-identity of manyess and oneness, is on the one hand completely determined and on the other ever self-negating and changing. Therefore I say "from that which has been formed to that

The world of historical actuality in which we are is not merely a world thought of mechanistically as proceeding from manyness to oneness, nor merely a world which is thought of teleologically as proceeding from oneness to manyness. If this were merely a world of mechanical causation, life itself could not be accounted for. Again even when we think of it teleologically as the manyness-of-oneness, the fact of our working with individuality cannot be accommodated. [And if so considered from the purely teleological standpoint], as the self-formation of totalistic oneness, only biological life and nothing else can be accounted for. In such a world there is no freedom, there is no productivity or *poesis*. This world of historical actuality must be not only a world out of which we go on being born and to which we go on returning at death, but one in which we make things and, through making, continue to be made. Even though I say we make things, it does not mean to move or to change the world from outside the world. We are born under the conditions of history and society, and we make things technically, and by making things we continue to form ourselves. While the thing made is something made by myself, being completely objective it is something which stands in opposition to me, and which in its own expression acts in turn upon me—and not only upon me but upon others as well. In this historical world, even things made by the people of ancient India and Greece are manifest to us and we are moved by them. They are still in the historical present.

The instinctive ability of living things may possibly be derived from the teleological formation of the world as totalistic oneness, but the behavior of man as *homo faber* ever alternating from that which is formed to that which forms necessarily emerges as the self-formation of a world of the contradictory self-identity of manyness and oneness. Each of us humans as the individuated manyness of such a world is *productive*,

which forms," and also that "form determines form itself." The world is not merely a mechanistic world, as a world of the oneness-out-of-manness [that is, a world which consists of many individuals]. Again it is not merely a teleological world, as a world of the manyness-out-of-oneness [that is, a world of totality which differentiates itself into many individuals]. So I can define the world of actuality as the world of an absolutely contradictory self-identity, wherein manyness remains manyness and oneness remains oneness, and yet manyness is oneness and oneness manyness. And the result of such a dialectical process is a formation or creation of the world itself. The world of actuality is the world of self-creation, a creative world which goes on forming itself. We are all, as individuations of such a world, creative elements of a creative world.

forming and being formed, and in so far as we fulfill this to the highest degree we are free. Each of us, as the individuated manyness of a world of absolutely contradictory self-identity, lives with free will.

The world of historical actuality which I have analyzed above must be like this, otherwise it cannot be accounted for. However, people usually try to explain the world of actuality either mechanistically or teleologically, from both of which standpoints actuality is denied. They try to explain the one who thinks [the subject] in terms of that which has been thought [the object]. I am not one to reject such explanations. On the contrary, I believe that the world of the contradictory self-identity of manyness and oneness is necessarily, on the one hand, a world which can be thought of throughout as teleological. However, such views [i.e., the mechanistic or teleological which try to explain actuality from a standpoint which negates actuality] are views which, in fact, we always hold outside the world of historical actuality. Absurd though it may seem, from the world of actuality, we conceive of a world which passes beyond actuality, and from the world in which we do exist, we entertain the thought of a world in which we do not exist. To speak in this way is not to think of the world subjectivistically. The so-called objective world which is conceived by simply negating man, is, in fact, always conceived in opposition to man, and so is rather itself something which goes beyond our selves, and which conversely embraces these selves. It must be a world which makes of our selves its individuated manyness. In this sense I am a thoroughgoing objectivist. [pp. 21-26]

The world of historical actuality, being a contradictory self-identity of totalistic unity and individuated plurality, is a world which, with subject shaping environment and environment shaping subject, is ever moving self-contradictorily from that which is formed to that which forms; that is to say it is a world which itself shapes itself. [p. 47]

In this shaping, the ethological or speciological activity of us human beings is cultural. Therein, however, it can be said further that in our human activity there are always two directions standing opposed to each other, that is, the opposition between the direction from subject to environment and the direction from environment to subject. Culture always consists in the contradictory self-identity of these two directions. Thus although culture always consists in the contradictory identity of these two directions, Occidental culture, on the whole, may perhaps be thought to move from environment to subject; Oriental culture, in con-

trast to this, may perhaps be thought to move from subject to environment. These two cultures can be said to have their centers of gravity respectively in one and the other of the two mutually opposing directions of the self-contradictorily identified world. However, thoroughgoing movement from environment to subject must make the environment self-contradictorily negate itself and become subjective. [This is because] the more the world becomes concrete, the more it must become dialectical. And opposed to this, thoroughgoing movement from subject to environment must make the subject self-contradictorily negate itself and become environment; that is, become things themselves. The two directions in becoming concrete conjoin in things of the world which itself determines itself, and become one in the actualized reality. The opposition of the two directions, fundamentally speaking, derives from that reality, and the conjoining also ends in that reality.

As for the characteristic feature of Japanese culture, it seems to me to lie in moving in the direction from subject to object [environment], ever thoroughly negating the self and becoming the thing itself; becoming the thing itself to see; becoming the thing itself to act. To empty the self and see things, for the self to be immersed in things, "no-mindedness" [in Zen Buddhism] or effortless acceptance of the grace of Amida (*jinen-hōni*) [in True Pure Land teaching]—these, I believe, are the states we Japanese strongly yearn for. Even what we call harmony, thinking of the phrase "In the observance of rites it is harmony that is prized" [*Analects*, I, 12], still cannot be thought of as penetrating into the essence of the Japanese spirit. The essence of the Japanese spirit must be to become one in things and in events. It is to become one at that primal point in which there is neither self nor others. [pp. 87-88]

Our country [Japan], while it is said to be quick to take in and clever in understanding and adapting the cultures of various foreign countries, anciently the cultures of China and India, and after Meiji, Western culture, is yet spoken of as not original. However, I think that in Japan, the Japanese have a way of seeing things and a way of thinking peculiar to themselves, and even while absorbing from Chinese and Indian cultures, the Japanese have come to create their own culture. However, as for it [Japanese culture] being an identity between subject and world and being what I call a vertical [or subjective] world,⁴ it cannot but be

⁴ That is, in contrast to the "horizontal" world of Europe. According to Nishida, Europe has developed through opposition and conflict between man and nature, man and man. In

regretted that it has been lacking in such qualities as incisiveness and grandeur. Though people often think, to the contrary, of the Japanese spirit as being mystical or illogical, I am opposed to this view. Logic in its most fundamental sense, properly speaking, must synthesize and unify the demands of all things given into one world, and must give or rather must find an objective expression sufficient to that world in its oneness (just as [the German architectural theorist Bruno] Taut said about Ise Shrine).⁵ That is true concrete intelligence. Formal logic is no more than an abstract form of this intelligence. Even what we call science cannot come into being without such concrete intelligence. However, [natural] science is thoroughly external or environmental. Art, on the contrary, is subjective. Therefore it may be said that art and science stand at opposite poles of the self-expression of the contradictory self-identical world. . . . This is the reason why the Japanese spirit, identifying the subject and world, is thought to be artistic and unscientific. However, a spirit which goes to the truth of things must be one which has something in common with the scientific spirit. One who does not recognize a noetic aspect even in art does not understand art. I wonder if they are not far from understanding the true Japanese spirit, who think that the Japanese spirit, being only emotional, is illogical and mystical. [pp. 93-94]

It is needless to say that Japanese culture also, being subjective, belongs, generally speaking, to the form of Oriental culture. Our people, having developed almost in national isolation for several thousand years, has had no such thing as [contact with other] people in our environment. The attitude of the Japanese people was not negative toward them, but rather receptive. That is probably also because fundamentally our country's climate itself has not been negative toward man, but was so congenial

modern Europe various countries stood opposing each other respectively as subjects of history in the one world of Europe. This may be called a horizontal world. In Europe, however, various countries which stand side by side spatially are gradually becoming one unit. In contrast to this, Japan being located on a solitary island in the Orient and having developed peculiarly as an almost closed society for several thousands of years, may be said to have developed as a vertical world. To the Japanese people, Japan itself was a world. From this viewpoint Nishida says that Japan is a vertical world and has the character of an identity between subject (Japan) and world. Hereafter Japan must develop from the vertical to the horizontal, from time to space, just as Europe is developing from the horizontal to the vertical, from space to time. [Ed.]

⁵ According to Taut beauty in a work of architecture consists in meeting most purely and powerfully the demands imposed upon it by the totality of factors (topography, climate, etc.) which constitute the womb out of which that art-work is born. Ise Shrine, with its simple logical structure, contains no capricious elements that offend the reason of man. [Ed.]

that man and nature have become one. In addition, being situated as a solitary island in the Eastern Sea, our country has never been menaced by other nations. However much we might have taken in foreign culture, we had not felt any danger to our national existence. It may be thought that probably this is the reason why until recently Japan has freely absorbed foreign culture. . . . Japan's historical world, being an identity between subject and environment, and between man and nature, may also be said to have developed self-identically. This may be the reason that Japan has vitally developed as a vertical world of the identity between subject and world.

A Japanese spirit which goes to the truth of things as an identity between actuality and reality, must be one which is based on this. Although I say "goes to things," that is not to say to go to matter. And although I say "nature," that is not to say objective or environmental nature. To go to things means starting from the subject, going beyond the subject, and going to the bottom of the subject. What I call the identity between actuality and reality⁶ is the realization of this absolute at the bottom of our selves, instead of considering the absolute to be in an infinite exterior. However, that does not mean to see the world subjectively, but for the self to be absolutely negated, and for the self to become empty. And it must mean that we are always in accord with the expression of the world sufficient unto itself. That is one with the spirit of the Mahāyāna Buddhism of India. What is called nature in China is different from that in the Occident; it is nature as the unity of heaven and man. What is called the Way of the Gods (*kannagara no michi*), which "goes to things," may be said to be that which penetrates into nature so conceived. The Japanese spirit, while it is thus in its essence thoroughly Oriental, further has its characteristic in moving from the universal principle (*ri*) to the particular event (*ji*). The transformation of Genshin in the history of Tendai Buddhism . . . may be considered an example of this.⁷ It also may be thought a result of this that Zen, a product of Chinese Buddhism in the early T'ang dynasty, which today has died out in China, nevertheless preserves its vitality in our country. It can be said that Zen does not merely preserve its vitality as a religion,

⁶ According to Nishida what is actual in the historical world is not mere appearance but reality itself. [Ed.]

⁷ That is, the redirection of Genshin's thought from the metaphysical truths of Tendai to the simple practice of the Nembutsu. See Chapter X. [Ed.]

but has penetrated into and exerted a profound influence on the cultural life of our country. Confucianism too probably lived in our country, not as ritual formalism, but as something emotional which affected us directly. In the Japanese spirit, which goes to the truth of things proceeding from subject and going beyond subject to the bottom of subject, the spirit of Oriental culture is there made to live most fully, and at the same time it may possess something which can also combine directly with the spirit of environmentalistic Occidental culture. In this sense a point of union between Eastern and Western culture can be sought in Japan. Further therein perhaps we can foresee the future of history, which, as a contradictory self-identity of subject and environment, moves from being that which is formed to that which forms. [pp. 105-7]

KAWAKAMI HAJIME

Religious Truth and Scientific Truth

A colleague of Nishida at Kyoto University, the Marxist Kawakami was, as we have already seen in Chapter XXVII, a man of strong religious inclinations who had been deeply influenced by Zen and Pure Land Buddhism. That religious experience continued to be a subject of great importance to him even after he had become a Communist is indicated by his lengthy discussion of it in his *Prison Ramblings*. Because of his unusual personal background and what, for a Communist, was an exceptional knowledge of Buddhist teaching, Kawakami felt himself peculiarly qualified to judge the respective claims of Marxist and Buddhist truth. His conclusion that the two are not necessarily in conflict and that religious truth, properly understood, has a legitimate domain of its own, represents a striking modification of Marxist doctrine to accommodate the same Japanese religious insights which Nishida had sought to reconcile with modern science.

[From Kawakami, *Gokuchū zeigo*, pp. 75-160]

I am a materialist. I have no doubt that nature (existence, matter, things) is primary and that spirit (consciousness, thought, mind) is secondary. To our way of thinking, man too is a kind of organism with no previous existence and a form which could have no previous existence until the world existed. Afterwards, organic matter appeared on the earth, and after long continuous evolution the higher animals such as man appeared. Since the human body came to be equipped with specially developed brains, nerves, and retinas, by means of them it became capable of

sensation, consciousness, and thought. Looked at in this way, sensation, consciousness, and thought are only functions of organic matter organized for specific and delicate work. We refer to such faculties (the spiritual functions) as mind.

I wish now to clarify five points. First I shall tell with what problems religious truth deals; next, how religious truth is apprehended; and then, what benefit people receive from having apprehended such truth. Having completed the explanation of religious truth in this fashion, I shall next go on to clarify the relation between religious truth and religion; and the relation between religious truth and scientific truth.

(I have no detailed knowledge of all the various religions. My first contact with religious books was as a college student, when I read the Christian Bible and was much moved by the Sermon on the Mount; but I have no special knowledge of Christianity. All I know comparatively well is the Jōdo and Zen sects of Buddhism. Consequently, in the following discussion of religious truth, I shall stress these two. Hence the discussion, if it had a title of its own, should be called "On Religious Truth in Buddhism.")

First, with what problem does religious truth deal? In answer, what it treats is consciousness of consciousness itself, or the mind reflecting on the mind. Here lies its fundamental peculiarity.

In us human beings, the faculty of consciousness is highly developed. This is how we know—for example—that there are desks, or houses, around us. We also know on the small scale of the existence of micro-organisms invisible to the naked eye, and on the large scale the characteristics of the sky, including the sun, moon, and stars. With scientific progress such consciousness becomes more and more exact and rich. Hence we are increasingly able to exercise a positive effect on our environment (the outside world), and can make endless improvements in it to obtain better living conditions. However, religious truth has nothing to do with this aspect of life, and hence serves no purpose here. When Kōbō Daishi [Kūkai] opened mountain land and built bridges, it was the work of a man of religion, but it was not religious work.

Religious truth is not knowledge of such external things, but is knowledge of consciousness itself. Conscious beings' consciousness of themselves—their consciousness of their own consciousness—is the mission of religious truth. In this case, the consciousness faces not outward, but in-

ward. It does not act upon external things, but on itself. (The way such consciousness works is called "turning the light inward upon oneself." I shall say more about this later.)

This consciousness of one's own consciousness can be expressed in various other ways. For example, it can be called "knowledge of the self" (self-awareness). The concept of the "self" is only a creation of the faculty of consciousness. Since such things as the pebbles that fall by the roadside lack this faculty, they also lack the concept of the "self," but as men have the faculty developed to a high degree, the concept of "self" in them is strong. Yet, what is the substance of the "self"? To this question, Buddhism has from the beginning answered the "non-self" [non-ego]. (Here "non" is not "non-being" as opposed to "being," but that question does not really concern us at this point.) It is well known that the Zen Sect has made its central teaching the non-self, but it is also spoken of in the Jōdo-Shin Sect. [pp. 75-80]

However, when one speaks of the substance of the "self," one is also speaking of the substance of the "mind." Therefore, the consciousness of one's own consciousness can also be summed up as "knowledge of the mind." The Zen sect, which is a type of Buddhism emphasizing one's own effort, makes knowledge of the mind its special problem. . . . Furthermore, since "knowledge of the mind" is another way of saying "knowledge of the mind's nature," such words as "seeing one's nature" can also be used. Since "seeing" is a stronger way of saying "knowing," this means examining one's nature itself in its living state. This expression "seeing one's nature" is used most frequently in the Zen sect. . . . The problem can also be thought of in the following way. When we die, consciousness ceases. Rather, when consciousness ceases, we say that one is dead. In the end, consciousness is life; consciousness (mind, spirit) is the basis of life. Seen thus, the consciousness of consciousness, which thus becomes the question at issue, serves to make us aware of the basis of one's life, or to realize the true meaning of human life. Thus there is established an apprehension of human life different in meaning from knowledge of the world. [pp. 82-86]

Among the world's so-called religions are some primitive, childish ones which have almost no concern with religious truth in the above sense. However, there is no well-developed religion that does not include this sort of religious truth at least to some extent. Still they do not consist of

such truths alone. As they have become current in the world—that is, in a class society—they have always absorbed various types of knowledge (philosophic or otherwise) and superstitions in addition to pure religious truth. They embrace in particular many arbitrary doctrines that serve as the “opiate of the masses” for the sake of putting to sleep the power of resistance of the oppressed and exploited and of paralyzing their will to struggle. [p. 88]

I move next to the second question: How can religious truth be apprehended?

As I have already said, since religious truth takes as its problem consciousness of consciousness, naturally it should consist in something other than the ordinary faculty of the consciousness, and this is its fundamental peculiarity.

We cannot see our eyes with our eyes. Of course, we can see our own eyes if they are reflected in a mirror, but in this case what we see is no longer the eyes themselves, but the eyes reflected in a mirror, that is, reflection of the eyes. Thus, whereas the eyes are organs for seeing things in general, they cannot see themselves.

The eye is invisible to the eye and the tongue cannot taste the tongue. In exactly the same way, the consciousness cannot by ordinary means (the means by which we are ordinarily aware of the outside world) be aware of itself. This is why knowledge of the mind is different from knowledge of things, and why religious truth is different from scientific truth. [pp. 89-90]

The phenomena of the external world reflected in consciousness by means of our sense organs can all be expressed in words (concepts); they can be explained, they can be comprehended by means of reason, and they are in no wise unnamable, inexplicable, or incomprehensible. However, the consciousness (mind-spirit-self) which apprehends such external phenomena cannot be reflected in the consciousness by the same means with which it apprehends those phenomena. In this sense it *is* unnamable, inexplicable, and incomprehensible. It is what the sūtra describes in the words: “Stop! Stop! Don’t try to explain it. The Law of the Self is mysterious and difficult to comprehend.” [p. 95]

Thus religious truth cannot be thoroughly apprehended by the same means as ordinary knowledge. This being the case, what should one do?

It is apprehended by a method called consciousness of one’s own con-

sciousness. I have said before that the eye is invisible to the eye, the tongue cannot taste the tongue, and in exactly the same way, the consciousness cannot by ordinary means be aware of itself. However, here the analogy stops. Of course, the eye cannot by any means see itself, nor the tongue taste itself, but by certain means the mind can reflect on itself and the consciousness can be aware of itself. Of course, the concrete methods adopted for this purpose (which comprise what is called religious practices) differ from one faith to another, but in so far as they are not fraudulent, their ultimate aim is to see with the mind the mind's own reflection. . . .

The reflecting by consciousness of consciousness itself is something which can be achieved in different ways, but in the Zen sect, one tries to induce it by means of "sitting in meditation" (*zazen*). [pp. 100-102]

When the conscious faculty, before it has reached out to external things even in the slightest, immediately turns to the direct reflection of consciousness itself, consciousness of one's own consciousness is accomplished and direct self-knowledge by consciousness arises. This is called "attaining Buddhahood by seeing one's own nature," or "great enlightenment," or "perception of the mind," or "seeing God," or "the apprehension of faith," and the brimming contents of consciousness then comprise religious truth.

One must not think of religion as thus far described simply as meaningless nonsense. In it lies the process which I have called the apprehension of religious truth. Our perception of this religious truth, just as in the case of scientific truth, grows progressively deeper and more intimate with each stage of our training. [pp. 105-6]

As I have said before, I recognize that there is a religious truth that is wholly different from scientific truth. So far so good, but past this point religion can encounter innumerable pitfalls and degenerate into superstition, error, priestcraft, and so forth.

Among my readers there may perhaps be some who will take it that, so speaking, I have already stumbled into such a pitfall, and they might wish to cross-examine me as follows:

"Hearing you talk like this, I wonder if you don't really have the same point of view as the philosophers of the Kantian school, who believe in the existence of a 'Thing in itself' as 'a thing that cannot be perceived,' 'a thing which differs as noumena from phenomena, and belonging to a

realm different in principle from phenomena,' and consequently 'a thing belonging to a transcendental realm, which cannot be apprehended by knowledge, but can only be understood by faith.' Doesn't this indicate that you have unexpectedly stumbled into the pitfall of metaphysics, which you yourself, as a Marxist, have come to repudiate?"

To this I would answer: "Of course I make a distinction between religious truth and scientific truth. However, it is no greater a distinction than I make within the sciences between social science and natural science. Since the objects of study of the social sciences differ from those of the natural sciences, the methods of study are also different. In the social sciences one cannot use a microscope, as one can in the natural sciences, and one cannot use chemical reaction materials either. Similarly, as the objects (the world) treated by scientific truth and religious truth differ, so must the means of apprehending these two kinds of truth differ. The important point is just that I do not believe in an absolute boundary between them that cannot be trespassed. The apprehension of scientific truth (i.e., the understanding of its nature by observation of external things) and the apprehension of religious truth (i.e., the understanding of the mind itself by means of self-reflection) are both knowledge by means of the human faculty of consciousness. The faculty of knowledge is only a highly developed function of the brain, contained in the organic system of the highly developed animal, man.

"Therefore, while I say that I acknowledge religious truth, I do not feel it necessary to escape to some other mysterious cloud-world. Apart from mankind, outside the material world reflected in man's consciousness (man's consciousness too is a material function), gods and Buddhas do not exist. Whether good or evil, gods and Buddhas are products of man's consciousness. The gods and Buddhas bear human qualities and display a human appearance not because they created man to resemble them, but because men created them. If tuberculosis germs had gods, they would doubtless be tuberculosis germs.

"In short, while I say that I acknowledge religious truth, I feel not the slightest obligation to sell myself to metaphysics. I remain as before a materialist, who takes the mind (consciousness, spirit) to be a material product. Religious truth is truth about consciousness. However, consciousness itself is only a function of the matter that makes up the human body."

I shall next devote a few words to the third question: Of what use is religious truth (what benefit can be derived from it)?

In general, ignorance (lack of understanding, inability to deduce things, unfamiliarity with things) breeds confusion and fear. On the other hand, since knowledge dispels confusion and fear, it brings peace of mind and happiness.

Now religious truth makes it its duty to clarify the substance of the self (the mind). Our apprehension of it enables us to understand our own nature. Therefore whenever someone catches it, the dark clouds immediately open and the light shines out limitlessly. Thereupon there appear great peace (what one calls peace of mind) and happiness (what one calls ecstatic joy). This is also stated in the form [of Confucius]: "If one hears the Way in the morning, one can gladly die in the evening." Since one understands the basis of life, one is no longer troubled by such problems as the existence and disappearance of one's own five feet of flesh [the body]. Herein lies the efficacy of apprehending religious truth. [pp. 113-18]

In regard to the fourth question, the relation of religious truth and religion, Kawakami deals at considerable length with the perversion of religious truth by organized religions in Japan to make it serve as an opiate for the people and an instrument of class domination.

As my fifth and last problem, I shall take up the relation between religious truth and scientific truth.

As is clear from what I have already said, religious truth belongs to the internal world, while scientific truth belongs to the external world. These two categorically different truths have different subject matters, different points of view, and different spheres. Yet the confusion between them is very great. In particular, I shall always think it strange, having studied Marxism as a scientist for many years, that public religious figures openly invade our sphere and rage away at will. I think that such confusion as practiced by religious leaders becomes a powerful conventional method for making religion the opiate of the masses, so that I must make clear in regard to the problems described above the definite spheres within which each of these two truths should stay.

Religious leaders today often meddle in social problems. Yet social problems are not problems of the mind, but quite literally problems of

society. They cannot be solved at all by the method of folding the arms, facing the wall, and submerging into the interior of the mind, but can only be solved by the power of science (social science). These are not problems that can be solved by men of religion, just as the problems of curing sickness, improving crop cultivation, or the use of electricity are not.

As I have already said, the Zen sect which emphasizes the achievement of enlightenment by one's own effort naturally makes a major point of having no scriptures. But even in those sects that believe in the power of Another [the power of the Buddha alone to save], there is a saying that "men in the Pure Land sect attain the future life by becoming fools," and make a point of the fact that [to be saved] "one needn't know a single line of scripture." Here is the fundamental characteristic of the method for apprehending religious truth. However, in the sciences it is just the opposite. Apprehension of their truths makes it an indispensable condition that one possess detailed source materials. Consequently, before a scientist reaches a certain conclusion to a certain problem, he actually collects materials higher than the peak of Mont Blanc. Diametrically opposite to the idea that "one needn't know a single line of scripture," the scientist's necessary qualification is knowledge of all aspects of his field of study. The one kind of truth treats problems of the mind in the internal world, and the other treats those of things in the external world. Herein all kinds of things become reversed. Just as religious truth, which can seek truth through the gate marked "no need to know a single line of scripture," is helpless to solve social problems, so worldly knowledge is an encumbrance and useless in the apprehension of faith. Therefore, when men of religion intrude on the world of science and very freely offer their opinions, it is like a blind man's criticism of painting, or a deaf man's criticism of music. There is nothing worse than not knowing one's own limited function. It is not only a confession of ignorance of scientific truth, but it is proof that one lacks complete understanding even of religious truth. [pp. 152-55]

There are some who, knowing nothing whatever about what Marxism is or what sort of book *Das Kapital* is, think they can complain about Marxism, and rant on about it like some ridiculous joke. As I have said repeatedly, even though one has studied Zen deeply, there is no reason to believe that one understands the theory of capital. This is no different

from saying that even if one practices Buddhism, one cannot understand the principle of electricity without training in the physical sciences, one cannot understand the construction of an airplane without mechanical knowledge, and one cannot understand the structure of the human body without medical knowledge. There is no way to know the structure of capitalistic society—its birth, maturation, and destruction—except from the detailed scientific explanation of it on all levels in Marxian economics. [pp. 159-60]

TANAKA KÔTARÔ

IN SEARCH OF TRUTH AND PEACE

A view of religious truth diametrically opposed to that of Kawakami is represented by Tanaka Kôtarô (b. 1888), whose book *In Search of Truth and Peace* asserts the inseparability of politics from its underlying ethical and religious bases. A graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, training ground of statesmen and jurists, Tanaka was a follower of Uchimura Kanzô before being converted to Catholicism in 1926. While Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in postwar Japan, he gained prominence as an interpreter of the new constitution and also as an outspoken critic of Marxism at a time when few writers dared oppose it on intellectual grounds. In these selections Tanaka discusses the main trends of thought in modern Japan as they affect the success of democratic institutions.

[From Tanaka, *Shinri to heiwa o motomete*, pp. 30-195]

ETHICS AND POLITICS

Surveying the general trend of political thought in the modern world, and particularly in Japan, we may observe that its most striking characteristic is its ethical indifference. This reflects the domination of humanistic studies in the nineteenth century by the dogmas of natural science. After the Meiji Restoration, with the introduction into Japan of European and American culture, we ignored the ethical and religious bases of that culture, and sought only to adopt its natural science, its material technology, and its external institutions. The subsequent trend of Japanese political thought has further intensified that tendency. The only thing that has lent any ethical character at all to our political life has been the consciousness of our "national polity" and a sense of reverence for the emperor; but in recent times not only did these attitudes lead to superstition and a loss of sanity, but they developed into a form

of ultranationalism which recognized no ethical restraints upon the nation's conduct and justified immoral policies of imperialistic aggression.

The Japanese people cannot be considered traditionally unethical. The enlightened leaders of the early Meiji Period themselves had faith in Buddhism and were trained in Confucianism, but the generation which followed them was exposed neither to the discipline of Oriental moral codes nor to the influence of that Christian faith which underlies Western culture. As a result they lapsed into ethical indifference or lack of conviction. Even among those who held certain moral convictions, the majority were politically uneducated. Consequently they were unable to rise above the narrow limits of nationalism and radicalism, and accepted without question the irreconcilability of individual morality and political morality. Since the war, though nationalism and racialism have been overcome, the same kind of inconsistency prevails among political leaders.

One serious weakness in our political thinking which has not yet been corrected is the attitude of relativism. In the postwar period, with the adoption of the new constitution, democracy and pacifism have been loudly acclaimed; but do our people today really have faith in these fundamental principles? Do they, in the bottom of their hearts, realize how greatly they have erred in the past, or do they take the attitude that, having been beaten, there is nothing else they can do? Do they not subscribe to these principles because, from the practical standpoint, they find themselves incapable at the moment and for the indefinite future of competing militarily with the other powers? Are there not some who, so long as Japan herself was not involved or devastated by a catastrophic war, would perhaps hope for other countries to become engaged in a war from which Japan might profit, like the proverbial fisherman who watches the birds fighting over their prey and then seizes it for himself?

One form of relativism devoid of any genuine conviction is a naive and uncritical historicism. More than ten years ago, when the political party system began to lose the confidence of the people, one powerful party figure made the following comment: "The corruption of political parties is a natural outgrowth of their having reached a stage of maturity. As history spirals upward, the corruption of party politics inevitably develops as a natural phenomenon, and its very development contributes to our future political health." Those who view things historically often speak of history repeating itself, or moving in spirals or cycles, or progressing

in dialectical fashion; or of "life inevitably ending in death," or of "disappointment being the rule of life," and so on. However, many people who argue thus fail to realize that each historical situation must also be judged in its own particularity. They do not recognize that history should be evaluated in terms of the true and false, the good and bad. This is because historicism does not admit the absoluteness of Truth.

From such a standpoint both individuals and peoples are absolved of any moral responsibility. The denial of moral responsibility ultimately means the denial of that freedom which constitutes the reverse side of responsibility. And by the denial of freedom man is completely deprived of his moral dignity.

The same sort of error that is found in historicism appears also in that attitude of thought which attributes all evil to society or the environment. Take the case of the recent debate in the Diet on the condemnation of adultery. Those opposing the condemnation of adultery contended that adultery was a phenomenon resulting from the old family system which forced marriage upon persons not in love with one another. To punish them would not be right, some say. Others declare that under present circumstances it would be premature. Considered in terms of causal relations, there is no crime which is not the product to some extent of defects in social life. Murder, robbery, stealing—of all these it is true. Particularly is it true of the sensational case of the juvenile criminal recently condemned to death, whose conduct seems to have been a result of the extreme hardship of life in the postwar period, of the general deterioration of morals and of deficiencies in education. All this notwithstanding, man is endowed with free will, and is capable of using his rational faculties to distinguish right from wrong and good from bad. To attribute all evil to the environment is to negate the law and negate morals. The excusing of crime would never stop with adultery and juvenile crime alone. Such reasoning makes man the slave of his instinctual nature and robs him of the dignity of moral character. In such questions, therefore, there is absolutely no room for sentimentalism.

Man creates and shapes his environment by the exercise of reason and free will. In this lies the lofty mission of mankind, and politics too contributes to the realization of this mission. Politics, through the free actions of people, creates and shapes both history and the environment; it is not,

contrarily, controlled by them. In politics man must be steadfastly true to himself.

In the same way man must control the blind, instinctual, and animal forces within him, and not be himself controlled by them. Where there is emancipation from instinct there is the freedom spoken of by Kant which is the true source of personal dignity. We cannot, however, be satisfied with an emancipation from the instincts which is purely negative, but must seek the meaning of human life so that the instincts can be made positively to serve the final end of human life. Man, freed from the compulsions of instinct, is not free in relation to the final end of human life. As distinct from animals, man purges instinct by raising it to higher levels; he sublimates it. And this relationship of man to instinct also exists in the relationship of the individual to history and environment.

This same relationship may also be seen in man's relation to economics. In the economy the economic activity of every individual constituting it is a manifestation of free will—just as in the case of history and environment—and yet in relation to the individual it may be looked upon in a sense as a law of necessity, being a phenomenon which derives in the main from man's most primitive instinct—the desire for self-preservation. Thus on the one hand, man drifts in the stream of the economy, and on the other he possesses the freedom to direct that stream toward the ultimate end of human life. In this sense, the economy is not the master of man, but man the master of the economy. [Marxian] historical materialism, however, turns this relationship upside down. All ideologies, according to this view, are no more than superstructures on the substructure of economics, and any economic change in the substructure must bring a change in the ideological superstructure. Man can do nothing to modify such a law of necessity. . . . So strictly speaking, to cry "Workers of the World Unite!" is contradictory. A union must be predicated upon some kind of aim, but as long as man is governed by the laws of necessity his adoption of some aim and his striving to realize it are inconceivable. . . .

Out of indignation over the evils produced by the capitalistic system and in particular by capitalist exploitation, as well as out of sympathy for the pitiful conditions of the working class, men uncritically embrace Marxism as the only way of salvation. They feel a conscious attraction to the

"scientific" character of Marxism, and unconsciously they are drawn by its apocalyptic vision of the society to come. But they fail to realize that it is only partially scientific, or to ask what possible connection with "science" there can be in this Utopia appearing as if from Heaven at the end of history. Most followers of Marxism, and particularly the young, having no fundamental knowledge of Marxism, and simply being dissatisfied with society as it is, do not stop to consider whether or not there may be some more rational and natural way to reform society in accordance with human nature. Rather they put blind faith in this as the only means of solution, or uncritically accept the dictates of a press which is drunken with the power it has to exploit the weaknesses of human passions. There is no difference, fundamentally, between this and the attitude which allowed great numbers of people to be dragged along by Nazism. . . .

We must not be led astray by the language of the historical materialists who deny all moral values. Indignation over "exploitation" cannot be explained in terms of historical materialism, but only when one has recognized that fundamental principle of natural law which comes down from Rome: "give each according to his due" (*suum cuique tribuere*). Indignation is an ethical sentiment aroused by the capitalist's seizure of what rightfully belongs to the worker, that is, to an act contrary to justice. If the development of capitalism follows from necessity, then, just as with natural disasters, an attitude of resignation is all that one can adopt. There is no reason to feel such emotions as hatred or indignation.

As long as one refuses to accept that human relations are subject to moral control, all talk of "love" is absurd. So the historical materialist's appeal to the "love of the people" is nothing but pretense. . . .

Politics has as its end the realization of the common good (*bonum commune*), which is inconceivable apart from the mission or destiny of man. What, then, is man's mission? Is man's mission to be found apart from his individuality, as, for instance, in an organization embracing the individual or in the service of culture existing apart from man? Or does it lie in the perfection of each individual self? If it lies in the perfection of self, is it a corporal and material thing, or a spiritual and moral thing? Which of these is considered correct will vary according to the view of the world one holds.

From the standpoint of collectivism, the supreme value lies in organiza-

tion. The individuals that represent its parts are absorbed into the organization which stands for the whole, and, serving it, are considered mere means for the enhancement of its power and prosperity. The extreme example of this point of view is Nazism, the errors of which need not be elaborated upon here. From the standpoint of "culturism," which places a supreme value on culture, the meaning of human life is to be found in service to culture, in the creation of cultural value. Nevertheless, just as organization should exist for the sake of man, culture should exist for the sake of man and not man for the sake of culture. In the last analysis man's value as an individual comes first and the value of organization or culture has no more than a subordinate significance.

But in what does the value of the individual consist? If one views the significance of human life in terms of man's material existence or economic life, then man is hardly different from the animals. Man consists of flesh and soul. While, on the one hand, being possessed of a fleshly body, he shares the instincts common to all animals, on the other hand he is able through the exercise of reason to discriminate between right and wrong, good and bad, and thus differs from animals in that he can restrain and direct these instincts properly. Human life has an ultimate end, and all human actions may be directed to that end and ordered by it. There are many characteristics which distinguish man from animals, but the most essential of them is morality. Both the state and culture lose their own reason for existence when they disregard morality, but obtain life through serving it.

So to the common good which is the aim of government, though the material and economic life is by no means negligible, the most essential thing is morality and all else is at best secondary in significance. . . . Our new Constitution is permeated with the "lofty ideals which govern human relationships," based on the universal principle of humanity, the laws of universal political morality, equity, good faith, justice, peace, freedom and order. Thus the primacy of morality is recognized in the conduct of both our domestic and foreign affairs. Moreover, those who discuss politics today, almost without exception, acknowledge the necessity for a moral transformation of our political life. But to achieve this will require of our political analysts that their whole world-view be re-integrated in this direction. That is, they can no longer insist upon the importance of morality while permitting themselves the contradictory view

that, in fact, economics and military power take precedence over morality. . . . To think that democracy and freedom can exist apart from morality is the greatest error of our times. In politics, in economics, in education, in culture—in every aspect of life, the firm establishment of moral authority must take precedence over all else. [pp. 30-43]

ON AUTHORITY

An utter denial of the idea of authority could well be called the characteristic of our present era of transition. It had been thought that authority was the most essential property of militarism and extreme nationalism. Now that they have been driven to the wall and face extinction, it is thought that authority too must be banished with them.

Authority, however, is not the special property of militarism or extreme nationalism. Like "rights" or "freedom," it is not intrinsically either good or bad but ethically neutral. It works for good or ill depending upon the end it is made to serve. If authority is put in the hands of those to whom it does not rightly belong or conferred on those whose authority should not be recognized, evil and injustices will arise. Furthermore, authority is both absolute and relative, constituting a hierarchical relationship. When one with relative authority usurps absolute authority, evils and injustices also arise.

Let us consider first the government. In the old Constitution the supreme authority in government was the emperor, but in the new Constitution it is what is called "the people as a whole." . . . The Meiji Constitution was adopted unilaterally by the will of the emperor; it was a so-called "constitution by imperial grant." The new Constitution, however, was adopted by the Diet, that is, by representatives of the people. The people's right to adopt the supreme law of the land, or constitution, derives from their possession of sovereignty.

Even assuming that the people possess absolute authority in the matter of government, can the Diet in fact decide anything and everything by majority vote? There are some things which not even the English Parliament, which is recognized as having absolute authority, can do, such as change males into females. The majority vote of the people is likewise limited by the laws of nature and the principles of things, which may take the form of natural laws or the ethical laws of human society. The

constitution adopted by majority vote may not be in conflict with such fundamental principles. . . . When an actual law does conflict with them, then whether it be an ordinance, an edict or even a constitution, it becomes invalid.

If this interpretation is correct, then while the Constitution is the supreme law in relation to other actual laws, still . . . as an actual law itself, there stands above it, behind it and under it as a base, the natural law which represents truth and order in the universe. This natural law is what defines the limits of actual laws. It demonstrates that even the will of the people, though having the supreme authority in the adoption of a constitution, nevertheless is not absolute but is relative to and governed by a higher principle. Whether sovereignty rests with the majority of the people or with the emperor makes no difference. The question was never raised under the Meiji Constitution, but it should be understood that even the supreme will of the emperor cannot be in conflict with the natural law.

The third article of the Preamble [to the new Constitution] states that "the laws of political morality are universal," and the eleventh article asserts that "the basic rights of man are enduring and inviolable." Such laws—such natural laws—are not confined to one nation or one period of time. They endure, and they do so because they are founded on the true nature of man.

Therefore, to say that the people possess sovereignty and supreme authority is true in a formal sense, but intrinsically the people are limited by what in a true sense is the supreme norm: the natural law. To put it another way, it is truth itself which governs social life. In truth itself rests true authority. . . .

In regard to the fundamental political, economic, and educational reforms brought about at the end of the war, a segment of our population can be heard murmuring, "We were beaten and could do nothing else." Even among the better-informed strata of our society one may find those who think that the new Constitution does not merit serious study because it will not outlast the occupation but will be replaced by the Meiji Constitution as soon as the occupation forces are withdrawn. Lately I attended a conference of school principals in a certain prefecture and one of them said: "During the last war we were re-educated to conform with the national policies of that time. Now we are being re-educated again in

line with completely different policies. Who is to say policies will not change again in the future? I am completely at a loss to know which is correct." . . .

On the other hand, in direct contrast to this type of man who tends naively to accept the external authority of the world about him, there is another type, idealistic and egocentric, who contributes greatly to the intellectual anarchy of our time. This type attacks sharply, and with reason, those who put their whole trust in external authority; but they go to frenetic extremes in asserting the authority of freedom and personality. They are conscientious, reflective, and spiritual to the extent of being, in a sense, religious; but they are frightfully self-righteous and self-opinionated, and will accept nothing which lies beyond their own experience. Denying all external authority, the self becomes the absolute authority. . . . From such a standpoint, in judgments of the true, the good, and the beautiful, there is no external standard at all—neither society, nor historical tradition, nor the church—but only the self alone. . . .

But what is the self after all? His consciousness and experience ceaselessly ebbing and flowing; his conscience and sincerity now sharp and then benumbed; his devotion and faith wavering constantly; his judgment easily swayed by selfish considerations and passions—man by himself is utterly helpless. He may be "thinking" but he is as frail as the "reed." And yet he proclaims that, in the spiritual world, he sits in the seat of the Roman pope. Brazenly he challenges a historical tradition which is the treasury of human culture preserved for several thousand years, and the heritage of the Church which has been conserved and developed for two thousand years.

Such personal egocentrism has no right to sneer at the fantastic race-centrism—or "all-the-world-under-one-roof"-ism—which for more than a decade tried to force upon us the idea that the Japanese people were the sole possessors of the truth.

Men of this type may not deny fundamentally the existence of God or of objective truth. But they fail to realize that their "God," their "Truth," is simply the mirror of one's own self with all its inherent imperfections. Consequently, though they may attribute authority to Truth or to God, in fact they are making themselves the supreme authority. Before we talk about "Truth" and "God," we must, like Socrates, know ourselves.

We have discussed now two trends which contribute to our contem-

porary confusion and decadence of thought. One is blind conformity to an external authority unworthy of trust; the other is that egocentrism which denies any kind of external authority. The former drives us to a fatalistic determinism, which negates the dignity of human life, effort, freedom, and personality, and sinks into materialism and historical materialism, which deny morality and religion. The latter regards the self as the ultimate judge of the true, the good and the beautiful, and by deification of self makes it the victim of megalomania. Burdening the self with too great a responsibility, it leads to a spiritual breakdown, with anarchy in politics and "non-churchism" in religion as its final outcome. . . .

Many intellectuals, representative of a decadent urbanity, have lost the ethical conscience of the peasant, his simple sense of right and wrong. They are either too "sociological" or too "subjective." . . . They may speak of truth or they may not, but as they fail to recognize objective and universal truth, they cannot give a clear "yes" or "no" to anything.

In truth rests true authority, and only God, the true authority, can reveal truth to man. What struck the crowd in Jesus was that he spoke "not as a doctor of the law or as a pharisee, but as one having authority." With the authority of God, he taught about God.

Truth, which rests upon the authority of God, determines the limits and provides the norm for the free actions of man. It is what gives man true freedom. "The truth shall make you free" (*Veritas vos liberabit*) (John 8:32). [pp. 48-61]

JAPAN IN THE WORLD

Situated at the extreme eastern end of the known world, an isolated island with her back to the Pacific, Japan has never achieved a position, culturally speaking, as a cooperating member of the international community. It is true that Buddhist and Confucian culture were introduced by way of Korea and imported directly from China; and that four hundred years ago Catholicism was introduced and showed signs of spreading with striking rapidity before being suppressed for political reasons. But in return for what Japan received from other cultures, what had she to offer other peoples?

Since 1868 European and American culture and institutions have been introduced to Japan, but whereas the assimilation of Buddhism and Confucianism had extended even to their underlying ways of thought, the

transplanting of Western culture and institutions was done in such a way that they could send down no deep roots here. Our society has been culturally no more than a colony of Europe. . . . Faced by the urgent need to fashion a centralized state, to develop the material prosperity of the nation, to revise the unequal treaties which had humiliated us internationally, Japan could not help but take a superficial and imitative approach to the adoption of Western culture. What we imported was, in a word, the individualism of the Enlightenment and the material technology—the natural science—of the West. Such tendencies were quite characteristic of the exponents of Europeanization in the Meiji Era [1868–1912], who believed that this type of culture actually represented Western civilization. Therefore it was not at all surprising that in reaction to this there should have appeared the exponents of Japan's "national polity." They mistook individualism and materialism for Western culture, and opposed to it a Japanese culture stressing collectivism and the national spirit. . . . The surprising thing is that the exponents of Japan's national polity, who started out by upholding our traditional "spirit" and condemning the materialism of Western culture, should have become in practical politics the spokesmen for militarism and state power. . . .

At the beginning of her history Japan kept her doors completely open to the world. Today Japan finds herself thrown completely into the maelstrom of world politics and world culture. Because of this, we should remember, we have acquired new responsibilities to the peoples of the world and to our times. To fulfill these responsibilities is the highest destiny of the Japanese people. . . . Japan must not only fulfill her own peculiarly creative mission among the peoples of the world, but realize her universal mission. Japan possesses her own characteristic moral convictions and fine social traditions which are a legacy from Buddhism and Confucianism. Of these she must preserve all that is good. The Oriental peoples, including the Japanese, have always recognized the natural [moral] law. This [recognition of] natural law is the common spiritual basis uniting the cultures of East and West. To raise this natural morality to the supernatural plane is the high mission of Catholicism. Faith in her own national moral virtues, as perfected in Christianity, could be for a reborn Japan her qualification as a member of the world community of peoples, giving us for the first time in our history a sense of Japan's place

and mission in the world, and providing a spiritual bond between East and West, as well as a firm basis for world peace. [pp. 191-95]

HASEGAWA NYOZEKAN

The Lost Japan and the New Japan

During the early decades of the twentieth century Hasegawa Nyozeikan (b. 1875) was a leading figure among the radical journalists who spearheaded the movement for democratic and social reforms. In his later years, however, this intransigent radicalism mellowed into a genial liberalism. Hasegawa has also been known as a novelist and critic.

The following is the conclusion to his book *The Lost Japan*, published in 1952. Reviewing the changes Japan has undergone in his own lifetime, and re-examining the whole Japanese cultural tradition, he seeks to determine which of its characteristic features are conducive to a democratic society and which must be modified if Japan is to advance in the modern world.

[From Hasegawa, *Ushinawareta Nihon*, pp. 275-90]

The American decrees issued with respect to freedom and democratization in the internal administration of Japan resulted in five major changes: the enfranchisement of Japanese women (through granting of the vote); the encouragement given to the formation of labor unions; the liberalization of school instruction; the abolition of institutions which tended to cause the people to live in fear; and the democratization of the economic structure.

These five great changes in the government of the nation followed a course which the history of the modernization of Japan and of the Japanese themselves would have taken anyway if left to its natural tendency; they were, in fact, the direction towards which Japanese history was pointed. The history of Japan since the early '30s was distorted by the mistaken designs of the men in power, but the process of modernization itself was uncompromisingly carried out. We should not forget that its penetration into the very core of the Japanese nation and people made possible a political system which could serve as the external structure for Japan's emergence as a sound, strong, free, and democratic country. It became a basic condition of the culture of the race. We must, therefore, examine whether or not the culture of the Japanese people today is of a nature capable of turning Japan into a truly and completely modern na-

tion. We must also make ourselves aware of those elements in both our strong points and our shortcomings which must be changed.

During the Meiji Era the nation and people advanced boldly in the historical process of modernization which permitted Japan to break out of her isolation and stand among the nations of the world. When we reached the '30s, however, Japan was carried away by the tide of an age of world reaction, and there ensued a revival of feudalistic Japanese institutions. That our nation should have been plunged into destruction by the coercive force of a union of the military and civil proves that there had been no break in the "feudalistic" nature of the forms of our characteristic racial, political and social activities. This factor lent a special quality to our national culture, a quality destined to determine Japanese national and racial characteristics and to lead Japan to its tragic fate. Thus, as a basic condition for the reconstruction of Japan as a free and democratic nation, a change in our cultural nature itself must be planned and executed. . . .

The first question is whether a change in the cultural nature is in fact possible. There are cultural characteristics born from established tendencies in the psychology and acts which form the general pattern of the life of the Japanese people; in order to change them the Japanese would have to be liberated from the element of blind subordination in their lives and given individual independence. The nature of the primitive Japanese political and social structures was centripetal in that it was organized around the belief in a racial-religious family with racial groups dependent on it. The cultural nature was therefore also obliged to possess a unity and a standardization derived from the guidance and instruction of the force at the center. As a result ordinary life came to be governed by the same kind of dependence as political life, and the tendency which may be found throughout the Orient for the lower classes to ape the upper classes in their preferences was all the more intensified.

If this was an inborn cultural characteristic of the Japanese from which they could not deliver themselves, Japan would already be past saving. But, as far as I am aware, this is by no means the case. The Japanese have always had the cultural feature of absorbing anything they consider worthwhile. They have, accordingly, been blessed with a comparatively balanced cultural history since the country was founded, and they have also developed their cultural sensitivity in a balanced manner. In contrast to

the common phenomenon (found all over the world) of "cultural" things being perfected and brought to full maturity by the upper classes of society, the Japanese were constantly diffusing the upper-class culture among the broad masses of the people, creating a rich cultural universality. This is undoubtedly an excellence of the Japanese national cultural background, but this excellence before long developed into a fault. As a result of the imitativeness which came from an admiration for "worthwhile" things, there was a tendency on the part of the common people to follow the dictates of the upper classes in all things from literature and art down to language, customs, and habits. Even though the cultural level of the people as a whole rose, this tendency blocked individuality and independence of thought.

In point of fact, most forms of Japanese culture originated with the lower classes and only later penetrated the upper classes. The native Japanese folk songs made their way into the court music which had been transmitted from the continent. The rustic entertainments of the people developed into the *Nō*, which formed part of the upper-class culture of the country when it was under military rule. The bourgeois culture of the middle of the Tokugawa Period completely dominated the culture of that period, and its modernity prepared Japan to accept the modern world culture when it was introduced during the Meiji Era. Numerous such examples prove the importance of the culture of the Japanese lower classes. The refined culture perfected by the upper classes after it had been transmitted to them from below was based on a system of subordination along the political and social lines I have described. Once perfected, it usually was then imitated by the whole people. Thus, although the culture of most of the country had a history of originally independent development, it could not refrain from indulging in imitation of whatever was deemed "superior."

Since the Meiji Era this attitude has assumed the form of the widespread adulation paid the superior imported Western culture, particularly by the middle and lower classes. This is quite distinct from the Europeanization favored for political purposes by the upper classes. In the 1880s it gave rise to the ideological and intellectual quest for freedom and democracy which soared over the normal evolution of Japanese history. In the 1920s it took the form of the blind adherence to "democratic" theories by the intellectual class, theories which, as far as the roots of Japa-

nese society were concerned, belonged to the future and were quite divorced from reality. In a similar way this same characteristic feature became in the 1930s the attraction for the nationalistic policies of those military men and officials who joined the wave of reaction that had swept the European continent; it also became the cooperation on a cultural level based on this relation. It was thanks to this same characteristic that the jingoism of the military clique and the officials was able to dominate the activities of the nation.

We may thus see that the discovery of a new means of freeing ourselves from this attitude of subordination and of developing cultural characteristics of independence which can be shared by the entire people is a prerequisite to the reconstruction of the nation.

The first essential to achieve is an educational and cultural program which will permit the free development of the feelings and intellect of the Japanese. We must restore the cultural attitude held by the Japan of ancient times with respect to all aspects of life: that is, to maintain a receptivity which is free, unbiased, and diverse.

Second, there must be a switch from imitativeness to creativity. Japanese culture, now as in former days, has been said to be imitative in character. This is because Japan during the period from the earliest days to the Middle Ages was always in the position of being obliged to take in the cultural nourishment of China. In modern times she has been in the same position with respect to the West. However, the Japanese have invariably digested and absorbed these cultural influences once they had passed the stage of imitation, and thereby succeeded in creating a new and purely Japanese culture. This fact may be recognized everywhere when one examines the new forms which Japanese culture assumed in each period, beginning with the Heian. The fact that Meiji Japan was unable to display prominently such creativity was because, like Nara Japan, it had not yet reached the historical stage of being able to free itself sufficiently from imitation.

However, even in such a period of transition as this, unless at the same time that Japan is importing the superior world culture it also struggles to create cultural forms proper to our present historical stage, we will stagnate forever in a period of imitation: instead of emphasizing creativity we will merely be copying the culture of other countries. The real reason why Japanese politics, philosophy, literature, and art from the Meiji

Period to the present have always been engaged in such a frantic pursuit of Western trends is that we have not been able to display sufficient creativity in the development of our own cultural nature.

This failing was not in the least compensated for by the pretended "discovery" or "creation" of "truly Japanese" things, stemming from the cultural commands of the military clique during the war. Such activities were no more than a kind of "cultural self-consolation." They prevented an interchange of world culture in any true sense and must be considered the workings of an evil policy which turned the course of cultural creativity into a false pursuit. The "truly Japanese" things are not things which can be "discovered" or "created" in this manner; they must be a natural product obtained from a nationwide ability and means to create. Education and research must be for the sake of fostering such an ability throughout the country and for the promotion of a structure, organization, form, and content which would permit such a process to take place throughout the country. Once this is accomplished, we must reflect humbly on what are said to be shortcomings in the cultural nature of the Japanese and devote our attention to the further development of those things which are said to be our excellences.

Third, there must be a switch from the intuitive to the intellectual. Of course this does not in the least imply the exclusion of the intuitive, but merely indicates that we must direct our efforts towards turning in the reverse direction the cultural nature of the Japanese, which hitherto has had a propensity for the intuitive, until it shows instead a propensity for the intellectual.

Japanese politics have been controlled by traditional feelings and emotions and have always been guided according to illogical reasons. They have been deficient in political sense, and, being left at the mercy of blind political ambitions, have never been able to achieve a development paralleling the lines of modern history. This situation has arisen because politics have been completely in the grip of intuitive action. The practice of politics has been governed by political ambitions derived from a blind mentality which lies outside the domain of the intellectual. This mentality in turn has undoubtedly resulted from the suppression of the intellectual caused by the gravitational relations of the intuitive.

This phenomenon too stems from the emphasis which Japanese culture in general places on the intuitive. The fact that national movements do

not assume an intellectual direction is a reflection of the intuitive culture. Japanese religious and academic culture have similarly tended to be governed by primitive mysticism and illogicality. The war was started as the result of a mistaken intuitive "calculation" which transcended mathematics. We believed with a blind fervor that we could triumph over scientific weapons and tactics by means of our mystic will, and that we could in this way secure final victory. This resulted from the fact that the characteristic reliance on intuition by Japanese had blocked the objective cognition of the modern world.

There are undoubtedly elements in Western concepts of liberty and democracy based on intuitions derived from bitter experiences of modern life. The respect in which they differ most from the popular movements of ancient times and the Middle Ages is that these intuitions have been able to secure an objective validity through a cooperation with the intellect. The Meiji Restoration was achieved as a result of the stimulus given to the evolutionary process of the nation and people by a racial intuition. However, if it had not been accompanied to some degree at least by a scientific—that is, intellectual—cognition of the modern history of the world, this intuition, like the intuition of the "self-awakening of the people" preached by the Kogaku School before the Restoration, would have made the central Japanese view of the world a mere delusion, and the future of the nation could never have developed as it did.

That the new Japan would have to be free and democratic had been so widely recognized by the intuition of the whole Japanese people as to be simple common sense ever since the Meiji Era. This intuition, however, was frustrated by the ill-informed, fantastical intuitions of subsequent leaders, and the nation came to accept their mistaken intuitions. The paucity of intellect in the cultural nature of the Japanese of the time made them so weak as to be powerless to act on their own intuitions. The Japanese, who are realistic and seldom given to fancy, did not actually lack intellect even in their intuitions, but they came to reject the Meiji-type education as being excessively practical, and turned to a more conceptual kind of education. This in turn encouraged the statesmen of the '20s and later in their attempts to destroy the importance of the intellect in Japanese culture.

It is absolutely essential that the Japanese cultural nature be switched from an intuitive to an intellectual one. We must turn from the con-

ceptual education of the continental European type—particularly the German—favored since the late Meiji Era and return to the English and American models of the early Meiji Era.

Fourth, the hedonism generally characteristic of Japanese culture must be changed. The character of Japanese culture is one of always being both perfectly adapted to life and capable of holding fast to the realities and practical aspects of life, but on the other hand it tends also to divorce all forms of culture from the practical aspects of life and to fritter itself away in pleasures.

Experts have pointed out that one reason why the development of mathematics in the early seventeenth century—a development which by coincidence enabled Japanese to arrive independently at the discoveries which Newton was making at the same time—was suddenly brought to a halt in the late seventeenth century was that the Japanese began to play with mathematics as if it were a kind of game.

Such a tendency sprang from what is actually one of the strong points of Japanese culture—the insistence that culture in general be geared to daily life. But it was responsible for lowering a science of which Japan had just become aware to the level of an amusement, and prevented its further development.

This kind of cultural habit manifests itself as a regular tendency to turn culture of a serious nature into a subjective and spiritual (or active) amusement, and especially to make of it an intellectual sport for the intelligentsia. It sometimes happens that even the operations of the government and the administration of public safety are victimized by this tendency. One may find examples of it in the political and social movements from about 1910 to 1925, when there was a considerable amount of intellectual activity in the various movements for democracy, socialism, and communism. Instead of acquiring a sufficiently objective grasp of the worldwide characteristics of modern history, the intelligentsia took up, most impulsively and intuitively, "the inevitability of the reduction to desperation of the people," and made of their imitative blueprint an intellectual sport. This was why oppressive measures taken against these movements succeeded and why the movements themselves soon dissolved.

Now, when Japan is beginning on a new footing as a free and democratic state (as the result of the directions and guidance imposed on us by America), it may be wondered whether instead of making intellectual

judgments based on a strictly objective cognition of the realities facing Japan, there is not a tendency to indulge in a subjective, cerebral development of the abstract ideas of "freedom" and "democracy." We may also wonder what the practical results will be. This problem, we must recognize, has its roots in the tendency which exists in our culture to provide itself with a mental satisfaction akin to amusement. In order to change such a cultural habit we must liquidate the kind of playful quality existing in our lives and culture.

Fifth, there must be a change from the artistic to the scientific. The artistic element in Japanese cultural life has frequently caused Westerners to talk of Japan as if it were a kind of never-never land, and it may indeed be said to be a cultural asset if considered merely in emotional terms. However, such a tendency must be suppressed in so far as possible if we are to proceed with the development of our nation and people in a correct and consistent manner.

This is especially true now when the national existence and the lives of the Japanese people have fallen into a desperate plight. We must think and act in a way which will permit us to overcome this crisis in an objective and scientific manner. For a whole people to have fallen into the habit of patching up things for the moment with improvised, unscientific attitudes and methods indicates the prevalence of—if not precisely an "artistic" nature—a kind of dodge, which in a manner to be found also in literature and art enables one to imagine that one has conquered subjectively and cerebrally realities which cannot be objectively surmounted. To deal with the problem of the nourishment of people in the most dire and desperate straits as if hunger were something which could be avoided by spiritual means rather than physiologically, or lightly to be solved in accordance with individual taste or whim by following ancient dietary methods, is to make sport of life and death themselves, and is but one step removed from turning the problem into a work of art.

This situation has much in common with the psychology and attitudes of the warriors of the Middle Ages who made vengeance and disembowelment "artistic." Artistic leanings may indeed be considered to be a cultural asset of the Japanese as a way of helping us to endure and beautify the conditions of a difficult life. When, however, it comes to attempting to overcome a national emergency, these leanings seem, rather, a decorative pose devoid of validity or use.

It is obvious how unlikely it is that such decorative attitudes and methods can help liberty and democracy to permeate the structure of the nation and the lives of the people. We must be on strictest guard lest any tendency should develop for dealing with our present crisis with such words and gestures.

In order to end this proclivity, the whole of the Japanese and in particular the intellectual class must acquire the ability and habit of criticism of the national temperament by means of a self-awareness based on logic and knowledge. To achieve this we must induce our nation to possess a strong interest in science and eventually to reach the state of experiencing pleasure from scientific knowledge. The extremely practical scientific knowledge, unattractive as it may first seem, must be made a vital part of the practice of life.

We must change the world of the daily life of the Japanese into an environment for living in which we, who up to now have led most unscientific lives, will be given a scientific purpose and form. We will thus be enabled to breathe in a scientific atmosphere, just as a newborn babe drinks its mother's milk. This may seem an empty dream, but to the extent that this dream is realized the lives and culture of the Japanese will be given a scientific nature both internal and external—that is, both in men's minds and their actions. The cradle of the modern science of the West was in the world of their daily life itself. The Japanese too must create in their country and their daily lives an environment capable of being the independent cradle of a similarly scientific culture.

Along with a consideration of the proposed changes in the cultural nature of the Japanese, there is also the question of how strong the will is to acquire a modern character.

It is impossible to deny that most of the better educated classes of Japanese society were unhappy over the blind acts of the military clique and sought to prevent them. That their strength was inadequate to the task was due not so much to a deficiency of intellect as to a weakness of the will.

This will power can be strengthened by cultural education or by means quite outside the realm of culture. It is claimed that a Spartan militaristic training is more effective towards this end than an Athenian one, and that the reason why the Japanese educated classes of today are lacking in will power is that their education was Athenian. It is also stated that

the victory by blind will power of the military men over the educated classes before the war was attributable to their Spartan training.

However, we must not forget that the Spartan, purposefully militaristic training hampers the development of human knowledge and leads to instinctive, impulsive brute will power. It furnished the impetus for the atrocity cases of Japanese soldiers on enemy soil. True will power of a kind fit for human beings cannot be supplied by such a training. It must come from the environment in which each man lives. If the statesmen at the time of the Restoration showed much greater will power than those of the 1910s and 1920s, it was because it had been given them by an environment of hardships at the end of the shogunate.

Viewed in this light, the difficult conditions under which the Japanese have lived since the defeat may be said to contain hope if we think of them as the environment for strengthening our will power and for molding us.

What I have related above about how freedom and democracy can be established permanently in Japan may seem rather remote from present problems. It may not be able to escape criticism as being what is popularly called "eye-medicine administered from the second story." However, until these basic cultural characteristics are completely changed, freedom and democracy in Japan, no matter what their formal claims may be, will be no more than borrowed clothing.

KAMEI KATSUICHIRO

Return to the East

Kamei Katsuichirō (b. 1907) first came into prominence as a left-wing critic, the violence of whose views once caused him to be sent to prison. After some years of association with the extreme left, however, he began to turn towards the traditional Japanese values, particularly towards Pure Land Buddhism and the art of the Asuka and Nara periods. His book *An Ideal Portrait of Twentieth-Century Japan* (1954) expresses Kamei's doubts about Japan's long efforts to become "modernized," and advocates a return to what he calls Asian ideals, particularly those of Gandhi. He thus returns to a position earlier identified with Okakura Kakuzō (1862-1913), an authority on Oriental art who was for many years at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

[From Kamei, *Nijisseiki Nihon no Risōzō*, pp. 191-201]

One of the problems with which Japanese have been burdened since the Meiji Era has been the necessity of examining Japan's place in Asia and

our special fate as Asians. Japan, as everyone knows, was the first country in Asia to become "modernized," but it is not yet clear what meaning this modernization had for Asia. It is also a question whether Asian thought, which possesses strong traditions despite the repeated taste of defeat and a sense of inferiority before Western science, is doomed to perish without further struggle, or if it is capable of reviving in the twentieth century and contributing something which will enable us to surmount the present crisis. We must begin to consider these questions. In contrast with the fervor with which Europeanization has been pursued since the Meiji Era, this aspect of our lives has been extraordinarily neglected. I believe that the neglect—or perhaps one should say ingratitude—shown by Japanese towards Asia is the tragedy of modern Japan, and that to study it has become since the defeat the greatest responsibility incumbent on us.

It is true, of course, that "Asia" covers an immense area, and undoubtedly contains many "spiritual kingdoms" with which I am unfamiliar. I myself have never actually journeyed through Asia; I have not so much as glimpsed it with my own eyes. The best I have been able to do is to imagine what Asia is like by means of the books I have read. Nevertheless, looking back on Japanese history has revealed to me that in every age Asia has breathed in the minds of Japanese. We are all familiar with how Asian culture, transformed or more highly refined, became part of the flesh and blood of Japanese culture. However, like most young men of the past sixty or seventy years, I used not to consider Asia as being necessarily primary to us. My ignorance of and indifference to China and India did not trouble me in the least, and I was constantly fascinated by Europe. I thought that to learn from European knowledge was our first task, and I neglected the matter of learning from the wisdom of the East.

There was something even more seriously wrong with my attitude. My ignorance and indifference with respect to China and India might still have been pardoned if they had been no more than that, but to them in fact was joined a feeling of contempt for those countries. Since the defeat I have come to recognize the fact that it was a fatal error for us to have allowed such a feeling to attain the status of a deep-seated national prejudice. Japan, thanks to the fact that she was the first country in the Orient to become "modernized" (or perhaps on account of her modern military strength), began from about the time of the Russo-Japanese War

to entertain attitudes of extreme superiority towards the peoples of Asia. This feeling, we must remember, was the reverse of the medal of our feeling of inferiority towards the Europeans, and it came to express itself in a kind of brutality towards the other Asian peoples. We cannot deny that we tended to look on them as our slaves. When and how the fate of Japanese as Asians went astray is the most significant problem of our modern history.

"Asia is one. The Himalayas divide, only to accentuate, two mighty civilizations, the Chinese with its communism of Confucius, and the Indian with its individualism of the Vedas. But not even the snowy barriers can interrupt for one moment that broad expanse of love for the Ultimate and Universal, which is the common thought-inheritance of every Asian race, enabling them to produce all the great religions of the world, and distinguishing them from those maritime peoples of the Mediterranean and the Baltic, who love to dwell on the Particular, and to search out the means, not the end, of life."¹

"[The average Westerner] was wont to regard Japan as barbarous while she indulged in the gentle arts of peace: he calls her civilized since she began to commit wholesale slaughter on Manchurian battlefields. Much comment has been given lately to the Code of the Samurai—the Art of Death which makes our soldiers exult in self-sacrifice; but scarcely any attention has been paid to Teaism,² which represents so much of our Art of Life. Fain we would remain barbarians, if our claim to civilization were to be based on the gruesome glory of war. Fain would we await the time when due respect shall be paid to our art and ideals."³

"What mean these strange combinations which Europe displays—the hospital and the torpedo, the Christian missionary and imperialism, the maintenance of vast armaments as a guarantee of peace? Such contradictions did not exist in the ancient civilization of the East. Such were not the ideals of the Japanese Restoration, such is not the goal of her reformation. The night of the Orient, which had hidden us in its folds, has been lifted, but we find the world still in the dusk of humanity, Europe has taught us war; when shall she learn the blessings of peace?"⁴

These words were pronounced about the time of the Russo-Japanese War. They voice profound doubts and resistance on the part of one

¹ Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, p. 1.

² The cult of the tea ceremony.

³ Okakura, *The Book of Tea*, pp. 7–8.

⁴ Okakura, *The Awakening of Japan*, p. 223.

Oriental to certain important aspects of the modern European civilization which was then penetrating eastwards. This situation was not confined to Japan. There should have been common outcries made by men in India, China, and Japan, as Orientals. There should at least have been outcries which would have linked Gandhi and Tagore, Sun Yat-sen and Lu Hsün, and Okakura—outcries of surprise and alarm, or of doubt, or of malediction, or of resistance to the European conquest of Asia.

It should certainly be a matter of the profoundest regret to the Orient that these outcries uttered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as Asians, in inflections which varied with the particular features of the different countries of Asia, should never have achieved full expression, but should have died out without reinforcing one another. To us Japanese the most important fact is that the responsibility for causing these voices to die out rests with us. The cause of the tragedy lies in our vigorous, precipitous modernization. We tried with desperate efforts to master European civilization, and in the act of acquiring it we lost something very precious—what I should like to call the characteristic “love” of Asia.

We cannot ignore the fact that this responsibility is connected with the singularity of our racial transformation. The period between the appearance of Perry’s “black ships” at the end of the shogunate, and the completion of the battleship *Yamato* was a period when Japan was changing with extraordinary rapidity into “the West within the East.” Indeed, if one were asked for what Japan poured out her strength most lavishly, and to what she devoted the finest flower of her scientific abilities during the years following the Meiji Restoration, one would have to answer that it was for warships. This emphasis on armaments must certainly have had its origins in the profound anxiety of our grandfathers who had seen before their eyes the nations of Asia being colonized, one after the other.

It undoubtedly represented an astonishing burst of energy displayed for the sake of national independence and self-defense, but, as fate would have it, the raw materials of the continent were necessary to it. One gets the feeling that in the matter of raw materials and the acquisition of markets Japan was hastily and sometimes crudely imitating the colonial policies of the European nations. We, first among the Asians, mastered the weapons which modern European civilization had employed to invade Asia in pursuit of its colonial policies, and we turned the points of these

weapons on Asians. The modernization of Japan would have been impossible had we not victimized China and estranged ourselves from her. Japan has experienced this contradiction at least as a historical fact. The high development of the intellectual curiosity of the Japanese has often been mentioned, but this virtue has been accompanied on the Asian mainland by deadly vice.

This is not the only contradiction. There were during this same period quite a few men like Okakura Kakuzō who preached love for Asia. Indeed, one thing which surprises us when we read the history of Japan during the past half-century is how often the phrase "to secure the peace of Asia" was used by statesmen. The invasion of China, in fact, was carried out in the name of this principle. In the midst of the so-called Greater East Asia War, I myself believed in Okakura's words and approved of the war because of them. What can this mean?

Every war, inevitably, has its fine slogans which serve as its intellectual adornment. But in my case this was not the whole story. As I have already mentioned, there was in me a deep-seated contempt for the other Asian peoples, a contempt nourished in Japan from about the time of the Russo-Japanese War; one may say that I had become imbued with the conqueror mentality. I could as an overlord of Asia preach with equanimity the love of Asia. And yet it was of course true that Okakura's words were meaningful only so long as Japan did not invade any Asian country.

Japan carried out the European method of conquest: confronting other countries with weapons in one hand and a gospel of love in the other. Warships and Christianity were indivisible elements in the European conquest of Asia; Japan slaughtered people while preaching the love of Asia and the Way of the Gods.

What was the result? Japan became in the East the stepchild of the West, and as a consequence seems now to be fated to become this time the stepchild of the East. The intellectual energy which the Japanese showed when once they had received the baptism of modern Europe was undoubtedly the wonder of Asia, but it imposed strange contradictions on Japan.

One of these, it may be imagined, results from the fact that Japan is an island nation. Japan is assuredly a part of Asia, but it is a special area separated from the continent and, perhaps, though Asian should not really

be called Asian at all. Sometimes I have found myself wondering along these lines. Of course Japan is not the West either. While on the one hand preserving in a uniquely assimilated form the various systems of thought and arts of the East, she has an insatiable intellectual curiosity which would make all of the West her own. Has ever a people harbored such frantic contradictions: impetuosity and caution, confusion and harmony, division and unity—and all of them changing at every instant? I have sometimes wondered whether Japan may not be the unique example in the world of a kind of "nation in the experimental stage." It was this island nation's knowledge which, in response to a ceaseless impulsion towards Europe, perpetrated the multi-sided betrayal of Asia.

At the same time—and one may also speak of this as a result—the defeat of Japan brought about the independence of the nations of Asia. The long European rule of Asia either collapsed or was shaken at its very roots. This, together with the revolution in China, represents the greatest event occasioned by the Second World War; one may indeed say that it effected an immense upheaval in world history. A further result, one can probably say, was the ironic one that European capitalism, after playing its part in Japan, should have met this fate in the other countries of Asia because of Japan. Japan, it needs hardly be mentioned, lost all the territory she had gained through aggression.

However, an important factor came into being at this juncture. Now, for the first time in modern Japanese history, Japan was furnished with the conditions of being able to deal with the nations of Asia on terms of equality—not as conquerors or as conquered, but on a genuinely equal footing. I should like to lay emphasis on this factor for which our defeat was responsible. The basis for Japanese independence is to be found here—by which I mean that it is the only ethical basis we have for independence.

The true meaning of what I am attempting to discuss under the theme of "return to the East" may be said in the final analysis to be the product of a sense of guilt towards the East. The only qualifications we have for a "return" is a sense of guilt, particularly towards China and Korea. This is not a question of who holds political power in these countries. A more fundamental question is the recognition of guilt for former aggression towards the peoples of Asia. We must abandon completely the consciousness of being "leaders" in Asia. I should like to

consider the return to Asia as an ethical rather than as a political question.

As a basis for this return Japanese traditions must be scrutinized afresh: how has what Okakura called the "common inheritance of every Asiatic race" been transmitted from ancient times to the present, and should it be passed on in the future? A re-examination of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism as they exist in Japan, together with a general re-examination of the characteristically Japanese types of learning and art as they have been influenced by these teachings, must be undertaken. I should like to call attention to the steady achievements of men in the fields of anthropology, Japanese literature, Chinese studies, and Buddhist studies. It is a question of the *roots* of the tree onto which European culture has been grafted, and this re-examination is essential if we are to discover the "individuality" of modern Japan which gives a native character to all our thought.

At the same time there has never been a greater need than today for intellectual interchange among the nations of Asia. Some interchange, however slight, has been begun with India, but Japan must seek out opportunities throughout the whole of Asia to discover what the possibilities are of "Eastern spirit." However long it may take, I believe that a deepening of intellectual interchange should be made a basic policy. And, may we not say, the primary goal should be the discovery of a possibility of common spiritual association in the East. This is the prerequisite for the establishment of a new image of the Asian.

There are in Asia Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Christianity, Communism. European influence also remains powerful. Various systems of thinking thus exist, but they are backed by a characteristically Asian quality, and there is unquestionably one way of thought in which they are all unified through a process of "Asianization." This is what we must look for. However, in so doing we must free ourselves from any infantile notions such as the simple schematization formerly in vogue here, according to which the East stood for the spirit and the West for material things. Indeed, the return to the East must not be accompanied by prejudices directed against the West or any form of xenophobia. In fact, it should result in the destruction of the very sense of opposition between East and West which figured so prominently in our former ideas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abe Isoo. *Jidai no kakusei*. Tokyo, Okakura shobō, 1937.
- Akamatsu Katsumaro. *Nihon shakai undō-shi*. Iwanami shinsho. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1955.
- Akiyama Kenzō. *Nisshi Kōshō-shi kenkyū*. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1939.
- Amako Todomu. *Heimin saishō Hamaguchi Yūkō*. Tokyo, Hōbun-kan, 1930.
- Anesaki, Masaharu. *History of Japanese Religion; with Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation*. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1930.
- Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1916.
- Arai Hakuseki. *Arai Hakuseki zenshū*. 6 vols. Tokyo, Yoshikawa Hanshichi, 1905-7.
- Aston, W. G., tr. *Nihongi. Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*. 2 vols. *The Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, Supplement I. London, Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1896.
- Bashō zenshū. 2 vols. *Nihon koten zenshū*. Tokyo, Nihon koten zenshū kankō-kai, 1928.
- Chamberlain, Basil Hall, tr. "Ko-ji-ki" or "Records of Ancient Matters." *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ)*, Supp. to vol. X. Yokohama, 1882.
- Coates, Harper Havelock, and Ryugaku Ishizuka. *Honen the Buddhist Saint, His Life and Teaching*. Tokyo, Kodokaku, 1930.
- Dai-Nihon-shi. 17 vols. Tokyo, Dai-Nihon yūben-kai, 1928.
- Dai Nihon Shiryō. 201 vols. published to date. Tokyo, Shiryō hensan-jo, 1901- .
- Dengyō Daishi zenshū. 4 vols. Tokyo, Tendai-shū shūten kankō-kai, 1912.
- Documents on International Affairs, 1930. Comp. by Royal Institute of International Affairs. London, Oxford University Press, 1931.
- Draft of Basic Plan for Establishment of Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), International Prosecution Section, Document 2402B, Exhibit 1336.
- Dumoulin, Heinrich, tr. "Kamo Mabuchi: Kokuikō," *Monumenta Nipponica*, II, 1 (1939), 165-92.
- Ebara Taizō and Yamazaki Kiyoshi. *Bashō bunshū. Nihon koten zensho*. Tokyo, Asahi shimbun-sha, 1955.
- Eliot, Sir Charles. *Japanese Buddhism*. London, E. Arnold and Co., 1935.
- Eliot, T. S. *Four Quartets*. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1943.
- Etō Sokuō. *Shūso to shite no Dōgen Zenji*. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1949.
- Fisher, Galen, tr. "Dai Gaku Wakumon, A Discussion of Public Questions in

- the Light of the Great Learning." *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ)*, 2d ser., XVI (1938), 259-356.
- "Kumazawa Banzan, His Life and Ideals." *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ)*, 2d ser., XVI (1938), 221-58.
- Fujiwara Seika. Fujiwara Seika shū. 2 vols. Tokyo, Kokumin seishin bunka kenkyū-jo, 1938-39.
- Fukuzawa Yukichi. The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi. Tr. by Eiichi Kiyooka. Tokyo, Hokusei-dō, 1934.
- Giles, Herbert A., tr. Chuang Tzu; Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer. 2d ed., revised. Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1926.
- Gondō Seikei. Jichi mimpan. Tokyo, Heibon-sha, 1932.
- Gunsho ruijū. Comp. by Hanawa Hokiichi. 21 vols. Tokyo, Naigai shoseki, 1928-32.
- Hall, Robert King, and John Owen Gauntlett. Kokutai no Hongi. Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1949.
- Hasegawa Nyozeikan. Ushinawareta Nihon. Tokyo, Keiyū-sha, 1952.
- Hashida Kunihiko. Shōbō genzō shakui. 2 vols. Tokyo, Sankibō Busshorin, 1939-40.
- Hashimoto Kingorō. Addresses to Young Men. International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), International Prosecution Section, Document 487B, Exhibit 1290.
- Hayashi Razan. Hayashi Razan bunshū. Osaka and Tokyo, Kōbun-sha, 1930.
- Hayashi, T. "A List of Some Dutch Astronomical Works Imported into Japan from Holland," *Nieuw Archief voor Wiskunde*, 2d ser., VII (1907), 42-44.
- Hirata Atsutane. Hirata Atsutane zenshū. Comp. by Muromatsu Iwao. 15 vols. Tokyo, Itchi-dō, 1911-18.
- Hisamatsu Sen'ichi. Chūsei karon shū. Iwanami bunko, No. 968-70. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1934.
- Holtom, D. C. The National Faith of Japan. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1938.
- Idumi Hokei. "Vimalakirti's Discourse on Emancipation," *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. 3 (1924-25), No. 1, 55-59; No. 2, 138-53.
- Imperial Precepts to the Soldiers and Sailors. Authorized Translation. Tokyo, Department of Education, 1913.
- Inoue Tetsujirō. Nihon Kogakuha no tetsugaku. Tokyo, Fuzambō, 1931.
- Nihon rinri ihen. 10 vols. Tokyo, Ikusei-kai, 1901-3.
- Nihon Shushi gakuha no tetsugaku. Tokyo, Fuzambō, 1933.
- Nihon Yōmei gakuha no tetsugaku. Tokyo, Fuzambō, 1932.
- Ippen. Ippen Shōnin goroku. Iwanami bunko, No. 910. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1940.
- Ishihama Juntarō. Tominaga Nakamoto. Osaka, Sōgen-sha, 1940.
- Itagaki Taisuke, ed. Jiyū-tō-shi. Aoki bunko. 4 vols. Tokyo, Aoki shoten, 1955.
- Itō Hirobumi. Itō kō zenshū. 3 vols. Tokyo, Shōwa shuppan-sha, 1928.
- Itō Hirobumi Den. 3 vols. Tokyo, Shumpo kō tsuishō-kai, 1940.

- Iwata Kurō. *Kyoraishō hyōkai*. Tokyo, Yūsei-dō, 1951.
- Jinnō shōtō-ki, Dokushi yoron, Sanyō shiron. Yūhō-dō bunko. Tokyo, Yūhō-dō shoten, 1927.
- Kada Azumamaro. *Kada zenshū*. 7 vols. Tokyo, Yoshikawa kōbun-kan, 1928-32.
- Kaibara Ekken. *Ekken zenshū*. 8 vols. Tokyo, Ekken zenshū kankō-bu, 1910-11.
- Kaiho Seiryō. *Kaiho Seiryō Shū*. Kinsei shakai keizai gakusetsu taikai. Tokyo, Seibun-dō shinkō-sha, 1939.
- Kamei Katsuichirō. *Nijisseiki Nihon no risōzō*. Tokyo, Chūō kōron-sha, 1954.
- Katayama Sen, and Nishikawa Kōjirō. *Nihon no rōdō undō*. Iwanami bunko, No. 4363-66. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1952.
- Kawai Eijirō. *Watakushi no shakai-shugi*. Gendai kyōyō bunko, No. 26. Tokyo, Shakai shisō kenkyū-kai shuppan-bu, 1952.
- Kawakami Hajime. *Gokuchū zeigo*. Kyoto, Kawahara shoten, 1949.
- *Jijoden*. 5 vols. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1952-53.
- Keene, Donald. *The Battles of Coxinga: Chikamatsu's Puppet Play, Its Background and Importance*. London, Taylor's Foreign Press, 1951.
- *The Japanese Discovery of Europe: Honda Toshiaki and Other Discoverers, 1720-1798*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952.
- *Japanese Literature, An Introduction for Western Readers*. London, John Murray, 1953.
- [Nihon] *Keizai taiten*. Ed. by Takimoto Seiichi. 54 vols. Tokyo, Shishi shuppansha, 1928-30.
- Kikuchi Dairoku. *Japanese Education*. London, J. Murray, 1909.
- Kita Ikki. *Nihon Kaizō Hōan Taikō*. Tokyo, Minzoku mondai kenkyū-jo, 1953.
- Kiyowara Sadao. *Shintō-shi*. Tokyo, Kōsei-kaku, 1932.
- Kiyozawa Kiyoshi. [Gaisei-ka to shite no] *Ōkubo Toshimichi*. Tokyo, Chūō kōron-sha, 1942.
- Knox, George Wm. "A Japanese Philosopher," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ)*, 1st ser., XX, 1 (1892), 1-133.
- Kōbō Daishi to Nihon bunka. Ed. by Toganoo Shōun. Kyoto, Rokudai shimpō-sha, 1929.
- Kōbō Daishi zenshū. 5 vols. Tokyo, Yoshikawa kōbun-kan; Kyoto, Rokudai shimpō-sha, 1910.
- [Shinshū] *Kōgaku sōsho*. Ed. by Mozumi Takami. 12 vols. Tokyo, Kō-bunko kankō-kai, 1927-31.
- Kokushi shiryō shū. Comp. by Kokumin seishin bunka kenkyū-jo. 3 vols. Tokyo, Kokumin seishin bunka kenkyū-jo, 1937-43.
- [Shintei zōho] *Kokushi taikai*. 60 vols. Tokyo, Kokushi taikai kankō-kai, 1935.
- Kōsō meicho zenshū. 18 vols. Tokyo, Heibon-sha, 1930-31.
- Kumazawa Banzan. *Kumazawa Banzan shū*. Ed. by Nomura Kanetarō. Kinsei shakai keizai gakusetsu taikai. Tokyo, Seibun-dō shinkō-sha, 1939.
- Kuroita Katsumi. *Kokushi gaikan*. Tokyo, Yoshikawa kōbun-kan, 1936.

- Legge, James. The Chinese Classics. 8 vols. London, Trübner, 1861-72.
- Lloyd, Arthur. The Creed of Half Japan. London, Smith, Elder, 1911.
- Shinran and His Work. Studies in Shinshu Theology. Tokyo, Kyobunkwan, 1910.
- McLaren, W. W. Japanese Government Documents. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ)*, 1st ser., Vol. XLII, Pt. 1, 1914.
- Manyōshū. Ed. by Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai. Tokyo, Iwanami, 1940.
- Meiji boshin. Comp. by Bummei kyōkai. Tokyo, Bummei kyōkai, 1928.
- Meiji bunka zenshū. Comp. by Yoshino Sakuzō. 24 vols. Tokyo, Nihon hyōron-sha, 1927-30.
- [Shinsen] Meika shishū. Comp. by Tsukamoto Tetsuzō. Yūhō-dō bunko. Tokyo, Yūhō-dō shoten, 1927.
- Minobe Tatsukichi. Gikai sei-ji no kentō. Tokyo, Nihon hyōron-sha, 1934.
- Miura Baien. Baien zenshū. 2 vols. Tokyo, Kōdō-kan, 1912.
- Moriyama Shōshin, ed. [Bunka shi jō yori mitaru] Kōbō Daishi den. Tokyo, Buzan-ha Kōbō Daishi issen ippaku-nen go-onki jimu-kyoku, 1934.
- Motoori Norinaga. Motoori Norinaga zenshū. Ed. by Motoori Toyokai and Motoori Kiyozō. 12 vols. Tokyo, Yoshikawa kōbun-kan, 1926-27.
- Mou Tzu. *P'ing-chin-kuang ts'ung-shu*. Comp. by Sun Hsing-yen. Wu-hsien (Soochow), privately published, 1885.
- Mumyō sōshi shinchū. Ed. by Tomikura Jirō. Tokyo, Ikuei shoin, 1937.
- Nakae Tōju. Tōju sensei zenshū. 5 vols. Aoyagi mura (Shiga Pref.), Tōju shoin, 1928-29.
- Nihon jurin sōsho. Ed. by Seki Giichirō. 6 vols. Tokyo, Tōyō tosho kankō-kai, 1927-29.
- Nikkan gap-pō hishi. 2 vols. Tokyo, Kokuryū-kai shuppan-bu, 1930.
- Ninomiya Sontoku. Ninomiya Sontoku ō zenshū. Ed. by Yoshiji Shōichi. 6 vols. Tokyo, Kaisetsu Ninomiya Sontoku ō zenshū kankō-kai, 1938.
- Ninomiya Sontoku zenshū. Comp. by Sasai Shintarō. 36 vols. Shizuoka, Ninomiya Sontoku igyo sen'yō-kai, 1927-32.
- Nishida Kitarō. Nihon bunka no mondai. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1940.
- Nosé Asaji. [Zōho] Seami jūrokubushū hyōshaku. 2 vols. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1949.
- Ogyū Sorai. Ogyū Sorai—[Miura Baien] Shū. Kinsei shakai keizai gakusetsu taikai. Tokyo, Seibun-dō shinkō-sha, 1937.
- Okakura, Kakuzo. The Awakening of Japan. New York, Japan Society, 1921.
- The Book of Tea. New York, Fox, Duffield, 1906.
- The Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1904.
- Okamoto Yoshitomo. Jūroku seiki Nichi-Ō kōtsū-shi no kenkyū. Tokyo, Kōbunsō, 1936.
- Ōkawa Shūmei. The Way of Japan and the Way of the Japanese. International Military Tribunal of the Far East (IMTFE), International Prosecution Section, Document 693A, Exhibit 2180A.

- Ôkuma kô hachijûgonen-shi 3 vols. Tokyo, Ôkuma kô hachijûgonen-shi hensan-kai, 1926.
- Ôkuma Shigenobu. Fifty Years of New Japan. 1st ed., 2 vols. London, Smith, Elder, 1909-10.
- Ono Kiyoshi, ed. Tokugawa seido shiryô. Tokyo, 1927.
- Ôyama Ikuo. Nihon no shinro. Tokyo, Rôdô bunka-sha, 1948.
- Ozaki Yukio. The Voice of Japanese Democracy. Yokohama, Kelly and Walsh, 1918.
- Reischauer, Robert Karl. Early Japanese History (c. 40 B.C.-A.D. 1167). Part A. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1937.
- Rôdô. Tokyo, Nihon Rôdô Sôdômei.
- Rikkokushi. Ed. by Sacki Ariyoshi. 12 vols. Tokyo, Asahi shimbun-sha, 1940.
- Saigô Takamori. Dai Saigô zenshû. Comp. by Ôkawa Nobuyoshi. 3 vols. Tokyo, Dai Saigô zenshû kankô-kai, 1926-7.
- Saikaku. Saikaku zenshû. Ed. by Ozaki Kôyô and Watanabe Otowa. Teikoku bunko. Tokyo, Hakubun-kan, 1894.
- Sansom, G. B., Japan, A Short Cultural History. London, Cresset, 1946.
- *The Western World and Japan*, New York, Knopf, 1950.
- Sansom, G. B., tr. "The Imperial Edicts in the Shoku-Nihongi," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ)*, 2d ser., I (1923-4), 5-39.
- "Tsuredzure-gusa," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ)*, 1st ser., vol. 39, 1911.
- Satomi, Kishio. Japanese Civilization, Its Significance and Realization: Nichirenism and the Japanese National Principles. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1924.
- Sekai taishisô zenshû. Vol. 54, "Nihon Shisô-hen," by Kanda Hôsui. Tokyo, Shunjû-sha, 1927.
- Sentetsu sôdan. Comp. by Hara Zen. Kambun sôsho. Tokyo, Yûhō-dô shoten, 1929.
- Shakai taishû shimbun*, Tokyo.
- Shinobu Seizaburô. Taishô seiji shi. 4 vols. Tokyo, Kawade shobô, 1951-52.
- Shinshû shôten. Kyoto, Chûgai shuppan, 1923.
- Shôbô genzô zuimonki. Iwanami bunko, No. 530. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1948.
- Shôgiku Kido kô den. 2 vols. Tokyo, Meiji shoin, 1927.
- Soothill, W. E., tr. The Lotus of the Wonderful Law, or The Lotus Gospel. Saddharma Pundarika Sûtra. Miao-fa Lien Hua Ching. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1930.
- Spae, Joseph John. Itô Jinsai, A Philosopher, Educator and Sinologist of the Tokugawa Period. *Monumenta Serica*, Monograph XII. Peiping, The Catholic University of Peking, 1948.
- Taishô [shinshû] Daizôkyô. Ed. by Takakusu Junjirô and Watanabe Kaigyoku. 85 vols. Tokyo, Taishô issai-kyô kankô-kai, 1914-32.
- Takahashi Yoshio. San-kô iretsu. Tokyo, Keibun-dô, 1925.

- Takakusu, Junjiro. *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 2d. ed. 1949.
- Takasu Yoshijirō. *Shinron kōwa*. Tokyo, Heibon-sha, 1941.
- Takekoshi Yosaburō. *Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*. 3 vols. London, Allen and Unwin, 1930.
- Tanaka Kōtarō. *Shinri to heiwa o motomete*. Tokyo, Dai-Nihon yūben-kai kōdan-sha, 1950.
- Tanaka Sōgorō, ed. *Shiryō Nihon shakai undō-shi*. 2 vols. Tokyo, Tōzai shuppan-sha, 1947-48.
- Teng, Ssu-yü, and John K. Fairbank. *China's Response to the West*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1954.
- Terry, Charles. *Sakuma Shōzan and His Seiken-roku*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1951.
- Tokutomi Iichirō. *The Imperial Rescript Declaring War on United States and British Empire*. Tr. by Hanama Tasaki. Osaka, 1942.
- *Kōshaku Yamagata Aritomo den*. 3 vols. Tokyo, Yamagata Aritomo kō kinen jigyō-kai, 1933.
- *Okubo kōtō sensei*. Tokyo, Minyū-sha, 1927.
- Tōkyō asahi shimbun*, Tokyo.
- Tsuji Zennosuke. *Nihon Bukkyō shi*. 10 vols. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1944-55.
- Tsunoda, Ryusaku, and L. Carrington Goodrich. *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*. Perkins Asiatic Monograph No. 2. South Pasadena, Cal., P. D. and Ione Perkins, 1951.
- Uchimura Kanzō. *Uchimura Kanzō zenshū*. 20 vols. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1932-33.
- de Visser, M. W. *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*. Paris, P. Geuthner, 1928-35.
- Waley, Arthur, tr. *The Analects of Confucius*. London, G. Allen and Unwin, 1938.
- *The Book of Songs*. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1937.
- *A Wreath of Cloud; Being the Third Part of "The Tale of Genji."* London, George Allen and Unwin, 1927.
- Watanabe Ikujiro. *Ōkuma Shigenobu*. Tokyo, Shōrin-dō, 1943.
- Yamaga Sokō. *Yamaga Sokō bunshū*. Yūhō-dō bunko. Tokyo, Yūhō-dō shoten, 1926.
- *Yamaga Sokō shū*. Kinsei shakai keizai gakusetsu taikei. Tokyo, Seibun-dō shinkō-sha, 1941.
- Yamamuro Sōbun. [Kin-kaikin o chūshin to seru] *Waga kuni keizai oyobi kin'yū*. Keizai-gaku zenshū, vol. 46. Tokyo, Kaizō-sha, 1931.
- Yamazaki Ansai. *Yamazaki Ansai zenshū*. 2 vols. Tokyo, Nihon koten gakkai, 1936-37.
- *Zoku Yamazaki Ansai zenshū*. 3 vols. Tokyo, Nihon koten gakkai, 1937.
- Yampolsky, Philip. *The Essentials of Salvation. A Translation of the First Two Divisions of Ōjō yōshū by Genshin*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1948.

- Yoshida Shōin. *Yoshida Shōin zenshū*. Popular edition. Ed. by Yamaguchi-ken kyōiku-kai. 12 vols. Tokyo, Iwanami shoten, 1938.
- Yoshimoto Tadasu. *A Peasant Sage of Japan. The Life and Work of Sontoku Ninomiya*. Translated from *The Hōtokuki*. London, Longmans, Green, 1912.
- Yoshino Sakuzō. *Mimpon-shugi-ron*. Tokyo, Shin-kigen-sha, 1946.
- Zenshū shōten, zokuhen*. Comp. by Jimbo Nyoten. Tokyo, Muga sambō, 1916.
- Zoku gunsho ruijū*. Comp. by Hanawa Hokiichi. 33 vols. Tokyo, Zoku gunsho ruijū kansei-kai, 1923-28.

INDEX

- Abe Isoo, 816-20
 Actor, *see* Nō theatre
 "Actual movement" (i.e., mass political action), 821
 Aesthetics, 119; of Heian period, 141-42, 176-84; in medieval Japan, 187-88, 283-303; in Tokugawa period, 443-49; in modern times, 845
 Agrarianism, 352, 353, 437-42, 578-88, 769-73; *see also* Farmer
Aikokutō, 723
 Ainu, 13, 111, 194
 Aizawa Seishisai, 591, 593-603
Aji hompūshō, 272
 Akamatsu Katsumaro, 837-39
 Amano, S., 858
 Amaterasu (Sun Goddess), 1, 16-17, 24, 26, 29-31, 34-35, 280, 508-9, 520-23, 563
 America, *see* United States
 Amida (Amitābha), 156-57, 191-218
 Amidism, 185, 188; *see also* Pure Land Buddhism
 Amoghavajra, 147
 Amur Society (*Kōkuryūkai*), 761-66, 774
Analects, 418-20, 423, 428
 Anarchism, in the West, 792-94 *passim*; in Japan, 811-12
 Ancestry and ancestor worship, 14, 17-19, 24, 27, 281
 Anesaki Masaharu, cited, 482-83
 Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 589
 Animism, 24, 27
 Annam, 347
 Anthologies of poetry, 451, 509-10
 Anti-intellectualism, 514, 858
 Arai Hakuseki, 306, 379, 412, 470-79
 Aristocracy, 54-55, 190-91, 333-34, 780-81; *see also* Court, the; Samurai
 Artisan: function of, 338-39; one of four classes of people, 348n
 Art of "avoiding calamities," 58-60
Art of War (Sun Tzu), 616
 Arts, the, 142; in Pure Land Buddhism, 195-96; Zen Buddhism and, 261-66; in Heian period, 283-303
 Asada Göryū, 491
 Asahi Heigo, 767-69, 774
 Ashikaga Shogunate, 185, 262-63
 Ashikaga Takauji, 185, 241, 256
 Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, 185, 262-63
 Ashiku (Akshobhya), 156-57
 Asia, Japan and, 761-66, 795-805; *see also* specific countries, e.g., China
 Assassination, agitation by, 766-67
 Astrology, 57-60
 Astronomy, 86, 95, 541, 546, 554, 562
Aware, 176-77, 178, 283, 284, 287
 Bakin, 445-46
 Bakufu, *see* Military government
 Bashō, *see* Matsuo Bashō
Bendō: Distinguishing the Way (Ogyū), 424-26
Ben Kemmitsu Nikyō-ron (Kūkai), 148-50
 Bin, priest, 79
 Bodhidharma, 233-34
 Bodhisattvas, meaning of, 131-32
 Body and mind, 254-55; *see also* Three Mysteries
 Bolshevism, influence of, 814; *see also* Communism
Book of Advanced Education, *see* *Great Learning*
Book of Changes, quoted, 337, 421-22
Book of Elementary Instruction, 365
Book of Filial Piety, 385
Book of History, 3, 383
Book of Poetry, quoted, 337
 Brāhmanism, 150, 152
 Bu (Emperor Yūryaku), 10, 11

- Buddha, 94; biography of, 97-99; quoted, 100-101; three bodies of, 148, 219; *see also* Three Treasures
- Buddhism: introduction of, to Japan, 1, 12, 13, 36; and Seventeen-Article Constitution, 38, 49; in Nara period, 93-110; fusion with other religions, 268-72; destruction of power by Nobunaga, 311-17; *see also* specific types of, e.g. Mahāyāna Buddhism
- Buddhist Law (Dharma), *see* Law; Three Treasures
- Buddhist monastic orders, *see* Monastic orders; Three Treasures
- Buddhist sūtras, 95; *see also* under specific name, e.g., *Golden Light Sūtra*
- Bukkyō seiten shiron: Historical Criticism of the Buddhist Scriptures* (Anesaki), 482
- Bunshō Tattoku Kōryō* (Fujiwara Seika), 346
- Bureaucracy, 81-87
- Bushidō* (Way of the Warrior), 39; development of, 305, 308, 352, 394-97; Itō on, 672; national polity and, 790, 791-92
- Businessmen: attitude toward liberal movement, 718-19, 722; resentment against, 761-67
- Cabinet system, 710-11, 723, 743-46, 782-83
- Calendar: Chinese, 1, 36, 46; importance of, in Confucianism, 37; Japanese, 58, 468-69, 553; books on making of, 95
- Capitalism, attitudes toward, 733-34, 806-7, 814-16, 832-33, 837-39
- Cap-ranks, 46
- Catalogue of Flora* (Kaibara), 375
- Catalogue of Vegetables* (Kaibara), 375
- Catholicism, 880, 890-91; *see also* Christianity
- Celibacy, 209
- Ch'an Buddhism, 233-34; *see also* Zen Buddhism
- Charter Oath, 643-44
- Ch'eng-Chu school, 351
- Chen-kuan cheng-yao*, 345
- Chikamatsu Monzaemon, 305, 445, 446-49, 468
- China: influence on thought and institutions in Japan, 3-14, 26-27, 36-37, 54-92; attitudes toward, 38-39, 654, 713-17, 718, 719, 754-57; wars with, 589, 662, 759, 761; Revolution of 1911, 774
- Chinese dynastic histories, 3-4, 5-14
- Chin-han, 9, 10, 11
- Chōshū, 647, 654, 700
- Chou dynasty, 70
- Christianity, 305; Nobunaga and, 313; Hideyoshi's attitude toward, 325-27; Hirata's attitude toward, 541; edict against, removed, 589; influence in the West, 602; influence on Fukuzawa, 624, on Tanaka Kotaro, 880, on Uchimura, 848-57
- Chronicles of Japan*, *see* *Nihongi*
- Chūchō Jijitsu: True Facts Concerning the Central Kingdom* (Yamaga), 397, 405
- Chu Hsi, 333, 346, 360-61, 490-91; *see also* Neo-Confucianism
- Chu Shun-shui, 305, 371-72
- Civil liberties, 718, 719, 723-24, 726
- Civil service system, 82-87
- Clans, 54-55, 71-78, 89, 664
- Class: restrictions, 334; system, 323, 328, 330, 430-33, 770-73; warfare, 793-94
- Cleanliness, 25, 85
- Collection of Canine Linked-Verse* (Sōkan), 454
- Collective responsibility in five-man groups (*gonin-gumi*), 334
- Colonization, Honda's ideas on, 558-61
- Commentary on the Legal Code* (*Ryō no gige*), 81-87, 111
- Commerce, 347-50, 352-53; Confucian thinking on, 437-42, 498; *see also* Foreign trade
- Communism, 786, 792-96 *passim*, 814; Kawakami and, 820-21, 823-27, 872-80; Kawai on, 832, 834
- Confucianism: and Seventeen-Article Constitution, 37-38, 49-50; adoption of, as state creed, 55-56; Han dynasty synthesis of, 55-61; and removal of capital from Nara, 116; Kūkai's writings on, 137-38, 140; of Chu Hsi, adopted as official cult of Tokugawa Japan, 305; and search for peace, 307-8; Ieyasu and, 333; rediscovery of, 393-442; devolution of, 412-15; influence in Restoration, 642-43; *see also* Neo-Confucianism
- Conscription system, establishment of, 589, 700-707; effects of, 759
- Constitutional government, *see under* Government
- Constitutions: Seventeen-Article, 1, 36-39, 49-53, 58; of 1868, 644-46; of 1889 (Meiji), 662-79; Kita's suggestion for suspension of, 777-78; postwar, 842-43, 886-88
- Cooperative Credit Society, 588

- Cooperative planning, Ninomiya Sontoku on, 578-88
- Cosmic Buddha, *see* Vairochana
- Court, Japanese: reorganization of, 36; influence of Buddhism in, 118-19; Hideyoshi and, 324; laws governing, 351; in Nara period, 451
- Craftsmen, corporations of, 208
- Creativity, 894
- Cremation, 96
- Crime, 11-12
- Culture, Japanese: Nishida on, 857-72; hedonism of, 897-98
- Currency, 470, 489
- Daimyō, 336, 337, 818
- Dainichi, *see* Vairochana
- Dai-Nihon-shi: History of Great Japan* (Mitsukuni), 305, 372, 472
- Dai-Nippon, *see* Nippon
- Dai-Wa, *see* Wa
- Danrin school, 455
- Dazai Shundai, 379, 424
- Death: Motoori on, 529-32; Hirata on life after, 549-51; Yoshida on, 616-18, 620-21; art of, 902
- Deities, 17-19, 27
- Democracy (political): Ōkubo on, 665-66; Ōkuma on, 679-83; Yoshino on, 724-46; Kita on, 777; in the West, 792-96; Tanaka on, 881
- Democracy of poetry in Japan (the *haiku*), 450-67
- Denryō* (Land Regulations), 758
- Devotion (Chinese *ching*, Japanese *kei*), 366-67
- Dharma, *see* Law
- Dharma Buddha, 148, 149
- Dhyāna, 232-33
- Diamond Crown Sūtra*, 149
- Diamond (Vajra) Mandala, 142
- Diary of a Morning Glory: Asagao-nikki*, 385
- Diet: function of, 665; Ōkuma on, 681; liberal movement and, 718-23; Kita on, 777-78, 783-84; Kōtoku on, 811-14
- Disarmament, 718, 719, 754, 756-57
- Divination, 1, 7, 12, 57-60, 86
- Dōgen, 185, 235, 236-40, 246-56, 264
- Dōji-mon: Boys' Questions* (Itō Jinsai), 418-22
- Dōkyō, 1, 99, 107-8
- Dori no kankaku: Sense of Reason, The* (Amano), 858
- Doshisha University, 682
- Dōshun, *see* Hayashi Razan
- Dutch influence in Japan, 306, 308, 546-47, 552, 553-54, 562, 605, 680
- Duty, *see* *Gi*
- Earth, *see* Three Realms
- East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, 800, 801
- Economics: Muro on, 437-39; Miura Baien on, 489; Kaiho Seiryō on laws of, 497-502; Satō on, 564-70
- Edo (Tokyo), 334; *see also* Tokyo
- Education, 86; principles of, 364-66; Kansei Edict and, 502-5; Satō on, 563-64; pluralism in, 682, 696; Yamagata's interest in, 702; mass, 759; of the West, 794; liberalization of school instruction, 891; Hasegawa on, 894; *see also* Imperial Rescript on Education
- Educators, attitude toward liberal movement, 718, 719, 720
- Eika Taigai: Guide to the Composition of Poetry* (Fujiwara no Teika), 183
- Eisai, 185, 235-36, 241-46, 263
- Election regulations, 739
- Eliot, T. S., quoted, 284
- Emigration, 796-98
- Emperor: function of, 338-39; restoration of, 591-679 *passim*; loyalty to, 594, 598-600, 787-88; worship of, 642; as "organ" of the State, 746-53; Kita on significance of, 778-80, 784; *see also* Imperial House
- En* (charming), 177-78
- Enchin, 159
- Engi-shiki: Institutes of the Engi Period*, 111, 268
- England, influence in Japan, 589, 591, 680
- Engyō, 167
- Ennin, 111, 157-58
- Enryaku Temple (Enryaku-ji), 314-17; *see also* Mt. Hiei
- Era names, superstition concerning, 475-76
- Esoteric Buddhism, 114, 120, 137-55; difference between exoteric and, 148-50; spread of, 156-75
- Ethics: Confucian, 308, 351-52, 363-64, 393; Hirata on ancient Japanese, 547-48; Eastern, and Western science, 603-16; collapse of, in postwar Japan, 846; and politics, 880; *see also* Morality

- Ethnocentrism, 352
 Eun, 167
 Europe: influence in Japan, 553-56, 623-28;
 see also specific countries, e.g., Germany
 Europeans, exclusion of, 305
 Evil, good and, 529-35
 Exertion, 249-51
 Exoteric Buddhism, 139, 148-50, 158
 Expansion, territorial, 558-61, 843
- Faith: in Amida, 188, 190-93; in *Lotus Sūtra*, 188, 219-31
Family Genealogies (Hayashi Shunsai), 354
 Famines and epidemics, 306
 Farmer, 338, 339, 348*n*; *see also* Agrarianism
 Fascism, 786-87, 832
 Fertility, 24, 27, 509, 563, 564, 574-75
 Feudalism, 187, 191; vestige of, in True Pure Land Sect, 212; Confucian ethics and, 308; in Tokugawa period, 311, 323-24, 333-34, 394-96; abolition of, 589, 617, 643, 648-49; Hasegawa on, 892
Fifty Years of New Japan (Ōkuma), 698-700
 Filial piety, 379, 383-84, 594, 788-89
 Firearms, 313, 317-21, 568, 569
 Fitness Reports, regulations for, 82-87
 Five and Ten-man Group Responsibility System, 330
 Five Cardinal Virtues, 151
 Five Classics of Shinto, 271, 507
 Five Components, 152
 Five directions, 245
 Five Elements (or yin-yang) schools, 56, 59-60, 141, 245, 367
 Five Guilds, 280
 Five Heavenly Deities, 17-19, 27
 Five Human Relationships, 351, 364-66
 Five Organs, 245
 Five Rites, 91
 Five Tastes, 246
 Five virtues, 357
Flower Wreath (Kegon) *Sūtra*, 97, 98, 194, 296
 Forced labor, *see* Labor, forced
 Foreign learning, relaxation of edicts, 306
 Foreign relations: Zen Buddhism and, 240-41, 244, 261-62; in Tokugawa period, 360-61, 471; Ōkuma and, 680; Yamagata on, 703, 713-17; and liberal movement, 718, 753-58
 Foreign trade: interest in, 240-41, 244, 313-14, 345, 347-49, 471, 554; world markets, 796
 Fortunetelling, 86
 Four Books, 423
 Four classes of people, 348*n*
 Fourfold Wisdom of the Buddha, 152
 Four Queens of Wisdom, 153
 Francis Xavier, Saint, 186
 Fudō (Achala), 156-57
 Fuji, Mt., 5
 Fujita Tōko, 591, 593
 Fujiwara family, 92, 111, 113, 268*n*
 Fujiwara Kamatari, 70-71
 Fujiwara no Atsumitsu, 161
 Fujiwara no Shunzei, 283-84
 Fujiwara no Teika, 183-84, 346, 451-52
 Fujiwara no Toshinara (or Shunzei), 458*n*
 Fujiwara Seika, 305, 345-50
 Fuji-fuse school, 222
Fukko ("Restore the Old Order"), 572, 640
Fukko-hō: Restoration of the Ancient Order (Satō), 572
Fukusei-ben: Critique of the Doctrine of Returning to One's Original Nature (Itō Togai), 415-18
 Fukuzawa Yukichi, 589, 592, 623-37
 Fukuzumi Masae, 586
- Ganjin, 1
Garbha Mandala, 160
 Ge-koku-jō, 312
 Gemmyō, empress, 65*n*
 Genealogy, importance of, 14, 87-90, 354
Gengo: Discourse on Metaphysics (Miura), 489, 490, 492
 Genji, prince, *see* *Tale of Genji*
 Genrō (Elder Statesmen), 720
 Genroku period, 305, 443-44
 Genshin, 111, 194-96, 198-203
Genyōsha, 761-62
 Geomancy, 1, 57-60, 95
 Germany, influence of, 663-64, 668-71, 725
 Gi (righteousness or duty), 366-67, 395, 423, 434, 445
Giri, 445, 448*n*
 Go-Daigo Tennō, 185, 240-41, 256, 258
Gokuchū zeigo: Prison Ramblings (Kawakami), 823-27
Golden Light Sūtra, 1, 97-98, 99-101
Gomō-jigi: Meaning of Terms in the Analects and Mencius, The (Itō Jinsai), 418-22
 Gondō Seikei, 769-73
 Good and evil, 532-35

- Go-Sanjō Tennō, 111
- Government: reorganization of, 36-53; basic principles of, 49-53; Taika reform, 54-55, 70-90; and Buddhism, 98; Kumazawa Banzan on, 388-92; Confucianism and, 424-33; totalitarian, 553, 561-64, 572-74, 786; constitutional, 649-52, 665-91, 718-53; *see also* Constitutions
- Great Learning*, 351, 364, 365, 385
- Great Reform, *see* Taika reforms
- Great Thanksgiving Festival, 268, 273
- Green, Thomas Hill, influence on Kawai, 832
- Guilds, hereditary, 209, 280
- Hachiman, 161, 172, 226, 270
- Haiku*, 287-88, 450-67
- Haisho zampitsu: Autobiography in Exile, An* (Yamaga), 404-10
- Hakken-den: Biographies of Eight Heroes* (Bakin), 445-46
- Han dynasty, 4, 5, 55
- Hankampu: Gazetteer of the Feudal Domains*, 472
- Hara Takashi, 590
- Harmony, 37-38, 49, 50, 56-57, 789-90
- Harris, Townsend, 589
- Hasegawa Nyozeikan, 891-900
- Hashimoto Kingorō, 796-98
- Hayashi family, 362, 431
- Hayashi Hōkō, 305, 354
- Hayashi Razan (Dōshun), 305, 345, 347, 350-61, 393
- Hayashi Shunsai (also Gahō), 354, 371
- Heaven, 37, 54-61, 100, 439-42; *see also* Three Realms
- Heaven-Shining-Deity, 17-20; *see also* Amaterasu
- Heian-kyō, *see* Kyoto
- Heian period, 111-84, 283
- Heigo Hōji* (Miura), 489
- Hell, idea of, 195-96, 198-201, 531, 549
- Hereditary corporations, abolition of, 77
- Heroes and hero worship, 24, 27, 311-43
- Hidetada, 335, 362
- Hideyoshi, 283, 311, 313, 314, 321-31
- Hieda Are, 65
- Hiei, Mt.: temple founded on, 1, 111; as center of Buddhism, 116-36; regulations for students at, 132-36; triumph of Esoteric Buddhism at, 157; Dōgen, on, 237; Nobunaga and, 311-12; burning of monastery by Nobunaga, 314-17
- Hierarchy, sense of, 113-14, 190, 471
- Hinayāna Buddhism, 95, 117, 120, 131-32, 140, 152, 232
- Hiranuma Kiichirō, 785
- Hirata Atsutane, 306, 540-51, 562
- Historicism, 352; Ogyū Sorai and, 423; Nishida on, 858-72 *passim*; Tanaka on, 881-82
- History: earliest records on Japanese, 3-22; Chinese-style, 57, 62-69; study of human, 308; Japanese interest in, 371-72; critical approach to, by Tominaga Nakamoto, 469, 479-88, by Arai, 473-75
- History of Great Japan: Dai-Nihon-shi* (Mitsukuni), 305, 372, 472
- History of the Kingdom of Wei: Wei-Chih*, 6-9
- History of the Latter Han Dynasty: Hou Han Shu*, 59
- History of the Liu Sung Dynasty: Sung Shu*, 9-11
- History of the Sui Dynasty: Sui Shu*, 11-12
- History of the T'ang Dynasty: Hsin T'ang Shu*, 12
- Hizō Hōyaku: Precious Key to the Secret Treasury* (Kūkai), 150-54
- Hōjō family, 185, 240
- Hōkoku, *see* Hideyoshi
- Honchō jinja-kō: Study of Our Shinto Shrines* (Hayashi Razan), 353
- Honchō Monzui*, 111
- Honchō tsugan: General History of Our State* (Hayashi), 305, 353, 354, 371, 472
- Honda Toshiaki, 306, 553-61
- Hōnen, 185, 203-9, 223-24
- Honji suijaku*, 268-70, 271
- Hoshina Masayuki, 362
- Hōshō Temple, 164-65
- Hossō (or "Dharma-Character" sect of) Buddhism, 96, 117, 140, 152, 159-60
- Hōtōkusha, 586-88
- How I Became a Christian* (Uchimura), 848-52
- How to Live Well* (Kaibara), 375
- Hsüan-tsang, 96
- Hsün Tzu, 423
- Hui-k'o, 234
- Hui-kuo, 138, 139, 141, 144-46
- Humanism, 351
- Humanity (*jin*), 374, 376, 411, 423
- Hundred Regulations, 91
- Hyakunin Isshū: Hundred Poets, a Poem Each*, 183

- Ieyasu, *see* Tokugawa Shoguns
 Ihara Saikaku, 444
 Immigration from China and Korea, 88-90
 Imna, 9, 10, 11
 Imperial ancestors, 17-19, 595-603
 Imperial concept (Tennōism), 61-90 *passim*;
 597-600, 787-88
 Imperial house: legitimate succession of,
 185, 271, 273-82; loyalty to, 434, 471-72,
 594, 600; and democracy, 732-33, 799-
 800
 Imperialism, 553, 555-56, 575-78
 Imperial Regalia, *see* Three Imperial Regalia
 Imperial Rescript on Education, 589, 646-47,
 852-54
 Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors,
 702, 705-7
 Imperial rule, 27, 61-90 *passim*, 273-82, 308,
 729; restoration of, 591-679
Indications to the Teachings of the Three
Religions (Kōkai), 137
 Individualism, 786-87, 790, 799-800, 832
 Inoue Kowashi, 646
 Intellectualism, 895-97
 International relations, *see* Foreign relations
 Intuition (or Mind, *shin*), School of, 378-92
 Ippen, 185, 194, 196-98
 Irrationalism, of Motoori, 510
 Ise Shrine, 1, 24, 34, 268, 271, 332, 870
 Isolationism, 353, 472, 476
 Issa, 457
 Itagaki Taisuke, 680-81, 683-89, 691-92
 Itō Hirobumi, 617, 657, 662-79, 721
 Itō Jinsai, 305, 410-22
 Itō Tōgai, 412-18
 Itsukushima, 270
 Izanagi and Izanami, 16, 27
 Izumi Shikibu, 111
 Izumo, 27, 29, 31-32; Shinto shrine in,
 24-25, 33-34
 Japan: names of, 274-75; position geo-
 graphically, 275-76; position chronologi-
 cally, 276-80
 Japanese chronicles, earliest, 14-22
 "Japanism," 761, 774, 784
 Japan Women's College, 682
 Jewel, *see* Three Imperial Regalia
Jichi mimpan: Principles of Autonomous
People (Gondō), 770
Jiji Shimpō, 589
 Jimmu, 13, 15ⁿ, 58, 66-68, 88, 357-60
Jimmu, Emperor, Essay on (*Jimmu Tennō*
Ron), 357-60
Jin, see Humanity; Perfect virtue
Jinnō Shōtōki: Records of the Legitimate
Succession of the Divine Sovereigns
 (Kitabatake), 185, 271, 273-82
 Ji (Time) School, 196
 Jōdo, *see* Pure Land Buddhism
Jōei shikimoku (basic law code of Kamakura
 Shogunate), 185
 Jōgyō, 167
Jōri, study of, 491-92
Joruri, 446-48
 Journalism, 682; *see also* Newspapers
 Journalists, attitude toward liberal move-
 ment, 718, 719
 Ju-ching, 237
Kabuki, 446, 448
 Kada Azumamaro, 306, 507, 510-14
Kagen: Origin of Price, The (Miura), 489
 Kagoshima, 589
 Kaibara Ekken, 306, 374-77, 393, 469, 490
Kaifūsō: Fond Recollections of Poetry, 1, 61,
 90-92
 Kaiho Seiryō, 306, 469, 497-502
 Kamakura period: military government in,
 111, 185, 187, 236; Buddhism in, 169,
 236, 240, 332ⁿ
 Kamatari (Fujiwara Kamatari), 70-71
 Kamei Katsuchirō, 900-906
Kami, 23-24, 272
 Kami-musubi (Spirit of Fertility), 509,
 545ⁿ, 563, 574-75
 Kammu, emperor, 1, 111, 116-17, 119
 Kamo Mabuchi, 306, 508, 514-20
 Kanagawa, Treaty of, 589
 Kan'ami, 185, 296
Kango: Discourse on Morality (Miura), 489
 Kannon (Avalokiteshvara), 156-57, 202, 203
 Kansei Edict (Prohibition of Heterodox
 Studies, 1790), 469, 480, 489, 502-5
 Kashima Shrine, 24-25
 Katori Shrine, 24-25
 Katō Takaaki, 721, 723
 Katsura Tarō, 721
 Kawai Ejirō, 832-37
 Kawakami Hajime, 820-32, 847, 872-80
 Kagon (or "Flower-Wreath" sect of) Bud-
 dhism, 96, 141, 153, 155, 158; sūtra, 97,
 98, 194, 296

- Keikōdan: Lessons of the Past* (Kaiho Seiryō), 497, 499-502
- Keio University, 624-25, 628-30
- Keizai Yōroku: Essence of Economics, The* (Satō), 564-71
- Ki (Material force or vital force), 360, 375, 411, 421
- Kido Kōin, 617, 647-54
- Kikuchi Takeo, 747
- Kimmei, emperor, 93
- Kitabatake Chikafusa, 270, 271, 273-82
- Kita Ikki, 773-84
- Kōan*, 239-40, 251-53, 292
- Kōbunin* (shogunate university), 354
- Kōdō ha (Imperial Way faction), 774
- Kodō Taii: Summary of the Ancient Way* (Hirata), 542-47
- Kōgi-dō (School for Study of the Ancient Meaning), 411
- Koguryō, kingdom of, 4, 10, 13
- Kojiki: Records of Ancient Matters*, 1, 3, 97; readings from, 14-15, 17-19, 62-65; Shinto and, 26, 507, 508; evidence of yin-yang in, 59; verse in, 450, 452
- Kokin-shū: Collection of Ancient and Modern Poetry*, 111, 509
- Kōkon gakuhen: Changes in Confucian Teaching, Past and Present* (Itō Togai), 412
- Kokutai*, see National polity
- Kokutai no Hongi: Fundamentals of Our National Polity*, 747, 846, 857-58
- Korea, 4; loss of ancient Japanese domains in, 36; introduction of Buddhism from, 93-94; expeditions, 305, 323, 327-28; annexation of, 405, 589, 759; Ōkubo on Korean Question, 657-62; Saigō on importance of, 654-57; see also Paekche; Silla
- Koshi-tsu: Understanding of Ancient History, The* (Arai Hakuseki), 472
- Kōshoku ichidai onna: Woman Who Spent Her Life at Love-making, The* (Ihara), 444n
- Kōshoku ichidai otoko: Man Who Spent His Life at Love-making, The* (Ihara), 444
- Kōtoku Shūsui (Denjirō), 589, 811-14
- Kōya, Mt., 111, 139, 158
- Kōzen Gokoku Ron: Propagation of Zen for the Protection of the Country, The* (Eisai), 243
- Kūkai, 111, 114, 119-20, 137-55, 269; see also *Ten Stages of Religious Consciousness*
- Kumazawa Banzan, 305, 378, 384-92, 394
- Kūya, 111, 193-94
- Kuzubana: Arrowroot* (Motoori), 524-27
- Kwallūk, 1, 58, 108
- Kyorai, Bashō's conversation with, 459-67
- Kyoto (Heian-kyō): becomes the capital, 1, 58, 62, 111, 113; Temple of the Original Vow in, 212; Go-Daigo and, 240; construction of a Great Buddha image in, 324; shrine in, 332n
- Kyoto Imperial University, 858
- Kyūshū, 28n, 88n
- Labor: forced, 49, 53, 69, 75, 76, 78; universal, 55; Ninomiya on necessity for, 579-80; and political action, 814-16; see also Trade unionism
- Labor, Japan General Federation of (Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei), 814
- Labor-Farmer Party, 821, 840
- Land: nationalization and redistribution of, 55; regulations, 75n; in Heian period, 113; survey, 323-24
- Land of the Rising Sun, 221
- Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, 482
- Law (Dharma), 98, 141, 146-47, 351; see also Three Treasures
- League to Prevent Bolshevization (*Seikha bōshidan*), 784-85
- Legal institutions: of T'ang dynasty, 61; commentary on legal code (Ryō No Gige), 81-87, 111; laws governing military household (Buke Hatto), 305, 470; Confucianism on, 423
- Liberalism: prewar, 718-58; Kawai on, 833; since World War II, 845
- Liberal Party, 681, 685
- Liberty, Itagaki's address on, 685-89
- Linked verse (*renga*), 452-54
- Liquor (*Sake*), 5, 7, 32
- Literature: in Heian period, 176-84; medieval, 187-88, 283-85; Zen influence in, 262-63; in Tokugawa period, 443-49; postwar, 845-906 *passim*
- Liu Sung dynasty, 9
- Local self-government, 701-2, 708-10
- Lochana Buddha, 96, 98, 106-7
- Lotus Sūtra* (Hokke), 47, 117, 118, 120-32 *passim*, 188, 219-31, 296
- Loyalist Party, 712

- Loyalty: to imperial house, 434, 471-72, 594, 600; in national polity, 787-88; and filial piety, 789
- Magic, 95
- Mahāyāna Buddhism, 97, 113-14, 117-36, 140-41, 190, 232
- Man, *see* Three Realms
- Manchoukuo, formation of, 590
- Manchu dynasty, 372
- Manchuria, 590, 716-17, 718, 759, 797, 841
- Mandalas, 142, 143, 153, 262
- Manyōshū*, 61, 179, 450-51, 507, 508, 509
- Marx, Karl, influence of, 773, 814
- Marxism: Kawakami on, 820-21, 823-27; Kawai on, 833, 834; Tanaka on, 883-84
- Material force (*ki*), 360, 375, 411, 421
- Mathematics, 553-54, 562, 611
- Matsudaira Sadanobu, 306, 502
- Matsumiya Kanzan, 791
- Matsunaga Teitoku, 454-55
- Matsuo Bashō, 287, 305, 455-67, 468
- Mean*, 385, 426, 427*n*, 428
- Medicinal Herbs of Japan* (Kaibara), 375
- Medicine, 86, 98, 154, 548-49, 554
- Meiji, emperor, 641-47
- Meiji Constitution, 886-88
- Meiji Era, 589, 638-717
- Memorial Presenting a List of Newly Imported Sūtras* (Kūkai), 144-47
- Mencius, 418-20, 423, 427, 428, 616
- Merchants: one of four classes of people, 338, 339, 348*n*; in Tokugawa period, 352-53, 437-42, 468; poetry and, 454
- Merit system of recruitment and promotion, 82-87
- Miidera, 111; school, 158-59
- Militarism, 790, 841; effect on culture, 899-900; *see also* War
- Military aristocracy, *see* Samurai
- Military government, 187, 333-34, 338-39, 378, 593
- Military households, laws governing, 305, 335-38, 351, 470
- Military science, 554, 616, 619-20
- Military service, 55; *see also* Conscription
- Mimpon shugi* (democracy), meaning of term, 728; *see also* Democracy
- Minamoto clan, 187, 270
- Minamoto Yoritomo, 111
- Mind, the, 242, 254-55, 291-92, 379-82; *see also* Three Mysteries
- Ming dynasty, 371
- Minobe Tatsukichi, 719, 746-53
- Minseitō, 722, 723
- Miroku (Maitreya), 157
- Mirror, *see* Three Imperial Regalia
- Mito School, 305, 371-72, 393, 592-603
- Mitsubishi family, 722, 757
- Mitsui family, 722
- Mitsukuni, *see* Tokugawa Mitsukuni
- Miura Baien, 306, 469, 489-97
- Miyabi*, 178-80, 283
- Mok-han, 9, 10, 11
- Monastic orders (Sangha): regulations of, by Empress Suiko, 108-10; classes of monks, 118, 131-32; celibacy and, 209; laws governing, 351; *see also* Three Treasures
- Mongaku, 169-75
- Mongol conquest of China and Korea, 261
- Mongol invasions of Japan, 185, 225, 270-71
- Mono no aware*, 176-78, 509
- Morality, 118, 308, 334, 335, 352, 489, 885
- Moral obligation, 445
- Motoori Norinaga, 23-24, 177, 306, 508-10, 520-40, 859
- Mountains, 5, 14
- Murasaki Shikibu, 114, 177, 178, 180
- Muro Kyūsō, 306, 433-42
- Music, 12, 85
- Musō Kokushi (Musō Soseki), 185, 240-41, 256-61, 264
- Nāgabodhi, 147
- Nāgārjuna, 95, 96, 147
- Nagasaki, 476-79, 554, 680
- Nakae Tōju, 305, 378-84
- Nakatomi family, 70, 268*n*
- Nara: dedication of the Great Buddha at the Tōdai-ji in, 1; establishment of first permanent capital, 1, 61-62; capital moved from, 116; Kasuga shrine in, 332*n*
- Nara Buddhism, 93-110, 117, 119, 120, 129, 156
- Nariaki, Lord, 591, 592
- Narrow Road of Ōku, The* (Bashō), 457
- Nation, idea of, 514-20
- National Foundation Society (*Kokuhonsha*), 785
- Nationalism, 66, 119, 189; in Tokugawa period, 308, 352, 353, 364, 434, 469, 471-72, 514-20, 561-64; Shintoism and, 507, 510; under Emperor Meiji, 642; rise of revolutionary, 759-805; capitalism and, 838-39, 846; *see also* National polity; Ultrationalism

- National learning movement, 507-14
 National polity (*kokutai*), 594, 597-600, 662, 664; Itō on, 676-79; Yoshino on, 732-33; Minobe on, 747-54 *passim*, 846, 857-58; Kita on, 778-80; fundamentals of, 785-95; Kawai on, 835; Tanaka on, 880
 National Purity Society (*Kokushūkai*), 784
 Nature: study of, 308, 374-77, 469; laws of, 351; Miura on, 490, 495-97; Ninomiya's attitude toward, 579, 583-84
 Nature worship, 24, 27
 Navigation, 554, 562
 Nazism, 786-87
 Neesima, Joseph H. (Niishima Jō), 682, 816-17
Nembutsu, 158, 191, 194, 196, 198-99, 206-9, 210, 212-16
 Neo-Confucianism, 308, 333, 345-77; metaphysics in, 393; Muro Kyūsō's defense of, 433-42; influence on later thought, 470
 Neo-Shinto movement, 506-51
 Newspapers, 623-24, 631-36, 652-54, 719, 723, 759
 New Years poetry competition, 458
 Nichiji, 221
 Nichiō, 222
 Nichiren, 185, 219-31
Nihon bunka no mondai: Problem of Japanese Culture (Nishida Kitarō), 857-72
Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan, 1, 3, 508; readings from, 14, 16-17, 19-22, 34-35, 39-49, 62, 66-80; Shinto and, 26; evidence of yin-yang in, 59; quoted, 267-68, 337
Nihon kaizō hōan taikō: Outline Plan for the Reorganization of Japan, An (Kita), 775-84
Nihon no shinro: Japan's Future Course (Ōyama), 839-44
Nihon shakai undō-shi: Japanese Social Movement in Retrospect (Akamatsu), 837-39
 Nikkō shrine, 331
 Ninomiya Sontoku, 553, 578-88, 589
 Nintoku, emperor, 68-69
 Nippon, 13, 119, 274-75
 Nirvana, 121-24
 Nishida Kitarō, 847, 857-72
 NiSSHIN, 186, 222
 Nobunaga (Oda Nobunaga), 186, 305, 311-21, 314-17
 Non-Church Movement (*Mukyōkai*), 854-55
 Nosé Asaji, quoted, 292
Nōron jikyū ron: Essay on the Self Salvation of Farm Villages (Gondō), 770
 Nō theatre, 185, 186, 188, 262, 284, 285-86, 288-303
 Novel, the, function of, 180-83
 Obligation (*on*), 434
 Oda Nobunaga, *see* Nobunaga
 Ogyū Sorai, 306, 342-43, 422-33, 481
Ōjō Yōshū: Essentials of Salvation (Gen-shin), 195
 Okakura Kakuzō, 900, 904, 906
Okashi, 178
 Ōkawa Shūmei, 785, 795-96
Okina no fumi: Testament of an Old Man (Tominaga), 480
 Ōkubo Toshimichi, 649, 654, 657-62, 665
 Ōkuma Shigenobu, 589, 657-58, 663, 679-83, 690-700
 "Opening the country" (*kaiōku-ro*), 606
 "Organ" theory, 746-53
Oritaku shibanoki (Arai Hakuseki), 472
 Osaka, 211, 324, 331, 479-80
 Ōshio Chūsai, 379
 Ōtomo family, 159
 Ōyama Ikuo, 839-44, 846
 Ōyōmei (Wang Yang-Ming School), 378-92
 Ozaki Yukio, 689-90, 723
 Paekche, kingdom of, 4, 9-13 *passim*, 36, 93, 95
 Painting, 142; Zen influence in, 262-63
 Paradise (Land of Bliss), rewards of, 195, 201-3, 211
 Parliament, *see* Diet
 Parliamentary government, *see* Government, constitutional
 Patriotic societies, 760-66
 Patriotism in National polity, 787-88
 Peace, 5; search for, in Tokugawa period, 307-8; Ieyasu on, 331, 340-42; Razan on, 355-56; Ōyama on, 843-44; Tanaka on, 880-91
 Peace Preservation laws, 723, 724, 811
 Perfect virtue (*jūn*), 407, 437-39
 Perry, Commodore, 589, 591
 Philosophy of reason (or principle, *li*), 351
Pillow Book (Sci Shonagon), 111, 114, 178, 190
 Pimiko, 8, 9
 Plutocracy, 733-34, 761-67, 770-73
 Poetry, 1; in Heian period, 183-84; in Tokugawa period, 450-67; in Nara period, 451-52; in medieval period, 453; New Years competition, 458; love and, 535-40

- Political parties, 665, 680-82; Ozaki on, 689-90; Ōkuma on, 690-700; Yamagata's attitude toward, 702, 711-13; liberalism and, 718-23; revolutionary nationalism and, 784-85; workers and, 814; Socialist, 828-32
- Politics, present-day, 821, 845-47, 880-91, 895-96
- Population problem, 570-71, 796-98, 843
- Portuguese merchants, 186, 305, 313, 317
- Positivism, 491, 786
- Prajñā*, 97
- Prajñā Pāramitā Sūtra*, 482
- Precious Calendar (Hōreki)*, 468
- Printing, introduction into Japan, 340
- Progressive Party, 681, 691-94
- Prohibition of Heterodox Studies, *see* Kansei Edict
- Proletarian Party (*Nihon musan tō*), 828
- Public opinion: party politics and, 694-96; in liberal movement, 719, 722; *see also* Newspapers
- Punishment, 11-12, 312
- Pure Land Buddhism, 111, 185, 190-218; sūtras of, 224; influence on Kawakami, 872-80; influence on Kamei, 900; *see also* True Pure Land Sect
- Quasi-Mahāyāna Buddhism, 117, 140
- Racial conflict, Yamagata on, 713-16
- Rationalism: 351; eighteenth-century, 468-505; Motoori on error of, 527-29; national polity and, 786, 846
- Razan, *see* Hayashi Razan
- Reconciliation of Eastern and Western Civilization*, *The* (Ōkuma), 683
- Records of Ancient Matters*, *see* *Kojiki*
- Register of Families*, *New Compilation of*, 87-90
- Registers of population, 72-73, 75
- Relativism, 479-88, 881-82
- Religion: influence of Japan's geography on, 5; in medieval period, 188-89; in Tokugawa period, 307-8; Satō on, 563; influence on Kawakami, 820-21, 822-23; science and, 872-80; in modern times, 845-906 *passim*; *see also* Christianity; Confucianism, Buddhism, Shinto, Taoism
- Renga* (linked-verse), 452-54
- Rennyō, 186, 211
- Representative government, *see* Government, constitutional
- Restoration (of imperial rule): debate over, 591-637; leaders of, 639-79
- Restoration of the ancient order (*fu-kō*), 572, 640
- Ri* (reason or principle), 378, 411
- Righteousness, *see* *Gi*
- Rinzai School of Zen, 185, 236, 239-40
- Rishisha, 723
- Rites, importance of, 423
- Ronin*, 384, 394, 817
- Russia and Japan, 306, 589, 591, 602, 654, 759, 761, 814
- Ryōnin, 111
- Sabi*, 286-88
- Sacrifice, 221, 248
- Sage, 402
- Sage's Hall, 362
- Saichō, 1, 111, 114, 116-20, 128-36
- Saigō Takamori, 654-57
- Saigyō, 458*n*
- Saikaku, 305, 468
- Sakanoue Tamuramaro, 116
- Sake, *see* Liquor
- Sakuma Shōzan, 379, 589, 591-92, 603-16, 846
- Salvation, 158; Pure Land Buddhism and, 188, 190, 191, 193; Genshin on, 198-203; Law of the Jōdo and, 208; True Pure Land Sect and, 209; Shinran on, 214; Nichiren on, 219, 220
- Samurai, 308-9, 355, 387-88, 394-400, 498; Saigō as representative of spirit of, 654-57; effect of conscription on, 701-2
- Sandai Jitsuroku: True Records of Three Japanese Reigns*, 57
- Sanron (or "Three Treatises" sect of) Buddhism, 95, 96, 117, 152, 155
- Sarumino: Monkey's Cloak, The* (Bashō), 461-64
- Satō Issai, 603-4
- Satō Nobuhiro, 306, 553, 561-78
- Satsuma Rebellion, 589
- School of National Learning, 424
- School of Prosperous Peace (Shōhei-kō), 354, 362
- Schools, *see* Education
- Science: Eastern ethics and Western, 603-16; and religion, 872-80; necessity for, 898-99
- Sea, 5, 14
- Sea-God, 21-22, 66
- Seami, 186, 285-86, 288-303
- Seclusion policy, 353, 468, 471, 591-637

- Secret History of the Annexation of Korea*, 762
- Secret Plan for Governing the Country*, A (Honda), 555
- Seidan: Discourses on Government* (Ogyū), 424
- Seika (Fujiwara Seika), 305, 345-50
- Seiken-roku: Reflections on My Errors* (Sakuma), 608-16
- Seikyō Yōroku: Essence of Confucianism* (Yamaga), 396, 400-402
- Seiseki Gairon: Indignant Discussion of Chinese Books* (Hirata), 547
- Seishi, 203
- Sei Shōnagon, 114, 178
- Seiyō rekōku-shiryaku: Brief History of the Western Powers* (Satō), 562
- Seiyūkai (political party), 722, 723, 784
- Seikijō shishukū-gen: Observations from Long Years of Apprenticeship to Poetry* (Motoori), 535
- Seki Kōwa, 553
- Self-awareness, 874
- Self-discipline, 335, 384
- Self-effacement, 790-91
- Self-reliance, 232, 312
- Self-sacrifice, 221
- Self-understanding, 232, 384
- Senchakushū* (Hōnen), 204, 223-24
- Seppai: Failings of the Classical Philosophers* (Tominaga), 480
- Seventeen-Article Constitution, *see under* Constitutions
- Sex: and Buddhahood, 167-69; in Ihara Saikaku's writings, 444
- Shākyamuni (Shaka), 121, 127, 139, 157, 163; way of sitting in meditation, 192, 238-39; Shinran on, 210; Nichiren on, 219
- Shamanism, 24
- Shantung Question, 754
- Shidehara Kijūrō, 719, 753-57
- Shido: Way of the Samurai, The* (Yamaga Sokō), 398-400
- Shigi: Problems of History* (Arai), 472
- Shikoku, 28n
- Shimabara, 305
- Shina kakumei gaishi: Unofficial History of the Chinese Revolution, An* (Kita), 774
- Shingon Buddhism, 119, 139-58 *passim*, 167-69, 190-91, 269-70
- Shinkokinshū: New Collection of Ancient and Modern Poetry*, 509-10
- Shinran, 185, 209-18
- Shinri to heitsu o motomete: In Search of Truth and Peace* (Tanaka Katarō), 880-91
- Shinron: New Proposals* (Aizawa), 589, 593, 595-602
- Shinsen shōjiroku: New Compilation of the Register of Families*, 87-90, 111
- Shinto: early, 23-35; shrines, 24-25, 33-34, 332, 506; in Reform Era, 70; provisions for priesthood in Taihō Code, 81; attitude of followers toward introduction of Buddhism, 93, 94; esoteric Buddhism and, 141; in medieval Japan, 267-82; revival of, 308, 424, 506-51; Razan and, 353; Yamazaki and, 363-64; re-examination of, 393; nationalism and, 597-600; influence in Restoration, 642-43
- Shipping, 554, 555, 556-58
- Ship's oath, 348-49
- Shirakawa, emperor, 111, 159, 160, 161-66
- Shogaku-kun: Precepts for Children* (Kaibara), 376-77
- Shoguns, 185, 333-34, 338-39, 593; *see also* specific shogun, e.g., Yoshimune
- Shokoku judoki: Lands and Climates* (Satō), 562
- Shōmu, emperor, 98-99, 106-7
- Shōtoku, empress, 99, 107-8, 268, 273
- Shōtoku, Prince, 1, 36-39, 44-53, 91, 94
- Showa Period, 590, 767, 770
- "Shōwa Restoration," 817-20
- Shūei, 167
- Shundai zatsuwā: Conversations at Surugadai* (Muro), 434-39
- Shutsujō kōgo: Historical Survey of Buddhism* (Tominaga), 480
- Silla, Korean kingdom of, 1-13 *passim*, 36
- Sino-Japanese wars, *see* China, wars with
- Sitting in meditation (*zazen*), 239-40, 253-54
- Six Classics, 423, 425n
- Six elements, 141
- Social and economic behavior, study of, 469
- Socialism: in the West, 792-96 *passim*; trend toward, 806-44; attitude toward war, 828-32; Kawai's defense of liberal, 832-37
- Socialist Masses Party (Shakai taishū tō), 816, 828-32
- Social movement, Japanese, 806-44
- Social order, military government and, 338-39
- Society for the Repayment of Virtue, 581, 586-88

- Soga clan, 70, 71, 93
 Sôgi, 453
 Sôji, 13
 Sosa no o no Mikoto, *see* Susa-no-o
 Sôtô school of Zen, 239-40
 Sovereignty, 27, 61-90 *passim*, 273-82, 729
 Spaniards, expelled, 305
 Speech, *see* Three Mysteries
 Spirit (*rei*), 272
 State University, 305, 354
 Storm god, 17
 Strikes, 814
 Sûden, Elder, 353
 Suffrage: universal manhood, 590, 718, 720, 722, 739-41, 811-14; women and, 781-82, 891
 Sugita Gempaku, 592
 Sugiura Jugo, quoted, 379
 Sui dynasty, 11
Shika (Shinto), 363
 Suiko, empress, 1, 3, 36, 45-49, 108-10
Suitô hiroku: Confidential Memoir on Social Control (Satô), 561-62, 572-74
 Sung dynasty, 234-35, 345, 393-94
 Sun Goddess, *see* Amaterasu
Sun Tzu, 616
 Sun worship, 5, 14
 Superstition, 160, 475-76
 Susa-no-o, 16-19, 27, 29-32
Sûtra of Past and Present, Cause and Effect, 97
Sûtra of Queen Śrīmālā, 47
 Sûtras, 95, 210; *see also* under specific name, e.g., Golden Light Sûtra
 Suzuki, D. T., 239, 847n
 Sword, *see* Three Imperial Regalia
 Sword Collection Edict, Hideyoshi's, 328-30
 Syllabary (*kana*), Japanese, 143
 Symbolism, 284
 Syndicalism, 738

 Tachibana Kosaburô, 769
 Tachikawa school, 160, 167
Taigi-roku: Grave Doubts (Kaibara), 375
 Taihō Code, 1, 60, 81-87, 750
 Taika reform, 1, 54-55, 70-90
 Taira clan, 111, 187, 270
 Taira Kiyomori, 111
 Taishō period, 590
 Takami-musubi, 509, 541, 545-46, 563, 574-75
 Takano Chōei, 592

Tale of Genji (Murasaki), 111, 114, 176-83, 190, 445, 509, 532-35
Tale of the Heike, *The*, 283, 286-88
Tama kushige: Precious Comb-box (Motoori), 520
Tama no Mihashira: Pillar of the Soul (Hirata), 549
Tama no Ogushi (Motoori), 532
 Tanaka Giichi, 721
 Tanaka Kōtarō, 847, 880-91
 T'ang dynasty, 12-14, 61, 113, 333
 T'ang T'ai-tung, 333, 345
Tannishō (Shinran), 216
 Taoism, 56; Kūkai's writings on, 137-38, 140, 152; Razan on, 356; anti-intellectualism in, 514-15
 Tathāgatas, 157
 Taut, Bruno, cited, 870
 Taxation, 7; in Seventeen-Article Constitution, 49, 52; T'ang system of, 55, 113; Bureau of, 85; in Taika reforms, 73, 75-76; in Tokugawa period, 323-24; in Constitution of 1868, 645-46; and liberal movement, 719
 Tea, introduction into Japan, 185, 236, 243-46
 Tea Ceremony, 244, 263-66, 287, 902n
 Teaching as a profession, 411
 Teika, *see* Fujiwara no Teika
 Teitoku's school, 455
 Temmu, emperor, 1, 13, 59, 100
 Temple of the Original Vow: in Osaka, 211; in Kyoto, 212
 Tempyō Hōji era, 89
 Tempyō Shōro era, 89
 Tenchi, emperor, 13, 70-71, 89
 Tendai (T'ien-t'ai) Buddhism, 111, 114, 117-36; Kūkai on, 141; spread of, 156-75; 190-91; and Shinto, 270; syncretism of, 332
 Tenkai, abbot, 332, 353
 Tennōism, 61-90 *passim*; 597-600, 787-88
 Tenryū monastery, 241, 256, 258
Ten States of Religious Consciousness (Kūkai), 139-41, 150, 154-55, 190-91
 Theatre, *see* Nō theatre
 Thought-criminals, 824
 Three Deities, 59, 62-63
 Three Divisions of the Eight-fold Path, 153
 Three Human Relationships, 151
 Three Imperial Regalia, 19-20, 29, 32, 280-82, 358, 798n

- Three Mysteries, 139, 142, 149, 160, 191
 Three Pleasures, 370-71
 Three Realms, 57-60
 Three Treasures, 50, 94, 99, 211, 799
 Three Vehicles, 129*n*, 130*n*, 149
 Three virtues, 281
 Time, meaning of, 864-66
 Tokugawa Mitsukuni, 362, 371-72, 592
 Tokugawa period, 187, 263, 305-637
 Tokugawa Shoguns: Ieyasu, 305, 311, 313, 324, 331-43, 353, 434; Yoshimune, 306, 468, 470, 472, 480, 510; Tsunayoshi, 354, 362; Iemitsu, 362
 Tokugawa Tsunaeda, 372-73
 Tokugawa Yoshinao, 362
 Tokutomi Ichirō, 798-801
 Tokyo (formerly called Edo), 334, 641
 Tokyo Imperial University, 682
 Tominaga Nakamoto, 306, 469, 479-88
 Totalitarianism, 553, 561-64, 572-74, 786
 Tōyama Mitsuru, 761
 Toyokuni shrine, 324
 Toyotomi Hideyoshi, *see* Hideyoshi
 Trade-unionism, 719-20, 807-11, 891
Tripitaka, 94, 161-66, 480
 True Pure Land Sect, 185, 209-18
 Tsunayoshi, *see* Tokugawa Tsunayoshi
Tsūjin, 444
Tsurezure gusa: Essays in Idleness (Yoshida Kenkō), 287
 Tung Chung-shu, 56
 Twelve Links of Causation, 152
 Twenty-one Demands, 590, 703, 716-17, 723
 Two Essences, *see* Yin-yang
Tzu-chih t'ung-chien: Outline and Digest of the General Mirror (Chu Hsi), 352
 Uchimura Kanzō, 847-57, 880
 Uda, emperor, 161
 Ueno, 362
 * Ukiyo, 305, 443-46 *passim*
Ukiyo-zōshi, 444
 Ultrationalism, 540-48, 747, 759-60; reform wing of, 773-84; conservative, 784-95; Tanaka on, 881
 "Union of Civil and Military [Government]" (*Kobu gattai*), 606
 Unions, labor, *see* Trade Unionism
 United Nations, 841-42
 United States, influence of, 306, 589, 591, 605, 623, 625
 Universality, in Tendai Buddhism, 117-18, 121-28, 130
 Universal Manhood Suffrage Law, 722
 University, State (Daigaku), 305, 354
 Unselfish Love Movement, 820, 822
Ushinawareta Nihon: Lost Japan, The (Hasegawa), 891-900
 Vairocana (Cosmic Buddha), 139, 141, 142, 147, 148, 156-57, 167, 332; discipline, 132; *sūtra*, 268-69
 Vajrabodhi, 147
Vajra Mandala, 160
Vijñāna, 493
Vimalakīrti Sūtra (Yūima-Kyo), 101-6
 Vinaya school, 219, 233
 Vitality, 509, 563, 564, 574-75
 Vocabulary: of Japanese aesthetics I, 176-84; of Japanese aesthetics II, 283-303; of Japanese aesthetics III, 443-49
 Voting, 739; *see also* Suffrage
 Wa, 5, 13, 275; *see also* Japan, names of
Waka, 451-54
 Wang Yang-ming, 361
 Wang Yang-ming school (Ōyōmei), 378-92
 War, 5, 355-56; justification for, 795-98; declaration of, 798-801; goals of, 801-5; *see also* Militarism
 Warrior class, *see* Samurai
 Warrior-monks, 159-60
 Waseda University, 682-83, 696-98
 Washington Conference, 754
 Way of the Sages, 357
 Way of the Warrior, *see* Bushidō
 Wealth, development and distribution of, 388-92
 Wei, Kingdom of, 5, 6-9
 West, the, and Japan, 589-906; Hirata's attitude toward, 541, 546-49; attitudes toward, 552-78; Aizawa on, 602-3; Kido Kōin on influence of, 649-54; Itō on importance of, 663-65, 668-71; Yamagata's attitude toward, 703, 713-16; resentment against, 760, 798-801; and national polity, 785-95; effect on social movements in Japan, 806; relationships since World War II, 845-906; Nishida on, 858-72; *see also* specific countries of Europe and United States
 White pheasant, discovery of, 78-80
 Womb (*Garbha*) Mandala, 142
 Women, 7, 76; in Amidism, 192-93; and tea ceremony, 263-66; and learning, 380-

Women (*Continued*)

- 81; in Tokugawa literature, 444-46; Kita on place of, 781-82; enfranchisement of, 891
- Yakushi (the Healing Bodhisattva), 98
- Yamaga Sokō, 305, 394-410, 616, 791
- Yamagata Aritomo, 617, 700-717
- Yamamuro Sōbun, 757-58
- Yamato, 6, 27-29, 33, 36, 274, 275
- Yamazaki Ansai, 305, 362-71, 393
- Yamazaki Sōkan, 454
- Yasuda Zenjirō, 767
- Yasumaro, 14
- Yin-yang, 59-62, 64, 86, 367, 490-92
- Yoritomo, 185
- Yorozu, 39-43
- Yoshida Kanetomo, 186, 271-72
- Yoshida Kenkō, 287
- Yoshida Ryōi, 345
- Yoshida Sōan, 345
- Yoshida Torajiro (Shōin), 589, 603-4, 616-22; influence of, 310, 379, 396, 647, 663, 700, 791, 821
- Yoshimitsu, *see* Ashikaga Yoshimitsu
- Yoshimune, *see* Tokugawa Yoshimune
- Yoshino Sakuzō, 719, 724-46
- Yōzō *kaiku-ron*: *Essays on Creation and Cultivation* (Satō), 562
- Yūgen, concept of, 284-91 *passim*
- Yui Shōsetsu, 394
- Yūkai, 167
- Yushima, 354
- Zaibatsu, 722-23, 767, 774, 819-20
- Zazen (sitting in meditation), 239-40, 253-54
- Zeigo: *Discourse on Corollaries* (Miura), 489
- Zen Buddhism, 219, 232-66; Sōtō branch of, 185; Rinzaï branch of, 185, 236, 239-40; and the arts, 188-89, 261-66; pioneers in Japan, 235-61; influence on aesthetics, 291-303 *passim*; Nobunaga and, 312; Nishida on, 858, 869-72; influence on Kawakami, 872-80



CATALOGUED,

From 12 x Japan

Central Archaeological Library,
NEW DELHI.

Call No. 901.0952 16/22
T. d. K.

Author—Tsunoda, Ryusaku
Comp etc.

Title—Sources of the Japanese
Tradition

Borrower No.	Date of Issue	Date of Return

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.